PAPERS of Henry Bouquet
Vol II

[4] Thomas Cresap, or Cressop, frontier leader, had a settlement near present-day Oldtown, Md.

[5] Ens. Samuel Mearns, surgeon, is shown on Dagworthy's Muster Roll, dated at Fort Cumberland, April 26, 1759, as having transferred from Captain Francis Ware's Maryland Company on Dec. 30, 1758. Md. Hist. Soc., Muster Rolls, 1757-1759, f. 26.

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[ENCLOSURE]

PROCEEDINGS OF COURT MARTIAL

[B. M., Add. MSS. 21644, f. 40, C.]*

A Court Martial Held at Fort Cumberland the fifth Day of Feb^{ry} 1759.

Lieu^{t} Linn Pres^{t} [1]
Lieu^{t} Gorroll[2]
Ensign Mearns[3]
Members

To try Such Prisoners as Shal be Brought Before them

Jn^{o} Ragon Corp^{l} confin^{d} By Cap^{t} Rich^{d} Pearis for Goeing from the Garrison Seven Miles Without Leave threatning to Desert if he Could Gett Any Good fellow to Goe wth Him & Insulting Ens^{n} Love[4] ✓

The Prisoner being Examin^{d} Confeses he went to Isaac Colliers[5] without Leave

++++ Geo: Teeter[6] of Cap^{t} Alex^{r} Bealls Comp^{y} Being Examin^{d} Says that this Morning in y^{e} Hospital he heard the Prisoner Say that if he had but a Good Fellow wth him he Soon would Goe of for He had No Right to Doe Duty in this Place without pay ✓

Ens^{n} Love Proves to the Court that he Saw the Prisoner on the Parade & Knowing him to be Confin^{d} Ordered him to y^{e} Inside of y^{e} Guard Room & Said it was a fine Usage on these words y^{e} Prisoner Dam^{d} him & the Usage too and the Prisoner Confesses he Expressed the Words

The Prisoner in His Defence Says that he thought he had No Right to Ask Leave to Goe Abroad he Serving without Pay

++++Particular attention should paid to George Teter (or Teeter) above, for this young soldier married Captain Richard Pearis' daughter Sarah three years later, thus becoming our ancestor. See also footnote 6, next page.

The Nature of the Prisoners Crime being Such that ye Court Judges thot they have Not a Right to Pass Sentance on Such Crime it Being of too henious a Nature

Wm Linn

A True Copy of the proceedings of the Court

[*Endorsed in Bouquet's handwriting*] Court Martial at Cumberland

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* Enclosed in preceding letter from Pearis to Bouquet.

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Captain Lewis Ourry's letter to Col Bouquet does mention Captain Pearis, and it appears they worked together in a very congenial, cooperative way, but it is printed here in its entirety partly to show what it was like to be a Quartermaster in those trying times.

OURRY TO BOUQUET

[B. M., Add. MSS. 21642, f. 37, A. L. S.]

Fort Bedford Feby ye 9th 1759

Dear Colonel

Captain Pearis,[1] who has sent me two Loads of Hay, acquaints me that Several Horses have been found, conceal'd by divers Persons, who, as soon as detected, discover others, which he has sent an Officer to take up, And he asks my Opinion, what he is to do with them. I told him I would write to receive your Directions on that head. But in the meantime I thought he would do well to make them produce the Horses immediately, and give Bond for their appearance at the next Court; and to make what Discoveries he could by taking Depositions of all Informers

As I have now, many Horses up here, and plenty of Forrage, I hope to send you soon agreable Returns of the Provisions in the upper Garrisons.

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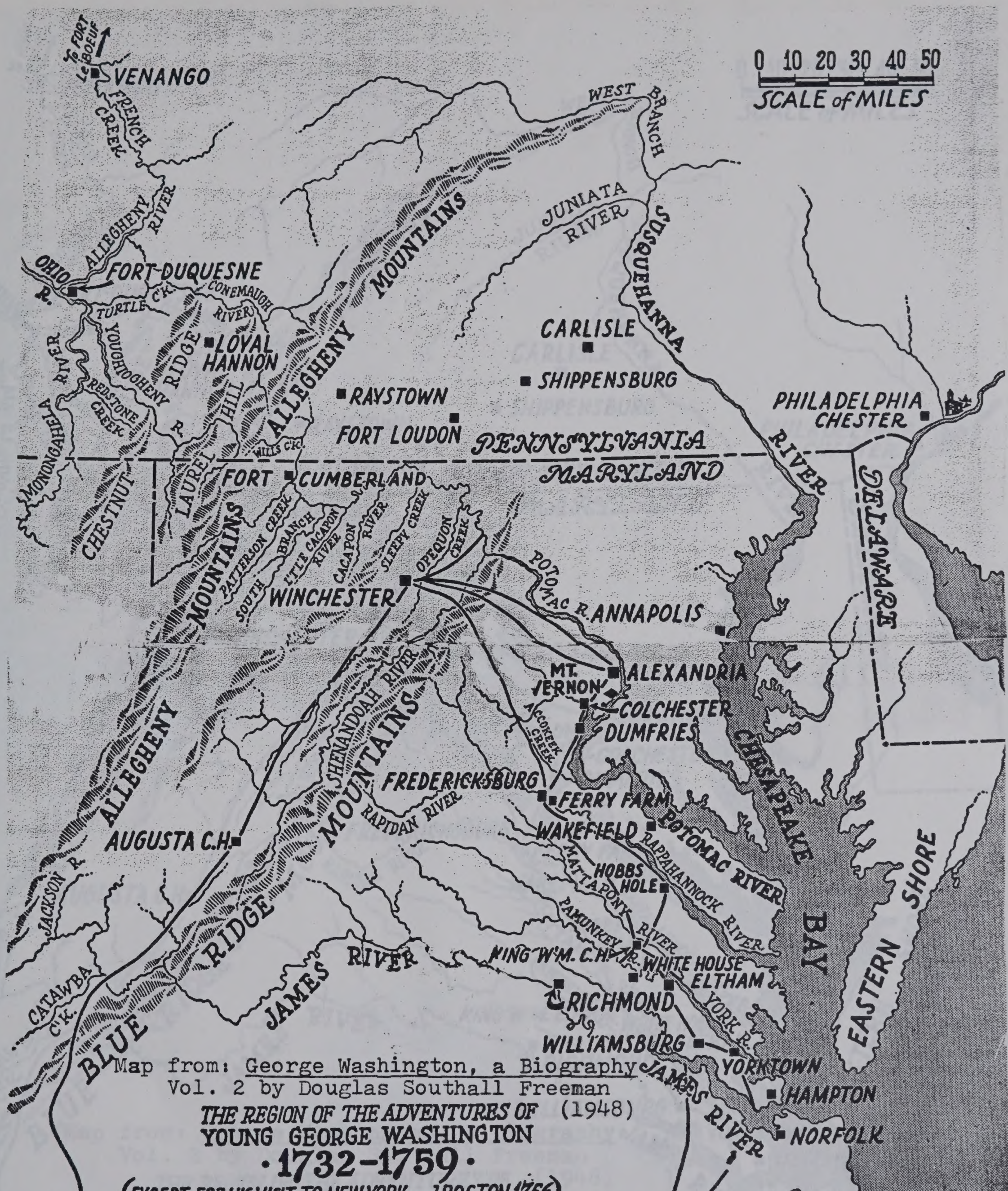

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SCALE of MILES
John Draper

Map from: George Washington, a Biography
Vol. 2 by Douglas Southall Freeman (1948)

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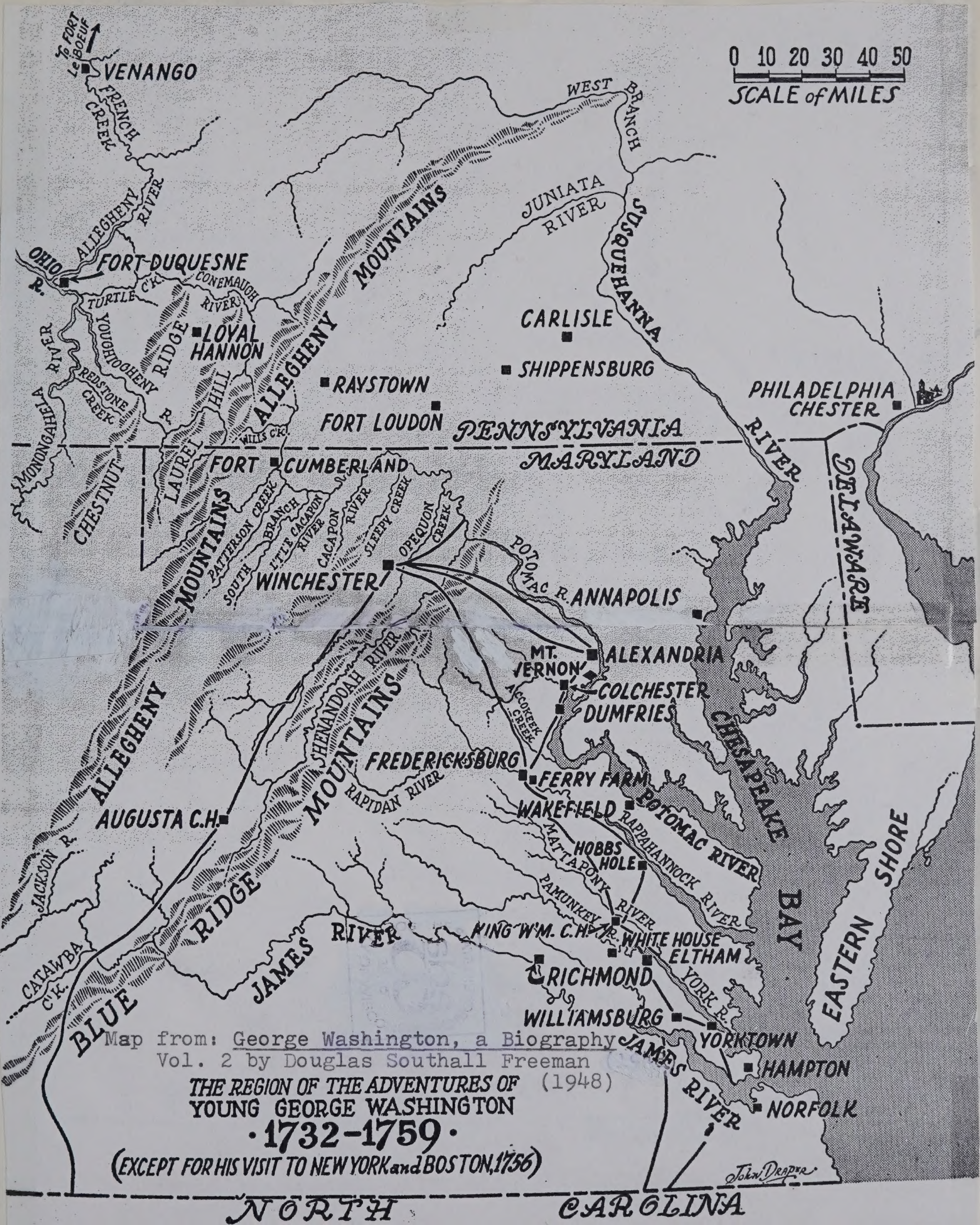
·1732-1759·
(EXCEPT FOR HIS VISIT TO NEW YORK and BOSTON, 1756)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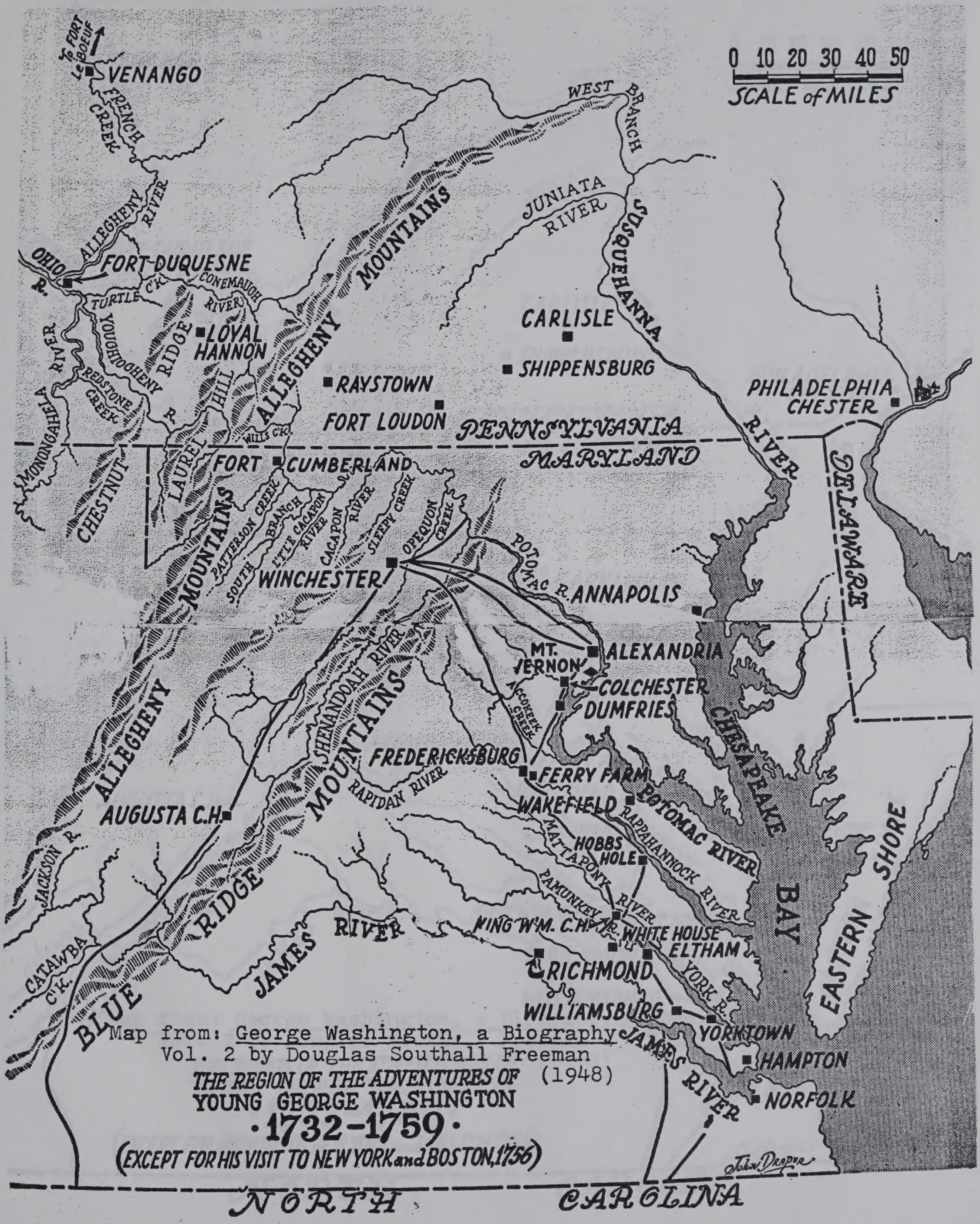
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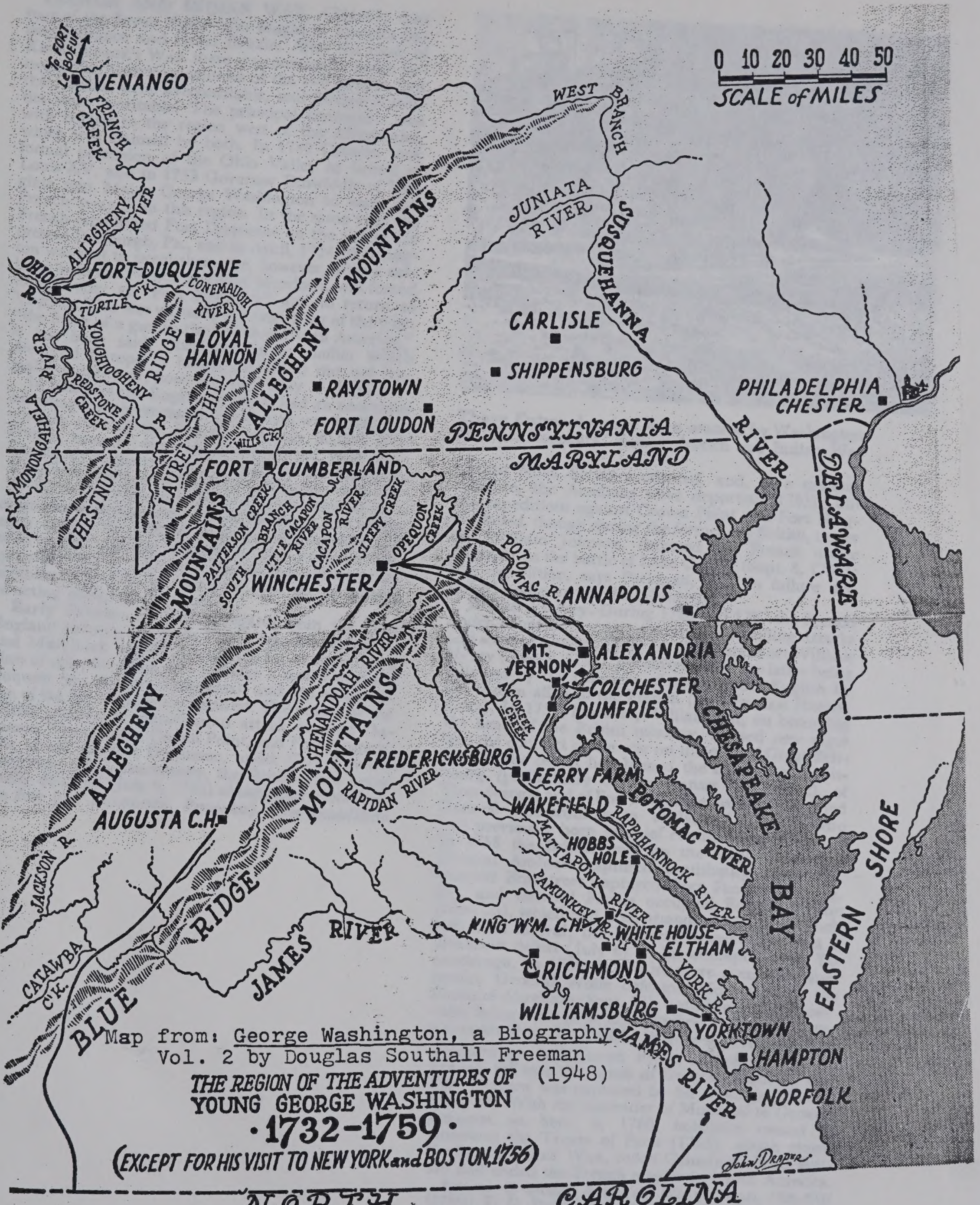

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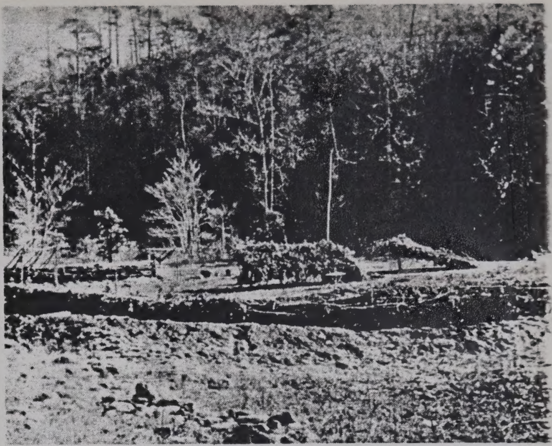
FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, 1754–63, that part of the Seven Years' War fought in America between France and Great Britain. After the close of KING GEORGE'S WAR there was nominally peace between the American colonies of the two powers, but their claims were irreconcilable, and further hostilities were inevitable. The principal contention was with regard to the region west of the Alleghenies, which was claimed by both. In 1749 Céloron took formal possession of the Ohio Valley in behalf of Louis XV, and in 1753 Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent Major George Washington to warn the French away from this region. In the same year the French established Fort Duquesne on the site of the present Pittsburgh, Pa., and in April, 1754, Washington was sent to expel them; he, however, after a collision with the French at Great Meadows, was forced to surrender at "Fort Necessity" and to return to Virginia. This was virtually the beginning of the war: "the firing of a gun in the woods of North America," it has been said, "brought on a conflict which drenched Europe in blood." England did not formally declare war, however, until May 18, 1756.

In numbers the English colonists had an enormous advantage; their estimated population was 1,100,000, whereas that of the French was only 80,000. The French, however, were highly centralized, were more thoroughly organized for war, and had the assistance of superior numbers of Indians; the English were conspicuously decentralized—the various colonial governments were unable to work in harmony, and within each colony the official government generally met with much popular opposition, the governor frequently being at odds with the elected legislative assemblies. The French, moreover, had the advantage of acting along interior lines.

Early Events. In 1754 delegates from the New England colonies and from New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, met in Albany, N.Y., to draw up a plan of colonial union and to make a treaty with the Iroquois (see ALBANY CONGRESS), and the co-operation of the Six Nations was secured. The next year the British planned a simultaneous attack on Fort Duquesne, Nova Scotia, Crown Point, and Fort Niagara. The attack on Fort Duquesne, under Gen. Edward Braddock, failed disastrously, the British force being totally defeated (July 9, 1755) about eight miles from the fort (see BRADDOCK, EDWARD). The expedition against Nova Scotia succeeded, and, as a military measure, the Acadians were deported (1755); but the expeditions against Crown Point and Fort Niagara failed, though during the former the British, under Sir William Johnson, defeated the French under DIESKAU, in the battle of Lake George (Sept. 8, 1755); this expedition, says Parkman, was "a failure disguised under an incidental success."



These Entrenchments were erected by Washington as "Fort Necessity" during French and Indian War

British Victory. During 1756 and 1757 the French under Montcalm were successful in repelling attacks and secured Oswego (July 14, 1756) and Fort William Henry (Aug. 9, 1757), the surrender of the latter being followed by the massacre of many of the English by the Indian allies of the French (see WILLIAM HENRY, FORT). In 1757, however, William Pitt, on becoming the head of the British ministry, infused new vigor into the conduct of the war on the part of Great Britain. At the outset he planned the capture of Louisbourg (preliminary to the capture of Quebec), of Ticonderoga, and of Fort Duquesne; and he appointed General Abercrombie to replace Loudoun, who had previously been in chief command in America. In 1758 the British were on the whole successful. General Amherst captured Louisbourg (July 27), General Bradstreet captured Fort Frontenac (Aug. 27), and General Forbes occupied Fort Duquesne (Nov. 25), which had been abandoned by the French before his arrival; but General Abercrombie met a disastrous defeat (July 8) on his attempt against Ticonderoga. In 1759 the British were even more successful. General Wolfe defeated Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham (Sept. 13), both Wolfe and Montcalm losing their lives, and Quebec, on Sept. 18, was surrendered to the British. In July and August both Ticonderoga and Crown Point, abandoned by the French, fell into the hands of General Amherst; and Fort Niagara was captured by Sir William Johnson (July 24). With the surrender of Montreal to General Amherst on Sept. 8, 1760, hostilities ceased in America; the Treaty of Paris (1763), which closed the SEVEN YEARS' WAR, ceded Canada to Great Britain and ended the French empire in North America.

BIBLIOG.–S. Samuel, *Seven Years War in Canada, 1756–1763* (1935); T. C. Pease, *Anglo-French Boundary Disputes in the West* (1937); L. H. Gipson, *Great War for the Empire* (1946).

Virginia County Records

VOLUME II

VIRGINIA COLONIAL MILITIA
1651-1776

EDITED BY
William Armstrong Crozier

GENEALOGICAL PUBLISHING CO., INC.
BALTIMORE
1973

F221 V75 Vol2 Virginia Colonial Militia

15 Land Bounty certificates incl Edgcomb & William, soldiers under Capt Nath. Gist in Col Adam Stephen's Regt in 1762 Henry Co May 25 1780

53 Thos. Easter, Sergt under Capt Gist in Col Byrd's Regt in 1760 Henry Co Apr 27, 1780

48 Middlesex Co Militia July 10, 1676 – pts incl Henry Griffith

36 Richd Griffin & John ~~Osborn~~ Osborn, both soldr, in Capt Robert Munford's Co – Col Byrd – (tithes) Mecklenburg Co 14 Feb 1780

78-9 Pearis incl Rich Griffin Jr also p 78 Robt Dunn/ Gr.

55 Robert Hutcheson, Sergt in Capt. Clinton's Co of PA Reg – lost eye at reduction of Fort Pitt, Botetourt Co Mar 1780

no Vest, Dick

Pearis Robt 71/72, Richd 78,
Tecter 57, Tester 51
Gist 27 ~~X~~ 121 128 85 113 45 ba.
Dun. 57, 57, 113
~~Griffin 3x, 45, 78-9, 102, 104~~
Griffith 3x, ~~78~~
Griffey ~~X~~, ~~X~~
no Dunn/Dick/Clayton
Claiton ~~47~~, ~~55~~ ditto
~~Pregnant Thomas~~
~~Gist 15, 27, 53, 121, 128~~

Thomas Farah, soldier in the Va. Regt. commanded by Adam Stephen, until disbanded. King William Co., Feb. 16, 1780.

Benj. Wheeler, soldier in 2d Va. Regt. of Regulars, commanded by Col. Wm. Byrd, in the year 1758, until disbanded. King and Queen Co., Feb. 11, 1780.

Wm. Phillips, soldier in 2d Va. Regt. of Regulars, commanded by Col. Wm. Byrd in 1760. King and Queen Co., Feb. 14, 1790.

Wm. Jones, soldier in Batt. of Regulars, commanded by Col. Wm. Peachey, in 1759, and continued in same till disbanded. King and Queen Co., Feb. 14, 1780.

James Walden, soldier in 2d Va. Regt. of Regulars, commanded by Col. Wm. Byrd, in 1760, and continued in same till disbanded. King and Queen Co., Feb. 14, 1780.

Geo. Coleman, soldier in 2d Va. Regt. of Regulars, commanded by Col. Wm. Byrd, in 1760, and continued in same till disbanded. King and Queen Co., Feb. 14, 1780.

Henry Finch, entitled to 200 acres of land agreeable to the King's Proc. of 1763. Williamsburg, April 22, 1774. Dunmore.

James Gunn, 3,000 acres of land agreeable to his Majesty's Proc. of 1763. Williamsburg, Dec. 17, 1773. Dunmore.

Chas. Jenkins, soldier in Capt. Saml. Overton's Co. of Rangers in 1755, till legally discharged. Louisa Co., Feb. 14, 1780.

Miles Kenty or Canty, soldier in Capt. Thos. Fleming's Co. of Regulars, in 1758, until legally discharged; also Sergt. in Capt. John Posey's Co. of Regulars, in 1760. Said Miles being since dead and Anthony Kenty, heir-at-law. Louisa Co., Feb. 14, 1780.

Honble. Wm. Byrd, Esq., entitled, as Col. of the Va. Regt., to 5,000 acres of land agreeable to the King's Proc. of 1763. Williamsburg, Nov. 5, 1773. Dunmore.

John Lamb, soldier in Col. Byrd's Regt. in 1758. Orange Co., Feb. 24, 1780.

Richd. Lamb, soldier in Col. Byrd's Regt. in 1758. Orange Co., Feb. 24, 1780.

Wm. Cave, soldier in Col. Byrd's Regt. in 1759. Orange Co., Feb. 24, 1780.

Wm. Hall, private, and Chas. Travis, drummer, served in King's service for the defense of this state till properly discharged. Richmond Court, Feb., 1780.

Griffing Johnson, served in a corps for the defense of Va., and commanded by Col. Wm. Byrd, and was properly discharged in 1758; and he again served in a corps raised for the same purpose, and commanded by said Byrd, in 1760, and continued in same as a soldier until said regiment was disbanded. Essex Co., Feb. 21, 1780.

Richd. Fouracres, soldier in 1st Va. Regt., commanded by Col. Geo. Washington, and continued in same till disbanded. Spotsylvania Co., Feb. 17, 1780.

Richard Matthews, soldier in Capt. Christopher Hudson's Co. of Regulars, in 1758, till legally discharged; and also corporal in Capt. Meredith's Co. of Regulars, in 1760, until legally discharged. Louisa Co., Feb. 14, 1780.

Wm. Smither, Sr., soldier, till properly discharged, in 1760 in a regt. raised for the immediate defense of the state. Caroline Co., Feb. 10, 1780.

George Turner, soldier in 1st Va. Regt., commanded by Col. Geo. Washington, and continued in same till regt. was disbanded. Caroline Co., Feb. 10, 1780.

Larkin Chew, Ensign 2d Va. Regt., raised in 1758, under command of Col. Byrd, and continued therein till said regt. was disbanded; also Lieut. in 1st Va. Regt., at that time under command of Col. Byrd, and remained therein till said regt. was disbanded; afterwards said Chew entered the regt. commanded by Col. Adam Stephen, and served therein as Lieut. till said regt. was disbanded. Spotsylvania Co., Feb. 17, 1780.

Wm. Daingerfield, Capt. 1st Va. Regt. in 1758, under command of Col. Washington, and continued therein till it was disbanded; and afterwards in a regt. commanded by Adam Stephen in the same capacity of Capt. Spotsylvania Co., Feb. 17, 1780.

✓ Christopher Gist, decd., Captain of Rangers in 1756 for the defense of the frontiers, and served until said company was discharged in 175- (7?). Nathaniel Gist, heir-at-law.

✓ Nathl. Gist, Lieut. in Capt. Christopher Gist's Co. of Rangers in 1756, and served till the company was reduced in 1757; and also as a Capt. in Col. Geo. Washington's regt., called the 1st Va. Regt., raised in 1756 and disbanded in 1762, and that he continued in the regt. until disbanded; also as a Capt. in the regt. commanded by Col. Adam Stephen, raised in 1762, and continued as Capt. until that was disbanded. Spotsylvania Co., Feb. 17, 1780.

Jno. Bradford, Corp. in 2d Va. Regt., commanded by Col. Wm. Byrd. Certificate from Capt. Saml. Meredith. King William Co., Feb. 16, 1780.

Jno. Brown, soldier in 2d Va. Regt. of Regulars, commanded by Col. Wm. Byrd, in 1758, till same was disbanded. King and Queen Co., Feb. 14, 1780.

Thos. Davis, Sergt. in 2d Va. Regt., Col. Wm. Byrd commanding, in 1756, and continued till disbanded. King and Queen Co., Feb. 14, 1780.

Chas. Turner, soldier in 2d Va. Regt. of Regulars, Col. Wm. Byrd commanding, in 1758, till disbanded. King and Queen Co., Feb. 14, 1780.

Wm. Barlow, soldier in 2d Va. Regt. of Regulars, Col. Wm. Byrd commanding, in 1758, till disbanded. King and Queen Co., Feb. 14, 1780.

Jno. Harvey, soldier in 2d Va. Regt. of Regulars, Col. Wm. Byrd commanding, in 1758, till disbanded. King and Queen Co., Feb. 14, 1780.

Thomas and William Cooper, both of whom served in the Va. Regt. commanded by Col. Wm. Byrd in the war between Great Britain and France, upwards of 20 years ago, till same was disbanded. James Cooper, heir-at-law to his two brothers. Essex Co., Feb. 25, 1780.

Robert Rutherford made oath in 1778, that in 1758 and 1759, Wm. Darke (now a prisoner at New York) served as a Corpl. in a company of Rangers under his command until the same was reduced. Berkeley Co., Mar., 1780.

Robert Buckles, Jr., soldier in company of Rangers commanded by Capt. Robt. Rutherford in 1758, till same was reduced. Berkeley Co., Mar., 1780.

Jervice Sherly, in 1758 or 1759, soldier in a company of Rangers commanded by Capt. Robt. Rutherford, until same was reduced. Berkeley Co., March, 1780.

Geo. Hicks, Sergt. 1755-1761, in a regiment raised for the immediate defense of the state. Caroline Co., Mar., 1780.

Matthew Abbott, Sergt. in Va. Battl. of Regulars, commanded by Col. Wm. Byrd in 1758, until same was discharged. Hanover Co., April 6, 1780.

John Treadway, private in Capt. Nathl. Gist's company of Va. Regt. in last war between Great Britain and France. Charlotte Co., Mar. 6, 1780.

Benj. Cage, private in Capt. Richard Doggett's company of Va. Regt., in last war between Great Britain and France. Charlotte Co., Mar. 6, 1780.

John Ormsby, Esq., commissary in the service of Great Britain in 1758, 1759 and 1760. Yohogania Co., Feb., 1780.

Jeremiah Edwards, soldier in 1st Va. Regt., commanded by Col. Wm. Byrd, in the late war between Great Britain and France. Augusta Co., Mar. 21, 1780.

Wm. Stewart, soldier in Capt. Wm. Preston's company of Rangers in the late war between Great Britain and France in 1758. Augusta Co., Mar. 21, 1780.

Robert Hall, soldier in Capt. Wm. Preston's company of Rangers in the late war between Great Britain and France in 1758. Augusta Co., March 21, 1780.

Joseph Beeler, commander of a company in the last war. Ohio Co., Mar. 7, 1780.

Col. John Buchanan, deceased, Capt. of a company of enlisted men on the frontiers of Augusta from April, 1758, to May, 1759, under immediate command of the then Gov. of Va. James Buchanan, heir-at-law to said Col. B.

Col. James Robertson, subaltern officer in a company of enlisted men before Oct., 1763, under different Captains until whole troops in that quarter were disbanded by order of the Gov. of Va., who had given the command thereof to Col. Andrew Lewis. Montgomery Co., April, 1780.

Wm. Anderson, soldier in Capt. Wm. Preston's company of Rangers from 1758 until May 4, 1759, when the company was disbanded by order of the Govt. Montgomery Co., April, 1780.

John Madison, Capt. of a company of Volunteers by order of the executive power of Va., for the time being on an expedition of which Col. Thomas Nash was chosen to command against the Shawnee Indians in the year 1757. Continued in said service four months when the whole corps composed of several companies of volunteers was disbanded, as the expedition was at an end for which the troops were raised. Montgomery Co., April, 1780.

Davi Sayers, Sergt. in Capt. Alexr. Sayers' company stationed on the frontiers in 1758. Montgomery Co., May, 1780.

James Board, soldier under command of Col. Byrd in 1761 and 1762. Bedford Co., Mar. 27, 1780.

Arch bald Johnson, soldier under Lieut. Benja. Temple in a regular corps raised in Va. in 1759, and also under Capt. John Stears in 1760, which service was against the Indians. Halifax Co., Mar. 16, 1780.

Wm. Griffin, private in Capt. Robert Mumford's company, 1st Va. Regt., in last war between Great Britain and France. Charlotte Co., Mar. 6, 1780.

Roger Cock Bailey, corporal in Capt. James Gunn's company of the Va. Regt. in last war between Great Britain and France. Charlotte Co., Mar. 6, 1780.

Dav d Hutcherson, private in Capt. Posey's company of the Va. Regt in the late war between Great Britain and France. Charlotte Co., Mar., 1780.

John Young, private in Capt. James Gunn' company of 1st Va. Regt. last war between Great Britain and France. Charlotte Co., Mar. 6, 1780.

Hu phrey Whayne, Sergt. in a corps raised for defense of Va. in 1755. William Whayne, soldier in the said regiment, both of whom died in the service. Tabitha Whayne made oath that John Whayne is heir-at-law to the said Hu phrey and William. King and Queen Co. Court, April ——.

Elis a White, Lieut. in Capt. Joseph Fox's company of Rangers in 1755. Louisa Co., Mar. 13, 1780.

Haynes Morgan, Gent., produced discharge from the 80th British Regt. commanded by Montague Wilmott, Esqr., signed by James Grant, Esqr., Capt. commandant, part of which said regiment was raised in this state in 1758, at which time said Haynes Morgan enlisted, and he was Sergt. Major to said regiment and served 7 years, which said regiment was reduced at New York, 1 64. Pittsylvania Co., April 18, 1780.

John Mays, Corporal in the old Va. Regt, in the late war between Great Britain and France. Goochland Co., Feb. 21, 1780.

Moses Barker, non-commissioned officer in the Va. Regt. under my command, entitled to 200 acres under King's Proc. of 1763. March 12, 1774. (Signed) G. Washington.

James Durham, soldier in 1758 and served 6 months under Capt. Robert Rutherford in Byrd's Regt. Cumberland Co., Mar. 27, 1780.

Job Hilliard, soldier in late war, entitled to 50 acres agreeable to Proc. of 1763. Williamsburg, Mar. 3, 1774. Dunmore.

James Colvin, Ensign in a company of Rangers in 1764 in the Va. service in Col. Henry Bouquet's campaign, till legally discharged. Yohogania Co. Court, Feb., 1780.

Joseph Beelor, commanded a company of Rangers in the last war, raised in Va., and was stationed at Fort Cumberland for the defense of the frontier, and continued in said service till said company was recalled and disbanded. Ohio Co., March, 1780.

Isaac McDonald, soldier under Major John McNeill in Col. Adam Stephen's regiment in 1762. Henry Co., March 25, 1780.

Archibald Buchanan, Sergt. in Capt. Wm. Preston's company of Rangers, about 10 months in 1756 and 1757, until legally discharged. Montgomery Co., April, 1780.

Wm. Carvin, soldier in Capt. John Montgomery's company of Volunteers, incorporated with part of the Va. Regt. in 1756, under Maj. Lewis, and continued therein until end of the expedition. He (Carvin) also served as Sergt. in Capt. Wm. Christian's company, stationed on the frontiers, from July, 1763, to March, 1764, when he was legally discharged. Montgomery Co., April, 1780.

Wm. Sayers, Ensign in a company of men stationed on the frontiers, commanded by Capt. John Buchanan from April, 1758, to May, 1759. Montgomery Co., April, 1780.

John Alsup, soldier, was in the Va. Regt. about three years and was legally discharged when Col. Adam Stephen commanded. Montgomery Co., May, 1780.

James Adams, soldier in Capt. John Smith's company of Regulars, additional troops on the Cherokee expedition in 1760, continued till end of campaign. Montgomery Co., April, 1780.

John Alcorn, soldier in the regular additional troops to the 1st Va. Regt., during the Cherokee expedition, 1760, commanded by Col. Wm. Byrd, being about six months, and also in Capt. John Smith's company. Montgomery Co., May, 1780.

Wm. Tinsley, soldier in Va. Regt., commanded by Col. Byrd, till legally discharged. King William Co., Feb. 16, 1780.

James McCollister, Lieut. in the Penna. Regt. in 1763, in which capacity he served during the late French war. Frederick Co., March, 1780.

Saml. Watts, soldier in 1st Va. Regt., under Capt. Thos. Bullitt, in last war. Halifax Co., April 21, 1780.

Henry Francis, Sergt. 1st Va. Regt., under different commanders, and continued in said service about six and one-half years, at which time he was legally discharged by Col. Adam Stephen. Montgomery Co., May, 1780.

Robt. Stanton, soldier, 2 years in 1st Va. Regt., commanded by Col. Byrd. Montgomery Co., May, 1780.

John Maxey, soldier in last French and Indian war, and continued a soldier till legally discharged by Col., now Gen. Washington, in 1756. Powhatan Co., April 20, 1780.

Joseph Montgomery, soldier in Capt. John Montgomery's company of Volunteers, incorporated in part of the Va. Regt. on the Shawnee expedition in 1756, commanded by Major Lewis, till legally discharged. Montgomery Co., April, 1780.

John Hays, soldier in 1st Va. Regt. about two years, when Col. Stephen commanded it, till legally discharged. Montgomery Co., May, 1780.

Edwd. Cochran, soldier upwards of three years in 1st Va. Regt., under different commanders. Montgomery Co., May, 1780.

Thos. Barker, soldier for nearly seven years under different commanders. Montgomery Co., May, 1780.

John Francis, deceased, soldier in 1st Va. Regt., commanded by Col. Washington, and continued in said service about three years, at which time he was killed by the Indians. Henry Francis, eldest brother and heir of said John Francis, deceased. Montgomery Co., May, 1780.

Wm. Francis, deceased, soldier for three years in the 1st Batt. of Royal Americans, in which service he died. Henry Francis, eldest brother and heir of said Wm. Francis, deceased. Montgomery Co., May, 1780.

Joseph McClung, Sergt., under command of Col. Byrd, against the Cherokee Indians in 1760. Greenbrier Co., March 21, 1780.

John Reyley, soldier in one of the old Va. Regts. under command of Maj. Andrew Lewis. Greenbrier Co., April 19, 1780.

Wm. Scott, Drummer in 1st Va. Regt. Greenbrier Co., March 21, 1780.

James Shaw, soldier in Capt. Peter Hogg's company of Rangers in 1757. Greenbrier Co., April 19, 1780.

Thos. McCauley, Corpl. 2d Va. Regt. in late war between Great Britain and France. Albemarle Co., April 13, 1780.

Henry Davis, soldier in 2d Va. Regt. in war between Great Britain and France. Albemarle Co., April 13, 1780.

Benj. Henslie, Lieut. in Va. Batt., in 1760; certificate from Col. Wm. Byrd. Henry Co., Aug., 1779.

John Hern, soldier in the last war between Great Britain and France, in Capt. James Walker's company, Col. Byrd's Regt., till legally discharged. Mecklenberg Co., May 8, 1780.

Saml. Miller, soldier in one of the Va. Regts. under command of late Wm. Byrd in last war between Great Britain and France. Amherst Co., Feb. 7, 1780.

Francis Lightfoot, Sergt , in last war between Great Britain and France, Col. Mercer's company, 2d Va. Regt. Mecklenberg Co., May 8, 1780.

Joseph Lambert, soldier in company commanded by Maj. Stewart, Col. Adam Stephen's Regt., in late war between Great Britain and France, till properly discharged. Mecklenburg Co., May 8, 1780.

Thos. Foster, soldier in Col. Buchanan's company, stationed on the frontier in 1758 and 1759, till legally discharged. Montgomery Co., April, 1780.

Augustine Broomley, soldier in Capt. Blagg's company till legally discharged. Botetourt Co., March 9, 1780.

David Fream, soldier in Capt. Christian's company of Regulars in last war, till legally discharged. Botetourt Co., Dec., 1779.

Robert Hutcheson, Sergt. in Capt. Claiton's company, Pennsylvania Regulars, last war, at the reduction of Fort Pitt. Botetourt Co., March, 1780.

Joshua Cox, soldier in Capt. John Smith's company of Regulars on the expedition of 1760, under command of Col. Byrd; served to end of campaign. Montgomery Co., April, 1780.

Hugh McNeill, Drummer in Capt. Throgmorton's company in old Va. Regt., till legally discharged. Botetourt Co., March, 1780.

Julius Webb, soldier in Capt. Throgmorton's company of Regulars in old Va. Regt. till legally discharged. Botetourt Co., March, 1780.

John Plumb (or Plumbly), soldier in Capt. Christian's company of Regulars, last war. Botetourt Co., March, 1780.

James Cooper, soldier in Capt. Gist's company of Light Infantry in last war. Botetourt Co., March, 1780.

William Holley, soldier in Capt. Christopher Gist's company of Light Infantry in last war, till legally discharged. Botetourt Co., March, 1780.

Peter Brannan, served in Capt. Stewart's company of Regulars in last war, till legally discharged. Botetourt Co., March, 1780.

John Bowyer, entitled to 2,000 acres of land, agreeable to proclamation of 1763. Williamsburg, April 20, 1774. Dunmore.

Edmund Bacon, entitled to 200 acres of land as Corporal in last war, agreeable to proclamation of 1763. Williamsburg, May 29, 1774. Dunmore.

John Haynes, soldier in Capt. Throgmorton's company of Regulars in last war, till legally discharged. Botetourt Co., March, 1780.

William Davis, soldier in Capt. Dickinson's company of Rangers in 1758. Kentucky Co., Feb. 1, 1780.

Thos. Miller, soldier in Capt. Christian's company of Rangers in 1756, till legally discharged. Botetourt Co., March, 1780.

Archibald Lockhart enlisted in the 1st Va. Regt. in 1752. Kentucky Co., Feb. 1, 1780.

James Davis, soldier in Col. Byrd's Regt. in 1761. Kentucky Co., Feb. 1, 1780.

Nicholas Branstone, entitled to 200 acres of land for services in last war, agreeable to proclamation of 1763. Williamsburg, Feb. 9, 1774. Dunmore.

Barney Ryley, soldier in 1st Va. Regt., and continued therein until reduction thereof. Kentucky Co., Feb. 1, 1780.

Henry Cremore, entitled to 50 acres of land as a soldier in the last war, agreeable to proclamation of 1763. Williamsburg, April 26, 1774. Dunmore.

Saml. Meredith, Capt. in the Va. Regt. under command of Col. Byrd, entitled to 3,000 acres of land, agreeable to proclamation of 1763. Williamsburg, March 9, 1774. Dunmore.

Wm. Haymand, Sergt. in the old Va. Regt.; certificate from Col. Adam Stephen. Monongalia Co., Nov., 1779.

Robert Mennis, soldier under Capt. Wm. Christian, in Col. Wm. Byrd's Regt. Rockingham Co., March 28, 1780.

Jacob Pence soldier in Capt. Hogg's company of Rangers from 1757 until they were discharged at Bedford. Rockingham Co., March 28, 1780.

Thos. Dalley served in a Regt. in which Thos. Elliott was a commissioned officer; certificate from Thos. Elliott, above mentioned. John Dalley, heir-at-law. Essex Co., March 20, 1780.

John Stephenson, soldier in Capt. McClanahan's Independent company, in Col. Bouquet's campaign, till legally discharged. Rockingham Co., March, 1780.

David Laird, Corpl. in Capt. Hogg's company of Rangers in 1757, until it was discharged at Bedford. Rockingham Co., March 28, 1780.

Lieut. Alex. McDonald, entitled to 2,000 acres of land for services in the late war, agreeable to proclamation of 1763. Williamsburg, March 3, 17——. Dunmore.

Hugh Stephenson, entitled to 3,000 acres of land, agreeable to proclamation of 1763. Williamsburg, May 16, 1774. Dunmore.

Dr. James Craik, Lieut. in Va. Regt. commanded by Col. Wm. Byrd, entitled to 2,000 acres of land, agreeable to proclamation of 1763. 5th day of Oct., 1773. Dunmore.

Geo. Teator, soldier in Capt. Gist's company of Regulars, 1st Va. Regt., last war, till legally discharged. Botetourt Co., Dec., 1779.

Solomon Simpson, Edward Gill, Sr., Christopher Finnie, Christopher Best, and Wm. Cross, soldiers in the 1st. Va. Regt., last war, under command of Col. Byrd and Col. Stephens. Botetourt Co., Dec., 1779.

William Leather, soldier in Capt. Bullitt's old Va. Regt., last war. Botetourt Co., Feb., 1780.

Wm. Simpson, deceased, soldier in 1st Va. Regt., under Col. Washington, till he (said Wm.) departed this life. Solomon Simpson, heir-at-law. Botetourt Co., Feb., 1780.

John Collins, soldier in Capt. Christian's company of Rangers in 1760, on expedition commanded by Col. Byrd, against Cherokee Indians. Botetourt Co., Dec., 1779.

William Ward, Lieut. in Capt. Breckenridge's company of Rangers, which was incorporated with a detachment of the 1st Va. Regt. in 1760, on expedition commanded by Col. Byrd against the Cherokee Indians. Botetourt Co., Feb., 1780.

John Turnley, soldier in Capt. Christian's company of Rangers in 1760, on expedition commanded by Col. Byrd against the Cherokee Indians. Botetourt Co., Dec., 1779.

Wm. Gill, deceased, soldier in old Va. Regt., until he departed this life. Edwd. Gill, heir-at-law. Botetourt Co., Feb., 1780.

John Anthony, deceased, Capt. of a company of Rangers in 1759, by particular order of the Governor and under commission from him. John Anthony, heir-at-law. Bedford Co., March, 1780.

John Wright, soldier under Col. Byrd in 1758, and was then discharged. Bedford Co., March, 1780.

Justinian Wills, Sergt.-Maj. under Col. Byrd in 1758. Bedford Co., March, 1780.

David Crews, Corporal in 1760 under Col. Byrd. Bedford Co., March, 1780.

James Noland, soldier under Col. Washington in 1755, and under Col. Byrd in 1762. Bedford Co., March, 1780.

George Rice, staff officer in Bouquet's expedition to the westward, in the late war between Great Britain and France. Frederick Co., March 8, 1780.

Wm. Hughes, entitled to 2,000 acres of land under King's Proclamation of 1763, he having served as a Lieut. in the Va. Regt. May 20, 1774. Dunmore.

Alex. Waugh, Jr., Staff Officer for the Va. forces under Col. Byrd in 1758. Culpeper Co., April 17, 1780.

Charles Sims, Gent., produced in Court a commission from Francis Bernard, Esq., formerly governor of New Jersey, dated March 15, 1759, appointing Wm. Douglas, Maj. of a Regt. in that Province, whereof the Hon. Peter Schuyler was Col. He also produced the affidavit of Rev. David Griffith, taken before Wm. Ramsey, Esqr., a Justice of the Peace for Fairfax Co., that Wm. Douglas, commonly called Major, who formerly resided on Staten Island, did serve as an officer in the corps of the Provincials raised by New Jersey in the late war between Great Britain and France. George Beardmore served as a soldier in campaign with said Douglas in the late war of Great Britain with France. Prince William Co., April 4, 1780.

Michael Counsel, entitled to 50 acres of land, agreeable to the King's Proclamation of 1763. April 1, 1774. Dunmore.

James McGavock, Capt. of a company of Volunteers on an expedition against the Shawnees, Col. Thos. Nash, commander, in 1757. Continued in said service four months, when whole corps was disbanded. Montgomery Co., April 6, 1780.

Nathan Wheelon, Corporal in 2d Va. Regt. in late war between Great Britain and France. Goochland Co., April 17, 1780.

Sherwood Strong, deceased, soldier in late war between Great Britain and France. Sworn to by John Strong. Goochland Co., Sept. 21, 1779.

James Wilkinson, soldier 2d Va. Regt., late war between Great Britain and France. Goochland Co., Feb. 21, 1780.

Ludwick Shadow, deceased, Sergt. under command of Col. Henry Bouquet, in late war between Great Britain and France. Discharge signed by said Bouquet, Nov. 5, 1762. Augusta Co., March 22, 1780.

Robert Ross, soldier in late war in expedition commanded by Col Bouquet. Augusta Co., March 22, 1780.

Wm. Skillern, Ensign in Capt. Robt. Breckenridge's company, raised in Augusta Co., by order of Col. Wm. Byrd, to garrison Ft. Chiswell in the absence of the army on the expedition against the Cherokees in 1760, and continued in the same till legally discharged. Botetourt Co., April, 1780.

John Norris, soldier in old Va. Regt., last war, till legally discharged. Botetourt Co., April, 1780.

John Young, soldier in Va. Regt. three years under Col. Byrd, till legally discharged. Montgomery Co., April, 1780.

Michael Van Buskirk, Ensign to a Company of Foot in the Maryland Service, commanded by Capt. Alexander Beale. Entitled to 2,000 acres of land, agreeable to the King's Proclamation of 1763. March 19, 1774, commission from Gov. Sharp, of Md., to said Buskirk, dated May 2, 1756, to be Ensign in a corps raised by Alex. Beale, for the service of Md. Yohogania Co., Dec., 1779.

James Melliory, soldier in the last war in Capt. Posey's Regular Co., till legally discharged. Botetourt Co., March, 1780.

Israel Christian, served in 1759 as commissary to the Battl. commanded by Col. Peachey till legally disbanded, and afterwards occasionally for the troops of the 1st Va. Regt. in last war. Botetourt Co., April, 1780.

Peter Looney, decd., Sergt. in Capt. Smith's Co. of Rangers last war, till he was taken prisoner by the French and Indians in 1756. That he did not return from his captivity for near two years. Peter Looney, heir-at-law. Botetourt Co., March, 1780.

John Tatham, Sergt. in Capt. Stewart's Co. of Regulars, raised in Va. for the 1st Va. Regt., commanded by Col. Byrd, till legally discharged. Botetourt Co., April, 1780.

James Doreus, soldier in Capt. Woodward's Co. of Regulars, last war, till legally discharged. Botetourt Co., March, 1780.

Charles Ellison, Corpl. in Capt. Roote's Co. of Regulars last war, till legally discharged, Botetourt Co., April, ——.

William Hutcheson, soldier in Capt. Preston's Co. of Rangers in 1759, till it was legally discharged. Botetourt Co., April, 1780.

Peter Wiley, soldier in Catp. Dickerson's Co. of Rangers last war, till legally discharged. Botetourt Co., April, 1780.

John Wiley, soldier in Capt. Dickerson's Co. of Rangers in last war, till legally discharged. Botetourt Co., April, 1780.

John Codare, soldier in Capt. Wm. Preston's Co. of Rangers, from the fall of 1755 to June, 1756. Israel Christian, representative of said Codare. Montgomery Co., April, 1780.

Alexr. Gillespie, soldier in Capt. Chas. Lewis' Co. of Rangers in the late war in 1758. Augusta Co., March, 21, 1780.

Chas. Smith, Sergt. in Capt. Wm. Preston's Co. of Rangers in the late war between Great Britain and France. Augusta Co., March 21, 1780.

Saml. Allen, Capt. in Col. Wyser's Regt. in Penna.; also a Capt. in Col. Byrd's Regt. in 1760. Henry Co., April 27, 1780.

Matthew Small, soldier under Capt. Wm. Christian in Col. Byrd's Regt. in 1760. Henry Co., March, 24, 1780.

Moses Going, soldier under Capt. James Gunn in Col. Byrd's Regt. in 1760. Henry Co., April 27, 1780.

Francis Posey, soldier under Col. Adam Stephen in 1762. Henry Co., April 27, 1780.

Thos. Earles, Sergt. under Capt. Gist in Col. Byrd's Regt. in 1760. Henry Co., April 27, 1780.

Wm. Bartee, Sergt. under Capt. John Smith in Col. Byrd's Regt. in 1760. Henry Co., March 24, 1780.

Benj. Row, entitled to 50 acres of land under King's Proc. of 1763. Jan., 1774. Dunmore.

John Kinkead, soldier in late war in Capt. Wm. Preston's Co. of Rangers, in 1758. Augusta Co., Feb. 15, 1780.

Wm. Jackson, soldier in late war in Capt. Wm. Preston's Co. of Rangers, in 1758. Augusta Co., Feb. 15, 1780.

Lofftus Pullen, soldier in late war in Capt. Wm. Preston's Co. of Rangers, in 1758. Augusta Co., Feb. 15, 1780.

Robert Gwinn, soldier in late war in Capt. Wm. Preston's Co. of Rangers, in 1758. Augusta Co., Feb. 15, 1780.

John Carlile, soldier in late war in Capt. Wm. Preston's Co. of Rangers, in 1758. Augusta Co., Jan. 10, 1780.

Wm. Black, soldier in late war in Capt. Wm. Preston's Co. of Rangers, 1758. Augusta Co., Feb. 15, 1780.

Thos. Hicklin, soldier in late war in Capt. Wm. Preston's Co. of Rangers, in 1758. Augusta Co., Feb. 15, 1780.

Robt. Graham, decd., soldier in late war in Capt. Wm. Preston's Co. of Rangers in 1758. Major Andrew Lockridge, guard. of orphans of Robt. Graham, decd. Augusta Co., Feb. 15, 1780.

Thomas Kinkead, soldier in late war in Capt. Lewis' Co. in the expedition commanded by Col. Bouquet, in 1764. Augusta Co., Feb. 15, 1780.

Wm. Kinkead, soldier in late war in Capt. Lewis' Co. in the expedition commanded by Col. Bouquet, in 1764. Augusta Co., Feb. 15, 1780.

Stephen Handcock, soldier in Col. Byrd's Regt. in 1760. Kentucky Co., Feb. 1, 1780.

Uriah Humphries, soldier in last war in Capt. Posey's Co. of Regulars, till properly discharged. Botetourt Co., March, 1780.

John Nixon, entitled to 200 acres of land as a Sergt., agreeable to Proc. of 1763. Williamsburg, April 16, 1774. Dunmore.

William Brock, soldier in Capt. Wm. Phillip's Co. of Rangers, in 1763. Louisa Co., Feb. 14, 1780.

Littleberry Lane, soldier in Col. Byrd's Regt., in 1758. Orange Co., March 23, 1780.

Henry Shackleford, soldier in Capt. Hogg's Co. of Rangers, in 1758. Orange Co., Nov. 25, 1779.

Patrick Fisher, Sergt. in Col. Byrd's Regt. Orange Co., March 23, 1780.

Bartelott Goodman, soldier in Capt. Thos. Bullitt's Co. of Rangers, in 1762. Louisa Co., Nov. 8, 1779.

John Dalton, soldier in Capt. Thos. Bullitt's Co. of Rangers, in 1762. Louisa Co., Nov. 8, 1779.

Peter Clarkson, soldier in campaign of 1755 in Capt. Saml. Overton's Co. of Rangers. Albemarle Co., March, 1780.

Chas. Walls (or Watts), soldier in 1758 in Col. Byrd's Regt. David Wall (or Watts), heir to said Chas. Orange Co., March 23, 1780.

Chas. Pearcy, soldier in Col. Byrd's Regt. in 1759. Orange Co., Feb. 24, 1780.

Jacob Baughman, soldier in 1st Va. Regt. French and Indian Wars. Kentucky Co., Feb. 2, 1780.

Simon Powell, decd., Sergt. in Capt. Hogg's Co. of Rangers. Elizabeth Jennett Head, wife of James Head, and Sally Riddle, wife of Lewis Riddle, co-heiresses of Simon Powell, decd. Orange Co., Dec. 23, 1779.

Achilles Whitlock, decd., soldier in 1758 in a regt. raised for the immediate defense of the state. John Whitlock, eldest son and heir-at-law to said Achilles. Caroline Co., March, 1780.

James Chick, decd., soldier in 1760 in a regt. raised for immediate defense of the state. John Chick, heir-at-law of the said James. Caroline Co., Feb., 1780.

Edward Brown, soldier in 1758 in a regt. raised for immediate defense of this state. Caroline Co., Feb., 1780.

John Powell, soldier in 1758 in a regt. raised for immediate defense of this state. Caroline Co., March, 1780.

George Teater, Sergt. in Col. Byrd's Regt. in 1761. Kentucky Co., Feb. 1, 1780.

Wm. Dun, Corpl. in Va. Regt. under command of Col. Byrd. March 8, 1774. Dunmore.

Martin Hewlett, Corpl. in Va. Regt. under command of Col. Byrd. April 4, 1774. Dunmore.

Wm. Murrell, Sergt. in Va. Regt., entitled to 200 acres under King's Proc. of 1763. Williamsburg, Dec. 16, 1773. Dunmore.

Thos. Mullen, Corpl. in Va. Regt. commanded by Col. Byrd. March 10, 1774. Dunmore.

Alexander Stewart, entitled to 200 acres of land, agreeable to the King's Proc. of 1763. April 1, 1774. Dunmore.

Isham Harris
Wm. Bryan
James Hargrove
Robt. Wall
Chas. Wall
Peter Jackson
Frederick Glover
Thos. Mannin
Mark Jackson
Daniel Wall
Robt. Peebles
Wm. Foster
Zebulun Lewis
Jesse Brown
Wm. Parham
Nicholas Fennell
Abram Martin
Wm. Martin
John Ramsey
John Calton
Rich. Ramsey
Benj. Simpson
Thos. Connally
Thos. Haulcum
Edward Tatum
Moses Tomerlin

Edward Freeman
Henry Jackson
Chas. Gunter
John Carlile
Wm. Edwards
Elias Fowler
John Barnet
Rich. Dobbins
Joel Smith
Danl. Collier
Saml. Russell
Robt. Gee, Jr.
Wm. Cooke
Wm. Gaultney
Sampson Moseley
Geo. Walton, Jr.
Wm. Randolph
Wm. Ledbetter
Wm. Ledbetter, Jr.
Saml. Sexton
Nathan Harris
Robert Gaultney
Thos. Walton
John Moore
Robert Lanier
Thos. Denton
Wm. Denton

Lewis Barker
David Moss
James Linch
David Adam
Roger Tilman
Wm. Upchurch
Thos. Nance
Thos. Ravenscrop
Michael Upchurch
John Upchurch
Geo. Wall
Thos. Nance
John Hailes
Francis Mitchell
Tobias Moore
Robt. Nance
David Kelly
John Ray
John Tilman, Sr.
Joseph Parrish
John Woolsey
Peter Sinclair
Geo. Brewer
John Hix
Drury Sims
Mark Rollins

Source: Hening, Vol. 7.

CHESTERFIELD COUNTY, SEPTEMBER, 1758.

Robt. Kennon

Source: Hening, Vol. 7.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY, SEPTEMBER, 1758.

Robt. Slaughter, Col.
Poindexter Mosby, Capt.
Wm. Slaughter, Lieut.
Chas. Yancy, Ensign

Sergeants.

John Payton
Rich. Doggett
Hankison Read

John Parker
Wm. Lightfoot
John Ballenger
John Field
Thos. Slaughter
Francis Brown
Anthony Strother
Francis Strother
John Peyton
Wm. Baker
Wm. Edwards

John Berry
Thos. Ray
Joshua Sherril
Rueben Long
Wm. Underwood
Thos. Yeates, Jr.
John Morgan
Rich. Parker
Alex. Frazier
French Strother
Edward Bush

James Corder
John Chisum
Christopher Ziglar
Mark Hardin
Saml. Hensley
John Bradley
Rich. Parks
Allen Wiley
John Witherhead
Edward Brown
Thos. Baker

Robt. Scott
James Browning
Henry Stronsafer
Wm. Wall
John Yancy
Wm. Tutt
Geo. Goggins
Nath. Parker
John Shingleton
Chas. McQueen
John Cox
John Powell

John Care
Wm. Thornhill
James Story
Wm. Poe
Oliver Towles
Saml. Pannell
John Banger
Wm. Day
Peter Rucker
Wm. Hopper
John Pabley

Joseph Duncan
John Anderson
John Faver, Jr.
Wm. Collin
Francis Jacoby
Wm. Robertson
John Duncan
Wm. Nalle, Jr.
James Garrett
James Green
Peter Fleshman
Jacob Broil

Source: Hening, Vol. 7.

ESSEX COUNTY, SEPTEMBER, 1758.

Forest Upshaw, Capt.

Source: Hening, Vol. 7.

FREDERICK COUNTY, SEPTEMBER, 1758.

Thos. Speak, Capt.

Lieutenants.

Arch. Ruddall
John Hardin
Thos. Speake
James McDowell
John Allen

Ensigns.

Thos. Speak
John Horden
John Allen
Magnus Tatt
James Ireson

Sergeants.

Henry Selser
Chas. Littleton
James Ireson
John Champain
Geo. Wright

John Jones
Jeremiah Odle
Moses Job
Reudy Mank
Geo. Bennett
Jonathan Odle
James Thruston
Patrick McKenny
Rich. Mank
Henry Mank
Danl. Mank
Henry McKenny
Nath. Bailey
Peter Bailey
Wm. Cross
Rich. Murphy
Danl. Johnson
Stephen Southard
Edward Linsey

James Grigson
Geo. Rice
John Miller
Wm. Jacobs
Josiah Ewings
Thos. Conaly
Isaac Linsey
David James
Edward Tummens
Owen Wingfield
Walter Shirley
Jarvis Shirley
Robt. Goosberry
John Parke
Isaac Thomas
James Jack
Hugh Johnston
James Jones
Francis Maginis

Robt. Stewart
Stephen Johnson
John Regin
Edward Timons
John Colston
Solomon Littleton
Thos. Robinson
Edward Degell
Francis McCrimer
Gasper Bewtoole
Hugh Stephenson
Josiah Combs
James Morris
Joseph Pierce
Edward Mergee
Jacob Mergee
Nicholas McIntire
Benj. Sweet
Wm. Hughs

Josiah Springer
Jacob Pricket
Stephen Stradler
Chas. Colson
John Hampton
Saml. Mason
Peter Petanger
Francis McCormack
Thos. Alfort
Rich. Stearman
Thos. Linsey
Robt. Pearis
Wm. Matthew
John Stephenson
John Vance
James Meamack
James Morris
Wm. Hall
Wm. Miller
Benj. Fullam
Wm. Locard
Levi Jones
Edward Martin
Mark Hardin
Solomon Burkem
Saml. Stubbs
Gilbert Gordon
Geo. Bell

Joseph Lyon
Thos. Allen
Andrew Blackburn
Wm. Stephenson
John Megill
Benj. Blackburn
Isaac White
Mat. Harbison
Wm. Blackburn
Bryan Money
James Hughes
Joseph Fleming
Wm. White
John Young
Joseph Taucett
John Cooper
David Williams
Leonard Cooper
Joseph Carroll
John Cook
Wm. Wilson
Saml. Vance
Andrew Vance
James Huston
Wm. Hughes
John Cooper
Danl. Johnson
Thos. Price

James Hugh
James Camp
Joseph Greenway
Wm. Wilson
Will Elimus
John Laman
James Legat
Henry Vanmeter
Jos. Vanmeter
Remembrance Williams
Edward Lucas
John Taylor
Rich. Hawkins
Joseph Wattbroke
John Vance
Ghink Doctor
John Dickson
Holloway Perry
Lawrence Landar
Joseph Polson
Wm. Frill
Robt. Buckus
Anthony Turner
John Magill
John Cook
John Duckworth
Anthony Dunlevy
Jesse Jackson

Source: Hening, Vol. 7.

FAIRFAX COUNTY, SEPTEMBER, 1758.

Captains.

Nich. Minor
James Hamilton
Josiah Clapham, Lieut.
Wm. Trammell, Ensign

Sergeants.

Chas. Martin
Jesse Martin
Francis Summers

Edward Hardin
John Donaldson
Wm. Calvin
Saml. Phillips
James Thomas
Wm. Darns
Joshua Meaks
John Wren
Wm. Shortridge
Saml. Jenkins
Saml. More
Rich. Pell
Wm. Bowling
Philip Merchant
Geo. Valendingham

Robt. Bowling
Isaac Hussey
Benj. Williams
Moses Howard
James Robinson
John Davis
Thos. Jenkins
Abraham Stiff
Joseph Adams
Joseph Bradley
Thos. Cartwright
Francis Awbrey
Joshua Claypole
Wm. O'Daniel
Thos. Saunders

Edward Rice
Wm. Cottrill
John Car
Simon Shoemaker
John Shore
Joseph Martin
Peter Wilson
Wm. Jackson
Wm. McCoy
Henry Townsend
Thos. Morgan
Thos. Ray
Wm. Massey
Franklin Perry
Geo. Shoemaker

Source: Hening, Vol. 7.

GOOCHLAND COUNTY, SEPTEMBER, 1758.

Chas. Lewis, Col,

Source: Hening, Vol. 7.

HALIFAX COUNTY, SEPTEMBER, 1758.

Abraham Maury, Col.

Captains.

Robt. Wooding
Peter Wilson
Robert Wade, Jr.
James Dillard
Thos. Callaway

Lieutenants.

Thos. Green
Thos. Spragin
James Dillard
Wm. Edwards

Ensigns.

Thos. Gallaway
Hugh Harris

Sergeants.

James Elkin
John Edwards

Privates.

Thos. Edwards
Edward Peregoy
John Lewis
Peter Manin
John Childers
Wm. Simmons
Huncrest Scarlock
John Wade
John Harris
John Rice
Thos. Norton
Thos. Fern
John Harris
John Rice
Thos. Norton
Thos. Fern
John Harris, Jr.
Benj. Croley

Rich. Moore
Arch. Thompson
John Blevins
Clement Lee
Wells Ward
Nath. Hendley
John Sturd
James Sturd
Wm. Blevins, Jr.
Josiah Cox
Ningum Prator
Nehemiah Prator
John Blevins, Sr.
Wm. Asher
John Garcer
Wm. Rickle
Joseph Morton
John Lindsey

Wm. Murfee
Geo. Young
John Sillivant
Wm. Seales
Danl. Durbin
Wm. Ratcliff
Silas Ratcliff
Wm. Satterwhite
John Frederick Pickle
Danl. Newman
James Blevins
John Talbot
Thos. Wollin
Pearce Gwin
Wm. Cox
Wm. Blevins
John Williams
Nath. Terry

Source: Hening, Vol. 7.

HANOVER COUNTY, SEPTEMBER, 1758.

Captains.

Christopher Hudson
Geo. Pitt

Source: Hening, Vol. 7.

HENRICO COUNTY, SEPTEMBER, 1758.

Thos. Mosely

Source: Hening, Vol. 7.

JAMES CITY COUNTY, SEPTEMBER, 1758.

Wm. Vaughan, Capt.

Source: Hening, Vol. 7.

FREDERICK COUNTY, 1759.

Luke Collins, Capt.
Rich. Pearis
Source: Hening, Vol. 8.

HALIFAX COUNTY, 1759.

Joshua Powell
Source: Hening, Vol. 8.

HALIFAX COUNTY, 1760.

Geo. Boyd, Lieut.
Source: Hening, Vol. 8.

HALIFAX COUNTY, 1763.

Robt. Wade, Capt.
John Link, Sergt.
Peter Rogers, Lieut.
James Lyon, Ensign
Henry Strugs, Sergt.

John Dean
Stephen Terry
Rich. Murfey
Joshua Jones
Jonathan Jones
John Bently
Wm. Follas
Wm. Bell
Rich. Condron
John Dyer
Elias Brock
Jacob Shepard
David Bolling
Berton Link
John Login
Thos. Hicks
Wm. Falling
John Hampton
Rich. Griffin, Jr.
John Smith
James Symms
Abram Whitter
Elisha Pierce
Edward Cason
Larkin Cason
John Jennings
John Salmon
James Page
Bryan Nowling
Frederick Edwards
Edward Morgan
Jacob Bouyiis
Wm. Robinson
Wm. Rosebury
John Ray
Joshua Smith
John Goff
Frederick Farmer
David Hamby
Jonathan Hamby
Rich. Turner

Source: Hening, Vol. 8.

KING AND QUEEN COUNTY, 1757.

John Richards
Source: Hening, Vol. 8.

LOUDOUN COUNTY, 1757.

Stephen Thatcher
Thomas Bond
Source: Hening, Vol. 8.

LOUDOUN COUNTY, 1763.

Capt. Moss
Lieut. Gore
Source: Hening, Vol. 8.

LUNENBURG COUNTY, 1758.

Bryan Lester
Source: Hening, Vol. 8.

NORFOLK COUNTY, 1758.

Henry Darnell
Source: Hening, Vol. 8.

PRINCE WILLIAM COUNTY, 1763.

Wm. Baylis
Source: Hening, Vol. 8.

Lord Dunmore's War, 1774.

Muster rolls of companies defending the frontier.

A list of Captain Daniel Smith's Company of Fincastle Militia.

Daniel Smith, Captain
William Bowen, Lieut.
John Kinckeid, Ensign
David Ward, Ensign

Privates.

Drury Pricket (Pucket)
Joseph Horne
James Scott
James Price
Saml. Dollarhide
Christian Bergman
David Kingkeid, Jr.
William Neale
Robert Donalson
James Kendrick
Thomas Mullin
Alden Williams
Charles ——
Robert Brown
James Smith
Archelaus Scott
Joseph Olverson
Samuel Vanhook
Burton Litton
Benj. Jones
Robert Griffin
Thomas Price
Richard Price
Wm. McFarland
John Courtney

Source: Draper MSS. (Undated List, 4XX61).

List of men contd. in a letter of Michael Woods to Col. William Preston.

Joseph Inglish
William Cliften
James Williams
Henry Walker
Richard Woods
Charles Atkins
Samuel Camble
Squire Gatleph
Richard Herd
George Scott
Francis Rowan
Robert Wiley, Snr.
Thomas Wiley
Samuel Astle
William Lesey
Jeremiah Cary
Joshua Inglish
Andrew Woods
Adam Clendenin
Adam Woods
Henry Atkins
Michael Woods
Wm. Cavanough, Snr.
John Umphres
John Nicklas
George Sobe
Peter Dingos
Robert Wiley, Jnr.
Thomas Haket
Ishmall Babit
Henry Oharron

Source: Draper MSS. (3QQ30).

List of men contd. in a letter from Thomas Burk to Col. Preston. May ye 30, 1774.

Henry Librough
Edward Hale
John Lucas
Charles Lucas, Jnr.
Philip Martin
George Martin, Jnr.
George Fry, Jnr.
Thomas Hale
William Lucas
Christy Martin
Willinton Adkins

Source: Draper MSS. (3QQ31).

A list of Robert Doack's Company of Militia, June 2, 1774.

John Stephens, Lieut.
Andrew Thompson, Ensign
William Ward, Serjeant
David Doack, Jnr.
John Pierce
William Meek, Serjeant
William Doack, Ensign
James Downy, Serjeant
Samuel Ewing

George Rucker
William Scails
Yenty Jackson
George Fuls
George Harmon
Adam Hansburger
John Breden
Robert Rains
Steven Washburn
Henry Owler
Richard Welsh
John Goodall
Michael Gurden
James Todd
Chesly Rogers
Zacarias Plunkepel
William Smith
John Fry
Joseph Butler
James Reary
Jacob Null

Source: Draper MSS. (2ZZ30).

A list of John Murray's Company of Volunteers from Botetourt. September 10th, 1774.

John Murray, Captain
Samuel Wallace, Lieut.
William Taylor, Sergeant
John Larken, Sergeant
Barney Boyls, Sergeant
Wm. McKee, Lieut.
Adam Wallace, Ensign
Moses Coiler, Sergeant
John Simpson, Sergeant

Hugh Logan
James Arnold
Stephen Arnold
William Moor
John Nelson
John Sedberry
William McCorkle
George Milwood
Andrew Evins
Joseph McBride
Thomas Nail
John Lapsly
James Walker
Ezekiel Kennedy
John Jones
John Moor
William Simpson
Thomas McClure
John McClure
Peter Kasheday
Robert Wallace
Thomas Peary
John Grigs
George Cummins
John Eager
Hugh Logan
James Neely
Peter Higans
William Bradly
William Brown
John Barkly
Isaac Trimble
William Johns
James Bambrige
John Gilmor
James Hall
James Crawley
Daniel Blair
Thomas Burny
Daniel Simkins
William Lyons
James Simkins
Nicholas Mooney
Solomon Brundige
Stephen Harris
Daniel Fullin
David Wallace
Moses Whitby
James Gilmor
James Cunningham
John Kelsey
Hugh Moor
Joseph Gibson
William Cochran
James Logan
John Logan
Thomas Hedden
Prisley Gill
John Coiler
Johnathan Watson
William Neely
John Milican
William Connor
John McGee
James McCalister
Andrew Wallace
Peter McNeil
Andrew Alden
John Murray

Source: Draper MSS. (2ZZ32,33).

A Roll of Capt. Philip Love's Company of Volunteers.

There are two lists of the company of Capt. Philip Love. The second, dated Oct. 7th, contains but one additional name—James Neeley, Cadet.

Sept. 10th, 1774.

Phi. Love, Capt.
John Mills, Ensign
Francis McElhaney, Quarter M. S.
James Alexander, Sergeant
Robert Owen
Sam. Andrews
William Scott
Daniel McNiell, Lieut.
Wm. Ewing, Sergt. Major
Sieltor Taylor, Sergeant
John Craford, Sergeant
Thomas Welch
Thos. Welch, Jnr.
Patrick Conner
John Buchanan
Charles Davis, Batman
Wm. Franklin

Sam. Mt. Gumry (Montgomery)
William Teasy
John Dodd
Thos. Perce
Thos. Armstrong
John Dunn
Charles Byrne
Thomas Gilberts
Abraham Demonse
Will Hooper
Sam Savage
Joseph Pain
Will Armstrong
Daniel McDonald
James Simson
Thomas Brown
James Neeley
Abraham Moon, Batman to Colo. Lewis
George Craig, Batman to Colo. Lewis
Richd. Willson, Carpenter
Robt. Smith, Batman
James Franklin
Wm. Hanson
James McDonald
Richard Collins
James M. Guillin
John McGinness
Griffin Harriss
John Jones, Cadet
John Markes
John Robinson, Batman
John Todd, Cadet
Daniel Ormsbey, Batman

Source: Draper MSS. (2ZZ32,33).

A list of Capt. John Lewis' Company of Volunteers from Botetourt.

The Draper MSS. contains two lists of this company. The difference is in the last seven names, which have been transferred from the second list, while the alternative spelling of names is derived from the same source.

John Henderson, Lieut.
Samuel Glass, Sergeant
Peter Huff, Sergeant
Samuel Estil, Sergeant
Thomas Alsbury, Drum
Robert Alliet (Eliott) Ins.
William Bryans, Sergeant
William Wilson, Sergeant
John Donally, Fife

Privates.

John Swoop
Alexander Kelley
Edward Egins
James Ellison
John Deniston
James Stuart
John Savage
Christopher Welsh
James Crawley (Croley)
James Dulin
Isaac Fisher
Peter Ellenburgh
Andrew Kissinger
Samuel Barton
William Clifton
Joseph Love
Leonard Huff
Samuel Croley
William Isum
Isaac Taylor
Martin Carney
Peter Hendrix
John Hundley
Thomas Huff
Thomas Edger
Molastin Peregin
James McNitt
Nathan Farmer
John Carpender
Adam Caperton
Mathew Creed
James Charlton
Mathew Polug
Thomas Kanady (Canady)
William Jones
Richard Packwood
John Arthur
William Robison
Samuel Huff
Edward Wilson
Robert Boyd
John Reburn
Isaac Nickels
Philip Hammon
James Burtchfield
Solomon White
Thomas Carpender
Solomon Carpender
Jeremiah Carpender
David Cook
John Boughman
Jacob Boughman
Robert Bowles
James Burnsides
Dennis Nail
Henry Howard
Walter Holwell
Samuel Burcks
Gabriel Smithers
Thomas Burnes
Hugh Caperton

2nd List.

Matt. Jewitt
William Boniface
Henry Boyer
William Man
Adman Cornwell
Robert Davis
Mathias Kisinger

Source: Draper MSS. (2ZZ27, 28).

Michael Scully
William Johnston
Abner Hazlip
William Coleman
Thomas Kitson
Peter Effluck
Duncan Farguson
Thomas Chaddwick
John Ramsay
Andrew Fowler
John Meares
Matthew Levison
William Underhill
Thomas Harris

Wounded.

Robert Jones
James Heyter
Mathew Durham
Joshua Burton
Argil House
David Gorman
Robert Elliot
Samuel Hyden
John Chapman
Edward Goodwin
James Ford
Dudley Skinner

Lame on the Road.

Joseph Scott
Marshall Pratt
William Dean
James Letort
Dominick Moran

Left with the Wounded.

Andrew Clark
John Stephens

Sick in the Camp.

Philip Gatewood

Return made to William Bronough

Source: Force MSS., Library of Congress.

Return of Captain Lewis's Company, July 9, 1754.

Men Fit for Duty.

John Whitman
John Smith
William Harbinson
Robert Grymes
John Poor
William Poor
Michael McCannon
John Maston
John Biddlecome
Thomas Pearson
Edward Bailey
John Powers
James Ferguson
Jabez Rowe
John Mulholand
Patrick Coyle
John Smith
John Rodgers
Mathew Jones
Joseph Baxter
James Ludlow
Thomas Foster
Thomas Burney
John Burk
Cornelius Henley
William Cranes
Tarance Swinney
James Smith
John Field

Wounded.

Captain Lewis
Lieutenant Savage
John McCulley
James Fulham
John Rodgers
Thomas Bird
Edward Cahell
Arthur Watts
Nehemiah Tendell
John Durham
Thomas Nicholson
Nathan Chapman
Philip Comerly
George McSwine

Killed in Battle.

Thomas Scott
Gerrett Clark
John Ramsay

Left with the Sick.

Josias Baker
Thomas Stedman
Robert Murphy
James Tytus
John McEntire
Bethow. Burns
Patrick McPick
John Truston
Daniel Malatte
James McCormack

Source: Force MSS., Library of Congress.

A list of Captain Van Braam's Company, July 9, 1754.

Killed.

John Robinson
William Simmons
William Bailey

Wounded.

John Hamilton (Sergeant)
Rudol. Brickner (Sergeant)
Wile Johnston
George Taylor
John Potter
Joseph Powell
Dernsey Simmons

Sick in Camp.

William Gerrard

Sick on the Road.

Robert Bell
George Merharren
Richard Bolton

On Command.

Thomas Dunahough
Michael Franks

Absent.

William Knowls
James Black
John Brown
Nicholas Major
Godfrey Bombgarden

Men Fit for Duty.

Thomas Carter (Sergeant)
John Allen (Corporal)
Esechial Richardson (Drummer)
Christopher Byarly
William Mitchell
John Stewart
John McGuire
Charles Allbury
Francis Self
John Johnston
John Campbell ✓
Edward King
✓ Charles Dunn
Patrick Galloway
Jacob Funkhowser
Barnard Draxeller
George Gobell
William Carter
John Thomson
Thomas Hennessy
Francis Rogers
John Coin
Edward Whitehead
Hugh Paul
Angus McDonald
Arthur Howard
Mathias Sharp
Edward Minor
Benjamin Spiser

Per John Mercer, Ensign.

Source: Force MSS., Library of Congress.

A return of Captain Mercer's Company, July 9, 1754. ✓

Fit for Duty.

James Tyrrel
John Boyd
William Field
John Ferguson
Christopher Bombgardner
Claude Dallowe

Thomas Burk
Thomas Burris
John Clements
Timothy Conway
James Daly
Claud Dallowe
Mark Hollis, Serjeant
Adam Leonard
William Lowrey
William McIntire
Hugh McKoy
Mathew Stanard
Hugh Stone
James Tyrrall, Serjeant
Michael Walker
Philip Walters

LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE VIRGINIA REGIMENT CONTAINED IN THE JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN CHARLES LEWIS.

Expedition Against the French Oct. 10—Dec. 27, 1755.

The Hon. Geo. Washington
Lt. Col. Adam Stevens
Major Andrew Lewis.

Captains.

Peter Hogg
Geo. Mercer
Thos. Waggoner
Robt. Stewart
Thos. Cock
Jno. Savage
Wm. Branough
John Mercer
Joshua Lewis
Hy. Woodward
Robt. Spotswood
Carter Harrison
Charles Lewis
Wm. Peachy
David Bell
Robert McKenzie

Lieutenants.

John McNiel
Wm. Stark
Thos. Bullett
Walter Stewart
John Blagg
Hancock Eustice
Geo. Frazer
John Edward Lomax
Peter Steenburger
Jno. Williams
Augustine Brockenborough
Jno. Campbell
John Hall
John Lowry
John King
James Baker

Ensigns.

Mordecai Buckner
John Polson
Wm. Dangerfield
Edwd. Hubbard
Jno. Dean
Nathl. Milner
Wm. Flemming
Leonard Price
Nathl. Thompson
Thos. Carter
Charles Smith
Lee Hussis Dekizer
Geo. Gordon
Geo. Weeden

Source: Va. Hist. Coll.; Vol. XI, p. 213.

VIRGINIA OFFICERS AT BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT, 1755.

(K. Killed). (W. Wounded).

Captain Stevens (W)
Captain Peyronie
Captain Waggoner
Captain Polson (K)
Captain Stewart
Lieut. Hamilton (K)
Lieut. Woodward
Lieut. Wright (K)
Lieut. Spiltdorph (K)
Lieut. Stewart (W)
Lieut. Waggener (K)
Lieut. McNeill

Source: Gentlemen's Magazine, Aug., 1755.

To Geo. Washington, Esq., Col. of the Va. Regt. and Commander of all the Va. Forces:

The humble Address of the officers of the Va. Regt. (Signed).

Geo. Weedon
Hy. Russell
Jno. Lawson
Geo. Speak
Wm. Woodford
Jno. McCully
Jno. Sallard
W. Hughes
Walt. Cunningham
Wm. Cocke
David Kennedy
Jas. Craik, Surgeon
James Duncanson
Jas. Roy
Robt. Stewart
Jno. McNeill
H. Woodward
Robt. McKenzie
Thos. Bullitt
Jno. Blagg
Natha. Gist
Mord. Buckner
Wm. Dangerfield
Wm. Fleming
Leonard Price
Nathl. Thompson
Chas. Smith

Fort Loudoun, Dec. 31, 1758.

An address on his retirement as Commander of the Va. troops, 27 Dec. 1758.

Source: Records of Columbia Hist. Soc., Vol. I, p. 24.

ORDER BOOK—1774-1782.

The following proved their right to bounty lands granted by His Majesty the King to soldiers serving in defense of the Colony 1755 to 1760, etc.:

Thomas Collins, Decd., Sergt. and Capt. in Capt. Charles Lewis' company of a Virginia Regiment on the frontier, 1755; proved at a Court held for Spots. County, Sept. 16, 1779.

Richard Johnston, Lieutenant in Col. William Byrd's Regiment in Cherokee Expedition in 1760.

Edward Ludwick (Ludwig or Ledwedge) served as a soldier in 1st Virginia Regiment, raised for the immediate defense of the Colony in 1756.

James Richards, served as a soldier in 1st Virginia Regiment, raised for immediate defense of the Colony in 1760.

Ezekiel Richardson served as Drum Major 1st Virginia Regiment, raised for immediate defense of the Colony, in 1758, also served as Drum Major in Regiment under command of Col. Adam Stephen in the year 1760.

Stephen Spicer, served as a soldier in the year 1758.

The above proved their services at a Court held for Spots. County, Apr. 21, 1780.

George Stubblefield, Gent., served as a Cadet in the year 1762, in Regiment under the command of Adam Stephen.

Proved at a Court held for Spots. County, June 15, 1780.

At a Court held for Spots. County, February, 1780, the following proved their services in the Militia of the Colony, 1755 to 1760, raised for the immediate defense thereof:

Edward Foley served as a soldier in 1st Va. Regiment.
Edward Sutton, soldier.
William Ross, soldier.
Charles —— as Sergt.
William Tins —— as soldier.
William Lampton as soldier.
Daniel Simpson as Corp.
Edward Gold —— as Ensign in Col. Byrd's Regiment.

Nathaniel Gest (or Gist) deposeth and saith that he served in the office of Lieut. in Capt. Christopher Gest's company, raised in 1756, and served until the company was —— and also as a Captain in Col. George Washington's 1st Va. Regiment, raised in 1756, ——— continued as Captain until it was disbanded.

Nathaniel Gest, son and heir of Christopher Gest, decd., deposeth and saith that the said Christopher Gest was Captain of a Company of Rangers, raised in 1756, for defense of the frontier, and served until the said company was discharged in 1756.

Genl. George Weeden served as a Capt.-Lieut. in 1st Va. Regiment; also served as Captain in Col. Adam Stephen's Regiment.

Larkin Chew served as Ensign in Col. William Byrd's 2nd Va. Regiment, raised in 1758; served until disbanded, and also served in 1st Va. Regiment as a Lieut., at that time under command of Col. Byrd, served therein until it was disbanded. Afterwards entered regiment commanded by Col. Adam Stephen and served as Lieutenant until it was disbanded.

William Dangerfield served as Captain in 1st Va. Regiment till disbanded, afterwards in regiment commanded by Col. Adam Stephen.

Richard Halbe——, soldier in Col. Byrd's and Col. Stephen's regiments.
Robert Saunders, Corp. in Frontier Battalion,
James Gimb——, as soldier in Col. Byrd's regiment.
John Conner as soldier in Col. Stephen's regiment.
Richard Br——, Serg. in Col. Byrd's Regiment, 1758.
Ludowick Oneal, as soldier in Col. Byrd's Regiment, 1758.
Joseph ——, Serg. 2nd Va. Regiment in 1758.
Richard F. A——, as soldier.
Francis ——, as soldier.
William Tur ——, as soldier in Byrd's Regiment.
Richard Reynolds, soldier in Byrd's Regiment.
Benjamin Turner, decd., soldier in Byrd's Regiment.

Joseph Bledsoe, Serg. in —— Va. Regiment, also served as Ensign in the ——er Battalion.

Walter H. Mohr (1933)
(1888-)

boundary between the territory of the whites and the natives. Even before the plan for an official boundary had been decided upon, Stuart had agreed upon a line to be drawn between Georgia and the southern Indians. By 1767 this line had been extended back of all the colonies except Virginia. The Virginia boundary was settled at the treaty of Hard Labor on October 14, 1768. On February 25, 1773, Stuart submitted a map of the line drawn between the territories of the various colonies and the Indians in the southern district.[25]

(2)

In the north, Sir William Johnson at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, November 5, 1768, located the boundary for his district.[26] At this treaty the Iroquois insisted upon ceding their claims south of the Ohio as far as the mouth of the Tennessee. This, of course, aroused Virginia to insist on a cession from the Cherokees west of the original line, which reached the Ohio at the mouth of the Kanawha. Stuart secured the ratification of a new boundary, which, when it was surveyed, whether intentionally or through an error extended Virginia's Indian boundary to the Kentucky River.[27]

The drawing of this boundary established a definite Indian territory. The chief problem now was to prevent encroachments on the tribal lands. The imperial government had weakened the only possible machinery for preventing intrusions, when the powers of the Indian department were reduced. Leaving the protection of the reserved lands to the individual colonies could result in only one thing—a life-and-death struggle between the natives and frontiersmen.

✓ [25] Public Record Office, Colonial Office Papers, Class 5, LXXIV, 19. ✓ These papers were used in the form of transcripts in the Library of Congress. (Hereafter will be referred to as C. O. 5.)

[26] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, VIII, 112. The map of the northern boundary as copied from the original in Sir William Johnson's letter to Hillsborough is in *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, VIII, 136. See also map of the Indian boundary as prepared by David Matteson in E. M. Avery, *History of the United States*, V, 285.

[27] C. W. Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, II, 85, note 138.

Get LXXIV—19, 42, 69
LXXV — 13, 28
24

The difficulties of the imperial government in formulating a western policy are described in a recent work on the War for Independence as follows:

"A score of clashing interests would buffet any government that tried to compose them. Land speculators and fur traders, philanthropic friends of the 'noble red men' and cynical imperialists eager to take up the 'white man's burden' would shout their conflicting arguments. Colonies with western claims and those without, statesmen of the old school and their opponents of the new school in colonial affairs, military men with opposing theories as to methods of control, all would demand a hearing and be content with no solution but their own. Greatest danger of all would be in the oppugnancy of imperial rights to colonial rights of domain."[28]

~~It has been pointed out in a recent study that~~ the British government was inconsistent in its land policy. It sanctioned the Vandalia project, which was contrary to the principles of the Proclamation of 1763, and also permitted the purchase of lands as compensation for debts owed by the Indians to traders.[29]

(1)

Meanwhile land companies and individuals were striving to secure control of the Indian territories. Such projects as the Mississippi land company, the two colonies proposed by General Charles Lee, the plan of Governor Franklin, Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan for the purchase of the lands of the French in Illinois, all concerned themselves with land in the Northwest.[30] In the Southwest hardy frontiersmen considered it preposterous that the royal government should in any way hinder them in their desire for the unoccupied western lands.

After a preliminary order which appeared to stop temporarily all grants, on February 3, 1774, a new plan for granting lands was announced. This provided for the survey of all

Recess

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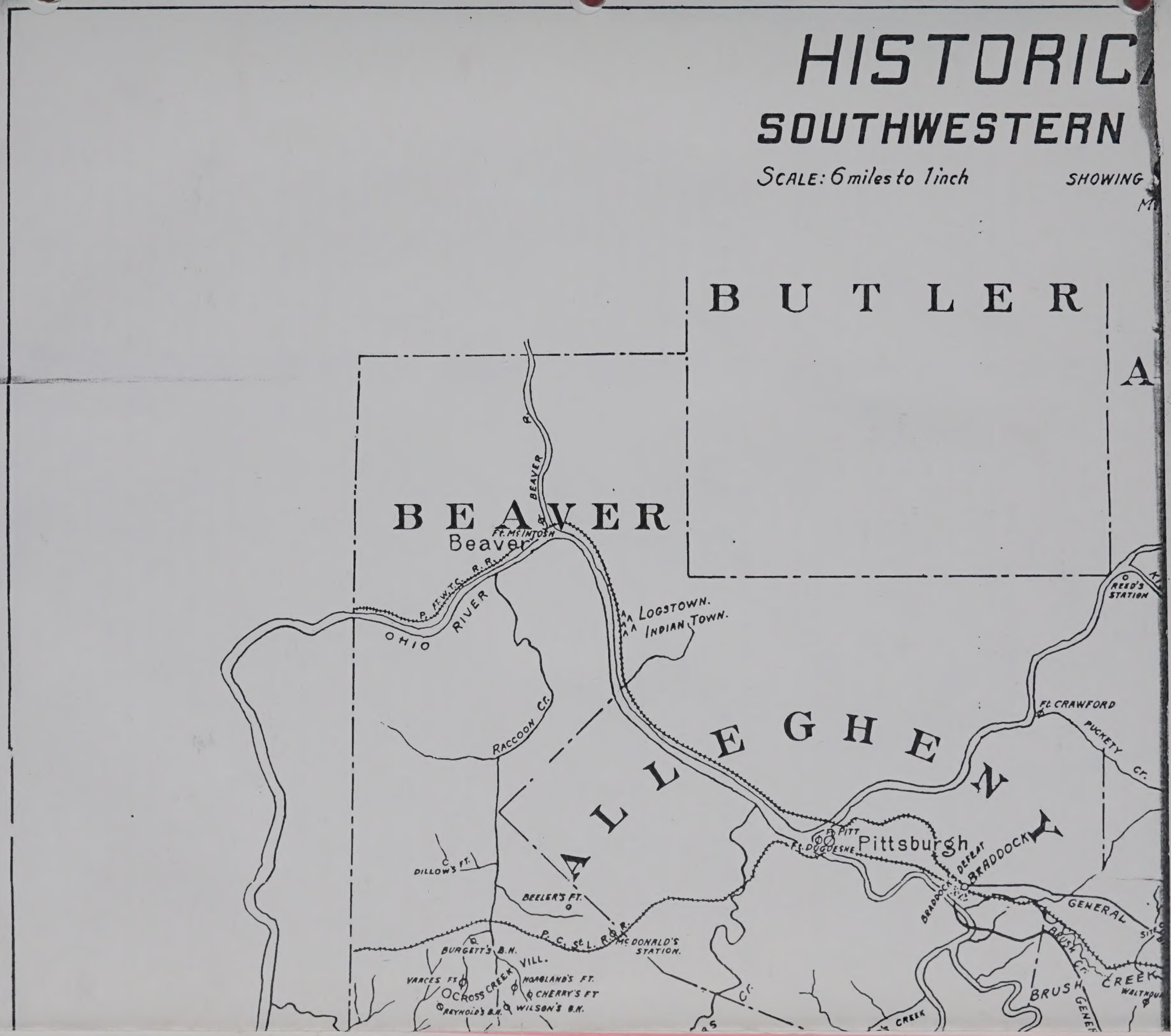
[28] C. H. Van Tyne, *Causes of the War of Independence*, 110-11.

✓ [29] St. George L. Sioussat, *The Breakdown of the Royal Management of Lands in the Southern Provinces, 1773-75*, 84.

[30] C. E. Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 1763-1774*, VI.



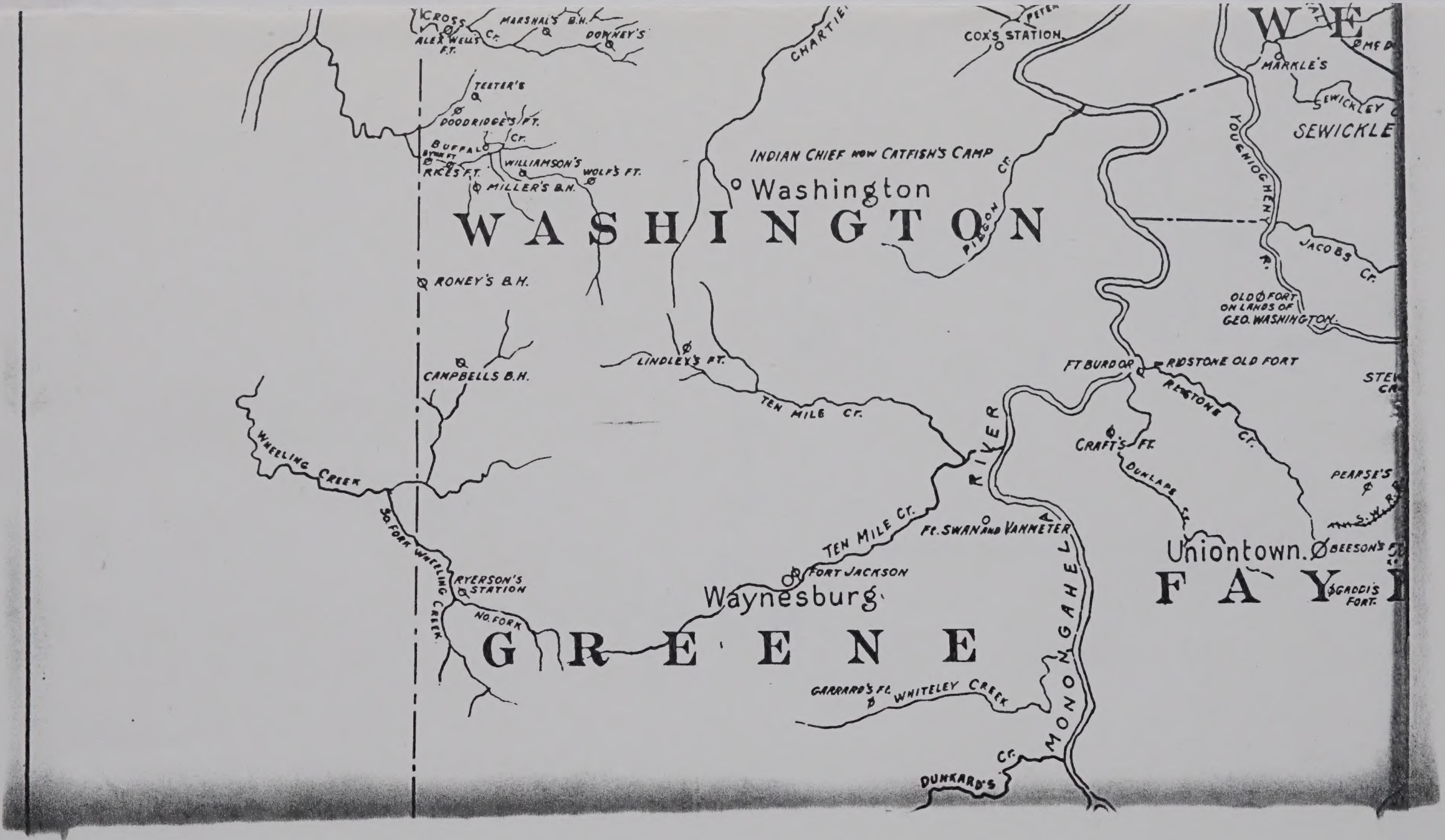
HISTORIC

SOUTHWESTERN

SCALE: 6 miles to 1 inch

SHOWING

BUTLER
BEAVER
ALLEGHENY
Beaver
Ft. McIntosh
BEAVER R.
P. Ft. W. & C. R. R.
OHIO RIVER
Logstown.
Indian Town.
Raccoon Cr.
Reed's Station
Ft. Crawford
Puckety Cr.
Ft. Pitt
Ft. Duquesne
Pittsburgh
Braddock's Defeat
Braddock
Braddock's
General
Brush Cr.
Brush Creek
Brush
Walthour
Dillow's Ft.
Beeler's Ft.
P. C. & St. L. R. R.
McDonald's Station.
Burgett's B.H.
Cross Creek Vill.
Vances Ft.
Hoagland's Ft.
Cherry's Ft.
Wilson's B.H.
Reynold's B.H.
Creek


CROSS
ALEX WELLS F.T.
Cr.
MARSHAL'S B.H.
DOWNEY'S
TEETER'S
DOODRIDGE'S FT.
BUFFALO
Cr.
RIKES FT.
WILLIAMSON'S
WOLF'S FT.
MILLER'S B.H.
WASHINGTON
RONEY'S B.H.
CAMPBELLS B.H.
WHEELING CREEK
SO. FORK WHEELING CREEK
RYERSON'S STATION
NO. FORK
CHARTIERS
COX'S STATION
INDIAN CHIEF NOW CATFISH'S CAMP
Washington
PIGEON CR.
LINDLEY'S FT.
TEN MILE CR.
TEN MILE CR.
FORT JACKSON
Waynesburg
GREENE
GARRARD'S FT.
WHITELEY CREEK
DUNKARD'S CR.
FT. SWAN AND VANMETER
RIVER
MONONGAHELA
FT BURD OR
REDSTONE OLD FORT
REDSTONE CR.
CRAFT'S FT.
DUNLAPS CR.
Uniontown
BEESON'S
PEARSE'S
GADDIS FORT
FAY
YOUGHIOGHENY R.
JACOBS CR.
OLD FORT ON LANDS OF GEO. WASHINGTON
MARKLE'S
SEWICKLEY
SEWICKLE
WE

History of Wythe County Virginia adds more information about Duncard settlement on New River. These quotes show that the Macks settled much further west than some companions. Col. James Patton sold land all the way from Forks of Roanoke to Forks of Holston. His 100,000-acre gramt was unusual in that the lands did not have to be contiguous. George Pearis Jr.'s brother-in-law, next-door neighbor William Pepper, was captured by Shawnees and never seen again, about the same time Col. Patton was murdered by them.

Following the placation of the Iroquois, Patton appeared before the Governor's Council in October 1743, petitioning for lands on the waters of the Mississippi.[19] It was of the utmost importance to clear Pg 16 the way for settlement on the Western Waters; in the spring of 1744, representatives of the colonies of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania met at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, with representatives of the Six Nations. Colonel James Patton was an unofficial participant.[20]

During his stay in the Lancaster area, it must be assumed that Patton spread the word about the availability of land in Virginia, and about his expectations for the grant on the Western Waters. It was no coincidence that the Ephrata Brethren settled on the New River in present Pulaski County the following year, for Patton and others had visited the Ephrata Cloister. In Lancaster County, the choice lands had already been taken, and the Scotch-Irish, Germans, and Swiss were ready to look elsewhere for settlement; many of the early pioneers on the Western Waters came directly from Pennsylvania.[21]

There is no way to tell who was the first person to settle in what is now Wythe County. The best Pg 17 evidence we have is from John Buchanan's journal, the land records, and other records of the time.

John Buchanan left home north of present Lexington on October 4, 1745, to make his trip to the New River on behalf of the company. On October 15, he visited Israel Lorton on Tom's Creek near present Blacksburg. He then proceeded to Back Creek in what is now Pulaski County, where he spent the night. On October 17, Buchanan visited at Mack's cabin, where he engaged in a lengthy conversation with the Ephrata Brethren (Dunkards or Sabbatarians). This entry in his diary is generally believed to refer to William Mack for whom Max (sometimes Macks) Meadows was named. When Buchanan arrived and found that Mack had died, he took upon himself the arrangements for the appraisal of Mack's estate. The appraisal was to be carried out by Adam and Jacob Harman who were in the area. Buchanan arranged with one of the "long beards," or Ephrata Brethren, to look after the crop, and with Phineas Griffith to handle other matters.[26]

William Mack's cabin is generally believed to have been located in what was to become Max Meadows in the eastern end of Wythe County. The exact location is not known because there is no record to indicate Mack took up land prior to his death. The Mack cabin was believed to be the most western location visited by Buchanan on this trip, tending to indicate that there were no settlements west of this point. The diary does not name any of the others who were present at Mack's cabin, so there is no way to determine who might have been in Wythe County before Buchanan's arrival. However, a recent discovery of a record of a land entry made on October 18 of the same year by James Patton for John Buchanan for land on Reed Creek shows that the Calhouns were already in the area and that they had selected a tract of land fifteen miles to the west.[27] This is the earliest record found for the Calhouns, ancestors and relatives of John C. Calhoun of South Carolina fame. Their names appear in other records about a year later, in October 1746 (see below).

In May and June of 1755, the Indians made another attack on the westernmost settlements on th
Pg 26 Holston River killing five, wounding one and taking two prisoners. On July 3, James McFarland, Joh
Bingeman, Mrs. Bingeman, and Adam Bingeman were killed, probably near Austinville in what is no
Wythe County, where Bingemans Branch and Bingemans Bottom are mentioned. At the Dunkard Botto
settlement, Henry Zin [Zinn] was killed. Others on New River who suffered at the hands of the India
were John Cook, Nathaniel Welshire, "Dutch Jacob" and wife, Frederick Stern, Mrs. Bingeman, Jr
Mrs. Davies, and Isaac Freeland, his wife and five children. On July 12, Lieutenant Wright and tw
unnamed soldiers at Reed Creek were killed. The final blow for the New River settlers came at Drape
Meadows [Blacksburg] where Colonel James Patton, Casper Barrier, Mrs. Draper and a child were kille
and Mary Ingles and others were taken prisoners.[8]

Annals of Augusta Co

-Weddell

the display of their antics, and then went on their way homeward as far as the Middle river, where they lodged in Anderson's barn. As soon as they were sound asleep the whites were upon them with their axes, knives and guns. Only one escaped. For that night's doings many Virginia wives were made widows, and mothers childless. The government of Virginia endeavored to punish the perpetrators. All fled to some distant part of the extended frontier of the colonies, except one by the name of King, who lived a skulking life for a long time, always keeping his gun near him. He sometimes would go to the old Augusta church, the great assembling place for worship of the Scotch-Irish of that part of the country, where, seated upon the sill of the door with his inseparable companion, the rifle, in his hand, he listened to the words of the preacher, so necessary to the comfort of the Irish spirit, whether Protestant or Catholic. He was suffered to work out his own punishment, avoiding all men, and avoided by all."

We presume this story is substantially true as related. Governor Gilmer's mother being a daughter of Thomas Lewis, the surveyor and burgess, the facts had to pass through only one or two hands to reach him. We, however, think it probable that the occurrence took place a year or two earlier than the time mentioned; and we find no evidence in the proceedings of the County Court, or the voluminous correspondence of Governor Dinwiddie, of any effort to bring the perpetrators of the outrage to punishment.

Governor Dinwiddie, wisely or unwisely, precipitated the war between the English and French in America. After it began he threw himself into the fray with great ardor. He was indefatigable in recruiting troops, calling for help from neighboring colonies and England, writing letters, and scolding and blustering. He rivaled Horace Walpole, one of his correspondents, in the number, if not in the elegance, of his epistles. His voluminous correspondence, published by the Virginia Historical Society, and edited by R. A. Brock, secretary, etc., is full of interest to those who have a taste for such literature. He was too much pressed for time and space to write his words in full, and often it is difficult to read his productions. He set the rules of grammar and spelling at defiance—especially when in a passion he rebuked a military officer, or abused the savages. The latter suffered terribly at his hands, being denounced as "wicked murderers," "insatiate cowards," "villainous," "banditti," "infidels," "vermin." He was economical to the extent of parsimony, demanding an account of every pound of powder or lead he issued to the troops. Without military training or experience he planned campaigns, and undertook to instruct George Washington and Andrew Lewis how to fight the Indians. He was punctilious in etiquette, and informed Washington: "The method that you are to declare war is at the head of your companies, with three vollies of small arms for his Majesty's health and a successful war."

Many of the Governor's letters were addressed to Augusta men, and others relating to events taking place here. We shall refer to some of them.

Writing to the Lords of Trade, July 24, 1754, Governor Dinwiddie gives a highly exaggerated account of the casualties at Fort Necessity. He reports the number of the enemy killed as three hundred, and "of our people," thirty.

He set to work energetically to repair the disaster and to organize another expedition to the Ohio. By his order, Fort Cumberland was built at Wills's creek where the city of Cumberland, Maryland, now stands, and Colonel James Innes was put in command of it. This gentleman was born in Scotland, but came to Virginia with some troops from North Carolina. He was a favorite with the Governor, who addressed him in one of his letters as "Dear James." Notwithstanding "the intolerable obstinacy of our neighboring colonies," as Governor Dinwiddie expressed it, North Carolina had sent some troops. One of the companies, commanded by Captain Bryan, on their march towards Cumberland on the 27th of July, "mutinied at Augusta Court-house," says the Governor, "and would march no further till a friend of mine advanced £40." Innes was expected to proceed across the Alleghanies and assail the French, and Washington, then a colonel, was to co-operate. Andrew Lewis was a captain in Washington's regiment, having been commissioned March 18, 1754.

Richard Pearis, whose name is also witten Parris, or Paris, was located on Holston River, Augusta county, in 1754, in order to trade with the Cherokees and other southern Indians. The Governor utilized him as far as possible. Some Indian depredations had occurred in that quarter, and the Governor writes to Pearis August 2d, "I am surprised the inhabitants on Holstein river should submit to be robbed by a few Indians." He sends his thanks to a certain Chickasaw warrior for "resenting the murder of one of our people." "Let the Chicksaw know that I greatly approve of his conduct, and have a real esteem for him." He wishes to know whether "the Emperor," or "Old Hop" is the head man of the Cherokees. He exhorts Pearis to stir up the Indians to prevent the building of forts by the French in

(pp 59/60 and in Pearis Family story.)

Early Adventurers on the Western Waters — Mary B. Kegley

Samuel Scott	40, 94
Thomas Stern	91
Frederick Stern	238, 176
Michael Stump, grant 1806 to William Brown	197
Jacob Smelzer (Smelser) grant 1972 to George Hancock	139
John Scott	163
Francis Scott	252
John Swen (Seveir?)	200
Samuel Simpson, grant 1816 to James Brander	140
David Snodgrass	690
William Samfiles (Samples?)	85
Jonas Smith, grant 1803 to him	270
Robert Snodgrass	200
James Sproul (Sprant?)	220
Thomas Sharp	580
James Steel	342
George Steel	94
Robert Steel	386
Joseph Snodgrass	390
David Steel	290
Robert Trimble	220
Robert Tate, grant to him 1804	174
John Tate, grant to him 1803	145
Henry Twiney	340
George Teeter	60
Roger Topp	400
James Thompson, grant 1790 to George Keasler	190
Alexander Thompson	190
Jacob Tobler, grant 1800 to him	79
Reubin Thomas	100
James Trueman (Turman)	69
Edmund Trueman (Turman)	104
John Taylor	90
Stephen Trigg	73
Mary Thompson (108 in survey)	100
Joseph Underwood	203, 274
Henry Vice, grant 1803 to him	329
John Vaught, grant Joseph Williams 1806	398
Alexander Vance, grant 1803 to William Poston	192
William Vaughan	80
James Ward	211
James Wallen (Wallin)	180
James Ward, grant 1795 to Joseph Couch	70
Nathan Ward, grant 1802 to him	160
Michael Weaver	376
Michael Wampler, grant 1799 to Michael Castle	116
Samuel Woodpin, grant 1795 to Nicholas Dougherty	130
Zachariah Wells, grant 1800 William Hash, Senr.	52
Robert Willey	80
Benjamin Watson	184
Michael Walters	160
Wells (Wills) Ward, grant to Nathan Ward, 1810	196
Francis Whitney	220
Robert Williams	125
John Walker	98
Jonathan Wood, grant 1799 to Andrew Kincannon	160
Jonath. Wood grant 1804 to Jonathan Wood	185
William Williams	280
Michael Wampler	270
Samuel White	45

John Waghill (Wagaill, Wygal) grant 1805 to him	91
Richard Whit (Whitt, White) grant to Moses Harrison and others 1808	205
William Whitley	142
Henry Waggoner, grant 1790 to M. Kimberlane	87
John Williams	134
Thomas Westrey (Woolsey)	612
Henry Waggoner, grant 1798 to him	471
Henry Waggoner, grant 1800 to Samuel Fullen	91
Loyal Company, grant 1800 to George C. Taylor	52
Ezekiel Young, grant 1792 to him	84
Samuel Adams	135
David Adams	56
John Brenton (Burton)	45
Richard Becket	160
William Bell	90
Simon Casherty	155
John Caperton	98
Alexander Clarke	235
John Cantley	500
Samuel Caldwell	265
Valentine Cook	650
James Campbell	280
Adam Caperton	263
James Currey, grant 1790 to Philip Williams	178
Stephen Cook, grant 1787 James Burnsides	150
Olive and Elizabeth Clair	97
William Curry, grant 1794 to George C. Taylor	224
Henry Daweese (Dureese)	145
Griffith Dickenson	710, 700
Cornelius Davies (Dowese), grant to William Dowese, in 1789	118
Wallace Estell (Estill)	190
James Estell (Estill)	700
William Inglis	130
Charles English	186, 27
Robert Estill	800
James Ellison	82
John Estell (Estill)	125
Francis Eason, grant 1793 to Samuel Eason	182
Bond Estell (Estill)	363
Abraham Friend	95
David Frame	235
David Fraser	135
James Fitzpatrick, grant 1785 to him	187
John Geneson (Gemeson, Jamison?)	50
Jacob Graham	390
George Griffith, grant 1795 to Daniel Conner	245
Jonathan Graham, grant 1799 to him	390
Thomas Griffith	130
Dennis Getty (Gitty), grant to Alexander Smith, 1795	314
Thomas Goodson, grant 1790	481
James Harbison	73
Benjamin Howell, grant 1795 to Alexr Sutherland	85
James Henley (Hanley)	200
John Henderson	195
John Hungate	420
Evan Haney (Harry)	225
John Hale, grant 1803 to George Sowers	100
Charles Hungate, grant 1799 to Peter Howard	260
William Hutchison (Hutchinson)	500
William Holley, grant 1792 to Christian Richards	329

John Herbison, grant 1804 to Nathan Eakin	145
Benjamin Howell	354
Geo. Hairstone (Harristone)	200
Arthur Handley	550
William Hamm (Ham)	90
John Handley	284
James Henderson	413
Joshua Howell, grant 1790 to him	356
Arthur Herbison, grant 1788 to John Hawkins	67
John Jones	79
James Idding (Iddings), grant 1800 to Iddings	215
Seth Johnson (Johnstone)	236
John Jackson, grant 1797 to William Eakin	177
William Kenny	242
[Arthur] Archibald Kyle, grant 1803 to John Sarvar	200
William Kerr	85
John Kincaide	168
Edward Keenan	140
William Lyeance	112
Andrew Lykins, grant 1816 to Jacob Sowder	181
Steel Lafferty	567
William Lafferty	244
Benjamin Light	114
James McCann	112
Robert McAfee, grant John Wabb 1794	99
John McCann	38
Robert McAfee, grant 1794 to John Wabb	49
Christopher Martin	115
William McAfee	95
Joshua Morris, grant 1797 to Samuel Eason	197
William Meek	395
William McGuire	58
Cornelius McGuire	310
Joseph Mays	230
Samuel McChesney	317
Cornelius McGuire	53
Hercules Ogle, grant 1790 to him	370
Elisha Pepper	115
George Patterson	249
Edward Parsons	170
John Plumley, grant 1803 to David Moore	140

John Patterson	128
John Robinson	125
Jacob Rife	131
Benjamin Richardson, grant to Joshua Howell, 1793	183
Benjamin Richardson	147, 280
Richard Ranish (Ranels)	380
James Richardson	220
John Rentfro, grant 1795 to Benjamin Turman	485
Richard Reynolds	187
Christopher Richards, grant 1792 Christian Richards	146
Michael Raney	120
James Smith	122
Thomas Scott	295
John Spurlock	121
Charles Simmens (Simmons)	110
Timothy Sullivan	171
James Simpson	316
George Smith, grant 1803 to John Reynolds	130
Michael Shirley	527
Jeremiah Tilford, grant 1794 to George Taylor	58
William Scruggs, see Jeremiah Parker's survey	
William Thompson	105
William Terry	172
James Turmon, grant 1804 to James Calloway	128
James Terry, grant 1791 to Jasper Terry	300
James Turman, grant Charles Turman, 1792	477
James Turman	357
Edward Wyatt	141
Samuel West	215
Glass & Wright	260
Isaiah Willis (Josiah?)	234
James Wright	232
Nicholas Ally	450
Cornelius Doover (Davies?)	230
Emanuel Harles, grant 1795 to Henry Harless	52
George Martin, grant 1790 to William Lucas	112
John McClelen, grant 1793 to John Ogle	210

Several surveys listed for John Lewis, Esq. and Company appear in the Loyal Company records. Most of these are numbered surveys and were granted between 1783 and 1816, but almost half of the ninety-seven surveys were granted to George Conway Taylor, agent for the Loyal Company, in 1798. Some of these numbered surveys appear later in deed books of Montgomery County (for example see Deed Book C, page 294, 1799), and show that all of the surveys were made before 1755, and all tracts were granted in 1798, a time lapse of forty-four years or more. A few of the numbered surveys do not appear in the Loyal Company list; numbers 1,3,7,17,20,26,59,66,75,76,82,83,91 are missing. However there are ten which do appear and were not numbered, and some of these may be those that are missing. The following list is from the book at the Virginia State Library, and only the order has been rearranged.

No.	Acres	Granted to and when
2	250	George Carter, 1789
4	350	William Gleaves, 1798
5	75	George C. Taylor, 1798
6	190	George C. Taylor, 1798
8	110	George C. Taylor, 1798
9	155	George C. Taylor, 1798
10	69	Nicholas Darter, 1798

No.	Acres	Granted to and when
11	48	George C. Taylor, 1798
12	135	William King, 1791
13	350	John Boyd, 1792
14	345	William Christian and Daniel Trigg, executors of William Ingles, deceased, 1783

CHAPTER V
The French and Indian War

Preparation for War

Wars between the English and their enemies, the French and Indians, had been going on since 1690. Europe and America were both involved at different times during the seventy years of strife which followed. The final war during the period gave the name to all, the French and Indian War (1755-1763), and this last contest was the one which involved the frontiersmen who had settled on the Western Waters of Virginia.

The Ohio Valley became the center of the strife in America beginning about 1749, when the French government was determined to keep its channels of exploration and fur trade open from Quebec to New Orleans. Its means of securing the Ohio Valley for its projects meant the establishment of a series of forts which would provide centers of protection over a wide area. The chain of forts was mapped out in 1749, with the warning that the English traders were no longer welcome.

In 1753 actual construction had been completed on English forts in the part of the Ohio Valley claimed by a group of colonial land speculators, mostly from Virginia. Governor Dinwiddie commissioned George Washington, then a twenty-one-year-old surveyor, to visit the Ohio region and warn the French that they must leave. Although the warning was delivered, the French did not leave, but instead issued a counter-warning that all English would be taken prisoners if caught trespassing in the disputed territory. When Washington returned to Governor Dinwiddie he brought the disturbing news that the French were already moving into the Ohio in large numbers.

During the early period (1745-54), on New River and Holston there had been only minor problems with the French and Indians. Stealing furs of the early hunters seemed to be the full extent of the trouble, until the fall of 1754. Conditions earlier in the year which led up to the massacres in the fall will present some idea of the situation on the frontier.

In February 1754 Dinwiddie issued a proclamation promising a land bounty to volunteers in the service, allowing 200,000 acres on the east side of the Ohio River for the men who volunteered their services. He further promised that the lands would be divided among them, immediately after the performance of the services, in proportion due their respective merit. They were to hold the lands without paying any rights, and also without payment of quitrents for the term of fifteen years.

A regiment under Colonel Joshua Fry was immediately raised and marched from Alexandria, about the middle or latter part of March 1754. As far as is known, there were no enlistments from the Roanoke, New River or Holston areas, and there is a record of only eight men enlisting from all of Augusta County.

When Colonel Fry died on May 31, Colonel George Washington received his command and after the unsuccessful engagement at Great Meadows on July 3, he returned from the frontier and resigned his post. He remained at Mount Vernon from October until called out by General Braddock, who arrived in Virginia February 20, 1755.

As early as the first of September 1754, Governor Dinwiddie was hearing complaints from the frontier of Augusta County about many parties of Indians robbing and ill-treating the people. He wrote that the French and Indians were making incursions among the inhabitants, threatening the people, and causing them to depart from their plantations. He proposed to build forts on the Holston and Greenbrier rivers. It was probably about this time that Stephen Lyon, John Goldman, Benjamin Harrison, all of the Holston River, were killed and ________ Burk was taken prisoner.

On September 11, Dinwiddie turned his attention toward the protection of the frontier settlements. Colonel Washington was ordered to give a detachment of forty or fifty men to Captain Andrew Lewis who was to march immediately to Augusta County

to protect the frontier from the incursions of small parties of Indians and French. Colonel Patton, the county lieutenant, would direct him where to proceed so as to be most useful. At the same time specific instructions about securing provisions and guarding the conduct of the men were sent to Captain Lewis. Following these instructions, Captain Lewis set out for the frontier on October 6, 1754. He was still on the Augusta County frontier on February 12, 1755 when he was ordered to leave the ensign, a sergeant, a corporal, and eighteen privates at the fort he had built (location not known), and with the rest of his company to march to Winchester and await further orders. To Ensign William Wright, who was left at the fort, the governor sent £20 pounds with which to buy provisions for the men.

In October 1754 the General Assembly made provisions for enlisting men for the service. The justices of the peace of every county were empowered to enlist men, and pay was to begin at the time of enlistment. If any were wounded or maimed so as to be incapable upon their return they were to be supported at public expense. The pay allowed was: colonel, 15 shillings a day; lieutenant colonel, 12 shillings, 6 pence; major, 10 shillings; captain, 8 shillings; lieutenant, 4 shillings; ensign, 3 shillings; sergeant, 4 shillings; private, 8 pence and a pistole ($3.60) on enlisting.

The officers of the local militia on the New River, acting under Colonel James Patton as county lieutenant, were: James Calhoun, captain of a troop of horse; Ebenezer Westcoat, captain of a company of foot; Adam Harman, captain of a troop of horse; Augustine Price, lieutenant of troop of horse; Jacob Harman, ensign; Alexander Sayers, captain of horse; Robert McFarland, lieutenant of horse; John McFarland, ensign; Joseph Crockett, captain of foot; Samuel Stalnaker, captain of a company of foot.

Even before the settlers of Virginia were openly attacked by Indians, several French-instigated Indian massacres occurred among the settlements in North and South Carolina. Both governments realized the importance of treaties with their Indian neighbors, the Cherokees and Catawbas. As a result South Carolina built Fort Prince George for the Cherokees on the headwaters of the Savannah River, and North Carolina built Fort Dobbs twenty miles west of present Salisbury, for the Catawbas. In Virginia Governor Dinwiddie authorized one thousand pounds be sent to South Carolina for construction of another fort.

For the residents of the New and Holston Rivers, 1755 was probably the worst year of the war. The murder of some of the citizens, the capture of others, and the loss of Braddock's army caused much alarm. General Braddock arrived in Hampton, Virginia on February 16, 1755 with high hopes, and had reached Fort Cumberland on May 10. All of May and June was spent on the road to the Monongahela. The surprise attack and defeat came on July 9.

On July 8, the governor called Captain Lewis to task for the murders which had been committed on the Holston. He probably had received word of the attacks made there in May and June. Blank commissions were sent by Colonel Patton for officers for a company of rangers of fifty men for the further protection of the inhabitants. The governor thought Lieutenant Wright was on the Holston and Captain Lewis on the Greenbrier. Colonel Patton was to exert himself as county lieutenant and use discretion in appointing officers. If necessary he was to raise men by draft, even in neighboring counties.

The first blank commission was given to William Preston whose service as a captain of a company of rangers began on July 14, 1755 and continued until June 24, 1756. During this time he served under the command of Colonel Patton (until he was killed—a matter of a little more than two weeks) and then for some time under the command of the governor, and the remainder of the time under Major Andrew Lewis, an officer of the Virginia Regiment.

Captain Preston began at once to enlist men for his company. Audley Paul and David Robinson were his lieutenants and George Elliot and John Walker, sergeants. These latter men were the first to enlist. Their service began on July 16. By the middle of August, thirty men were enrolled. Most of the men were from Pennsylvania, England, or Ireland. Only a few were from Virginia (See Kegley, *Virginia Frontier* opposite p. 213 for complete list).

On July 16, the governor again wrote to Colonel Patton that the news from the Ohio was bad and that he would be glad to hear that he had dispersed and destroyed those bandits:

> I am sorry to hear a further dismal account of murders in your county, and I fear your people are seized with a panic in suffering the Indians in such small companies to do the mischief they do without raising to oppose them. Surely if they were properly headed and encouraged they would overcome them all. I have sent some powder, etc. to Col. Stewart. I have ordered the whole militia of this dominion to be in arms, and your neighboring counties are directed to send men to your assistance on your application.

Most of the outrages referred to were committed on New River and Holston. From October 1754 to August 1755 twenty-one individuals were killed, seven wounded and nine taken prisoner. Among those killed were Lieutenant Wright and Colonel Patton, both being caught without guards. Lieutenant Wright and two of his soldiers were killed on Reed Creek on July 12, and the Draper's Meadow massacre in which Colonel Patton was killed took place on July 30 or 31. In this massacre Casper Barger, Mrs. Eleanor Draper and a young Draper child were killed. James Cull was wounded, Mrs. Mary Draper Ingles and two children, Mrs. Betty Draper, and Henry Leonard, were taken prisoners.

News of the disaster spread very rapidly. News of Braddock's defeat was received in the southwest settlements in a week's time. Rev. Hugh McAden, who was on his way through the Valley of Virginia to North Carolina, said that he first received the news at the home of Joseph Lapsley in the Forks of the James. His comments follow: "This, together with the frequent accounts of fresh murders being daily committed upon the frontiers, struck terror to every heart. A cold shuddering possessed every breast, and paleness covered almost every face. The whole inhabitants were put into an universal confusion. Scarcely any man durst sleep in his own house, but all meet in companies with their wives and children, and set about building little fortifications to defend themselves from such barbarians and inhuman enemies, whom they concluded would be let loose upon them at pleasure."

Although preparations for the defense of the frontier continued, the inhabitants of the exposed settlements hurried away from their homes. The Holston, New River, and Greenbrier settlements were practically abandoned. This left the Roanoke and James River country the southwestern frontier and thus it remained until the close of the war.

The situation on the frontier at this time is very well described in the oft-quoted letter of John Madison, clerk of the Augusta Court. "Four families on their flight from a branch of New River this minute passed my house, who say that five men were murdered at the house of Ephraim Vause on Roanoke since the death of Colonel Patton. 'Tis shocking to think of the calamity of the poor wretches who live on the Holston and New Rivers, who for upwards of a hundred miles have left their habitations, lost their crops and vast numbers of their stock. Could you see, dear friend, the women who escaped, crying after their murdered husbands, with their helpless children hanging on to them, it could but wound your very soul."

While arrangement was being made for the protection of the frontiers through the vigilance of the companies of rangers the militia was not overlooked. Colonel John Buchanan had said that they could not be depended on and would not obey orders. Whereupon the governor replied that it was obvious that they had not been properly disciplined, or under proper command, which on refusal, should have been punished according to law. He had done all he could for the service of the county, but if the people would give up their families and interest to a barbarous enemy without endeavoring to resist them, they could not expect to be protected. Those that remained to defend the country might hereafter be thought worthy of enjoying their plantations. When Captain Andrew Lewis was recognized as the successor to Colonel Patton as county lieutenant it was suggested that he divide his own company into small parties to

search for the Indians. It was a great surprise that the militia should be silent and not more active to repel the miscreants. The governor always thought that if the people had at first met in a body they could have saved themselves from great losses. He thought Colonel Patton was wrong to go so far back without a guard, and hoped that the wagons with the ammunition had not fallen into the hands of the Indians. He could not see what was to be done so far from the inhabited part of the country. There were no small arms in the magazine, but surely in the county (wrote Dinwiddie to Colonel Buchanan, Captain Lewis and Colonel Stewart) "you may raise men with arms to destroy the few Indians that appear." He felt that the people surely were "seized with unreasonable panic."

Nevertheless, the exodus from the lands on the Western Waters was dramatic. People were leaving in such numbers that an advertisement was issued to allay an inconceivable panic that prevailed among them. There was difficulty on the roads and ridges, "for the crowds were flying as if every moment were death."

The Reverend James Maury in his correspondence reported: "Such numbers of people have lately transported themselves into the more southerly governments as must appear incredible to any except such as have had an opportunity of knowing it. By Bedford courthouse in one week 'tis said and I believe truly said, near 300 inhabitants of this colony passed on their way to Carolina. From all the upper counties, even those on this side of the Blue Hills, great numbers are daily following." It was during this time that the Calhouns, Zinns, Nobles, Millers, and others from New River moved to South Carolina.

In December 1755, Dinwiddie appointed William Byrd and Peter Randolph to visit and conciliate with the southern Indians. If he would furnish a small number of men with arms and ammunition and build a fort on Holston and New Rivers, the Cherokees would engage their assistance to recover the land deserted and preserve the grain left by the inhabitants. They would even go against the Shawnees, if some white people were with their party. Robert McClenachan and Colonel Stewart were appointed to find provisions for Captain Smith's company and any other rangers in the county and for 150 Cherokees when they came in. It was hoped that the people would care for the warriors who would spend the winter in the county.

On December 14, Governor Dinwiddie wrote to Colonel Washington: "The Cherokees have taken up the hatchet against the Shawnees and French and have sent 130 of their warriors into New River and prepare to march immediately to attack and cut off the Shawnees in their towns. I desire they shall be joined with three companies and I propose Colonel Stephen or Major Lewis be commander of the party on this expedition. Colonel Peter Randolph and Colonel William Byrd are going as commissioners to the Catawbas and Cherokees with a handsome present to confirm our interest and to prevail with them to send a number of their warriors to our assistance in the spring."

The Shawnee Expedition

Major Andrew Lewis was commissioned to command the forces on the expedition against the Shawnee Towns and was sent blank commissions for other officers to be filled out as necessary. He was to consult with George Pearis about people to attend the Indians. There would likely be about 350 men, and it would probably take no longer than six weeks. Every man could carry five days allowance of bread, wheat or corn flour.

—?? Should be Capt Richard Pearis

Suggestions were given to Captains Hogg, Woodson, Smith, and Preston. Woodson and Smith were referred to as "old woodsmen," and Hogg was to take their advice. Smith was to take sixty men from his own and Preston's Company and Preston was to command the remainder. A supply of 150 small arms, 10 pounds of gunpowder, 2,000 pounds of shot and 91 blankets for the Indians was "sent up." Major Lewis was to see about clothing, and other necessities. Colonel David Stewart was commissary and Lieutenant William Fleming, surgeon.

The different companies came together through the Roanoke Valley to Dunkard Bottom on New River (present Claytor Lake, in Pulaski County), the place of rendezvous, where they were to meet the friendly Indians. The fortification there was called Fort Frederick. Captain Preston said that he left Fort Prince George (on the Catawba) on February 9, 1756 with two lieutenants, two sergeants, three corporals and twenty-five privates. He had one wagon load of dry beef weighing 2,000 pounds. The first day he traveled fifteen miles and lodged at the home of Francis Cyphers on the Roanoke, and early on Tuesday morning, being the 10th, he proceeded as far as Richard Hall's at the head spring of Meadow Creek, a branch of Stroubles Creek between present Blacksburg and Christiansburg. The next day he marched to New River, followed closely by Captain Hogg's Company. As they marched by the Cherokee camp they saluted the Indians by firing off guns, which was returned by them with great joy and a war dance followed. Thursday they heard a sermon at Captain Woodson's camp preached by Rev. Mr. Brown. The next day Major Lewis reviewed the troops which numbered about 340, including the Indians. Rev. Mr. Craig preached a military sermon. Major Lewis gave captain's commissions to two head Cherokee warriors named "Yellow Bird" and "Round O." On the next Sunday, James Burk brought word that Robert Looney was killed near Alexander Sayers' (at the site later called Fort Chiswell) and Burk reported further that he had one horse shot and five taken away by the Shawnee Indians. Captain Smith and Woodson marched from Fort Frederick in order to range the woods about Reed Creek and go to Burke's Garden. Captain Hogg's company and Major Lewis marched out on Wednesday afternoon.

Captain William Preston left Fort Frederick at ten o'clock on Thursday the 19th with twenty-seven loaded pack horses. He arrived at William Sawyers' (near present Wythe-Pulaski line) and camped on his barn floor. The next morning he "switched" one of the soldiers for swearing which incensed the Indian chiefs present. As they advanced to Alexander Sawyers' they met the Indians who had gone out with the first division and lost some of their own. The Indians that deserted them were persuaded to return by Major Lewis and Captain Pearis who found them at Colonel Buchanan's. The next day, Sunday, was spent in marching seven miles to John McFarland's (north of present Wytheville, Rose Hill Farm). In their march over the mountain to Bear Garden on Monday they lost sundry horses. One more day and nine miles brought them to Burke's Garden where they found plenty of potatoes which the soldiers gathered from the deserted plantations. From Burke's Garden they passed over the mountains by the head of the Clinch River and reached the head of the Sandy on Saturday afternoon. From frequent crossing of the creek made troublesome by recent heavy rains some of the horses broke down under their loads and were abandoned. From signs of Indians traveling and hunting it was thought that Stalnaker and the prisoners taken with him were carried that way. They soon came into coal land where there were more signs of enemy Indians. Here the troops were put on half rations. The march now was greatly retarded, because the mountains closed in on them from both sides of the river and each man had only a half pound of flour and no meat, except what could be killed. Many horses wandered off and could not be found. The river was so deep and had to be crossed so often that both men and horses almost expired. The captain lost his fourth horse.

About this time another week had passed, the men were faint and weak with hunger, and there was no game in the mountains nor appearance of level country. A half-pound of flour was insufficient support, a proposal to kill the horses for food was refused, yet another effort to go forward was made. The Indians made bark canoes for themselves and Major Lewis had a large canoe made for the ammunition and provisions. The last stretches of the journey were made by marching across ridges that extended so close to the river that they could not pass without great difficulty. By the middle of the next week, the 10th of March, the men had determined to desert and go home. Eight of Captain Smith's men went off immediately, a part of Preston's had to be disarmed by force, the canoes were wrecked in the river and everything of value was lost, even the

men were compelled to swim for their lives. Major Lewis made a last effort to save the expedition. Each captain called his men together to hear a speech by the major; all that were willing to share his fate could go with him. All the officers and twenty or thirty privates joined him. Montgomery's volunteers marched off, followed by Smith's, Preston's, and Dunlap's companies.

On their return from the Shawnee expedition the companies were scattered, in fact, most of the men had deserted. The officers remained in the service. Major Lewis and Captain Overton were sent to the Cherokee country to build a fort. Captain Dunlap took charge of a fort at the mouth of Craig's Creek, Captain Preston remained in charge of his company and guarded the Catawba and Buffalo Creek Valleys until June 24th when he disbanded his men. Captain Smith remained on the main waters of Roanoke until he was captured at Vause's Fort on June 26th.

The report in April 1756 revealed several witnesses had been examined and it was agreed that Major Andrew Lewis, who commanded the expedition discharged his duty with integrity and resolution, and that failure was entirely owing to the refractory and mutinous behavior of Captain Obadiah Woodson, John Smith, and John Montgomery, who commanded the volunteers. It was ordered that an address be made to the governor to desire that his Honor would be pleased to stop the pay of the said Woodson, Smith, and Montgomery, and "that the officers may never more be employed as officers in His Majesty's service."

More than two years later Captain Smith cleared his name and the committee reported that Smith had never shown any backwardness to proceed in the expedition or encouraged any mutiny or desertion, but on the contrary endeavored to prevent his men from deserting, by encouraging them with the hopes of an open country being near, and that after his men had turned back, he declared he was willing to proceed with ten men, provided that the Cherokee Indians would go with him. Following a resolution of the committee, Smith was permitted to receive his pay.

Woodson was also pardoned and the committee came to the conclusion that the ill-success of the Shawnee expedition was occasioned by the want of provisions, and that the said Woodson did not behave himself in such a manner as an officer ought to have done. Accounts were settled following the expedition, for goods, guns, horses, and hire of wagons.

Andrew Lewis and the Fort at Chota

By February 1756, negotiations with the southern Indians were completed and a fort for the Cherokees was promised in return for a party of men sent to Winchester in April. Although Governor Dinwiddie felt the money sent to South Carolina in 1753 should have been used to complete a fort for the Cherokees, he agreed on April 24 to allot another two thousand pounds for that purpose and gave Andrew Lewis and sixty Virginians the task of constructing the fort. On the same day Captain Preston was ordered to draft one-third of the militia for the protection of the frontier of Augusta County. Colonel John Buchanan was to act as county lieutenant in the absence of Major Lewis. In this capacity he would be the commander of the Augusta militia.

Lewis enlisted his men, purchased beeves and horses, and arranged to take 10,000 pounds of flour from the rendezvous at Great Lick (Roanoke) to Chota in the Cherokee country. Upon arrival on June 28 he discovered that the Cherokees insisted on two forts—one on the south bank of the Little Tennessee, the other on the north—before they would send 400 of their tribe to assist the Virginians. The Virginia fort, located one mile above Chota, was completed by the end of July. The pledge of Cherokee warriors for Virginia was reduced to 100 men. According to instructions, Lewis did not leave any men at the fort, and it was not until October that the Virginia Burgesses voted one thousand pounds to maintain the garrison. It was finally resolved not to send any men there until Virginia was sure of help from the Cherokees. Henry Timberlake, an Englishman well acquainted with the situation, stated that the fort was afterwards destroyed by the Indians themselves.

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While Virginia's promises to the Cherokees were being carried out, Byrd and Randolph persuaded Governor Glen of South Carolina to undertake the building of a fort in the Overhill country alone, using Independent Regulars and South Carolina provincials. On May 19 Captain Raymond Demere and William Gerard De Brahm departed with the troops. Although Henry Lyttleton, the new governor of South Carolina, rearranged the plans set forth by Glen, Demere reached the Overhill towns located near the town of Tometetley, then under the leadership of Attakullakulla on October 6, 1756. At the junction of the Tellico and the Little Tennessee Rivers, in present Monroe County, Tennessee, the fort was constructed and named Loudoun in honor of the Earl of Loudoun who arrived in America in July 1756. The name was first used at the fort on January 2, 1757 and work continued on the fort until April of that year.

Virginia Forts

Virginia's concern with building forts for the Indians was overshadowed by conditions on the frontier. On March 30, 1756 the inhabitants of Augusta petitioned the House of Burgesses for action concerning defenses for their own frontier, suggesting that a chain of forts be erected. As early as February 1756 Governor Dinwiddie recommended to the Lords of Trade that forts be built along the ridge of the Allegheny Mountains at accessible passes. The frontiers to the westward were 300 miles from north to south and 200 miles from the westernmost settlements to any part of the colony that was tolerably peopled. On March 19 the Assembly acted on his recommendation, and eleven days later the petition of the Augusta residents was received.

Washington undertook to develop and later visit the chain of forts established for the protection of the frontier residents. None of these new forts was located on New River or Holston, although Stalnaker, who had escaped from the Indians, was given £100 to raise a company and build a little stockade fort at Draper's Meadows. Whether this fort was actually constructed or not has not been determined.

Conditions 1757-1760

Now that the forts had been completed, the Cherokees began to leave for the North in large numbers, to assist Virginia against the French and enemy Indians. They were useful but troublesome allies in the Virginia campaign of 1757. Because of Forbes' inaction, the Cherokees found themselves idle and refused to wait any longer for action and by July only 200 warriors remained, and by September there were only 80 left with the Virginia forces.

Governor Dinwiddie again sent an urgent appeal to the Cherokees, this time in early 1758, when he sent Colonel William Byrd and George Turner. Byrd returned, leaving George Turner to accompany the Indians. In May 1758, Moytoy of Settico, leading a band of warriors home from Virginia, set out to go by way of the Cherokee country. Several of his men had lost horses, and had been unable to recover them from the English. They took others, to the number of twenty to replace their own, often posing as Shawnees to divert suspicion from their nation. Although some authorities state the horses were roaming wild in the woods, the papers of the South Carolina Indian Affairs (McDowell, *Documents..*, pp. 463-465) said the horses were deliberately taken from Virginians: William Verdiman, his son William Jr., John Hall, Richard Thompson, John Wheeler, Robert Jones, Jr., and Henry Snow, all of Halifax County. These men gathered forces and proceeded after the Indians, but were unable to make them fully understand and the Virginians were attacked. Later Captain Head and the local militia pursued them. The Indians, who had thought that the Virginians were their friends, were now ready for revenge, and moved into the North Carolina settlements on

This actually happened April & May 1757 but the hearing [illegible] delayed to June 1758 because of Gov. Dinwiddie's illness — replaced Jan 1 by Fauquier — mostly conducted by — Blair, Pres. of Council — signed Clement Read & Mathew Talbot 1 June 1758

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the Yadkin River and claimed nineteen scalps.

There were many such war parties in Virginia during the summer of 1758, and an ugly feeling for all Indians developed among the people of Virginia. They did not know which Indians were their friends and which were not, for some of the Cherokees had turned rogues and were stealing horses and scalping the white settlers. This condition was brought out in the deposition of John Echols regarding Captain Robert Wade's trip to the New River in search of Indians.

Wade's Trip to the New River

Captain Robert Wade marched from Fort Mayo with thirty-five men on August 12, 1758 in search of enemy Indians on the New River. They marched to a plantation three miles away where Peter Rentfroe formerly lived, and made camp. The next day one of their men, Francis New, returned to the fort, but the rest marched to a campsite at the foot of the "Blew Ledge." The following day they crossed the mountains and "fell upon a branch of Little River, called Pine Creek." They followed it to the river and went to Francis Eason's plantation, and stayed there the night, where their hunters brought venison. The 15th of August found them at Richard Ratcliffe's plantation on Meadow Creek. From there they sent out spies the next day, to look for enemy signs, but none were found. The hunters, also scouting, found Indian signs at Draper's Meadow, and discovered Indians had been catching horses that day and set a straight course for Blackwater. One of the men did not return, and on Friday the 18th, Captain Wade, William Hall, Adam Harman, and two or three more went off to look for him, leaving the rest of the men under the command of John Echols. His orders were to prepare the men to march, whenever Captain Wade returned. Soon afterwards, the lost man returned to camp himself, and Wade seeing signs of white man's tracks, decided the missing man was safe and went on hunting.

When the captain did not return by Saturday morning the men were very uneasy. They were ordered to keep a sharp outlook and if nothing developed they would leave the next day at sunrise. After this decision was made, it was not long until the men spied five Indians. Echols states, "I was lying down in the house when I heard the news. I raised up and presented my gun. Some men in another house cried out 'don't shoot' for they were Cherokees." The Indians found themselves facing twenty guns. They were examined and asked for a pass which they did not have. They had five horses and scalps which appeared to be white men's. Four of the horses were recently acquired. The Indians began to leave, but Echols refused permission. Some of the men wanted to kill them, believing them to be Shawnees and spies. Two men were sent to find the captain and when he returned he passed death sentences on them. Abraham Dunkleberry, a hunter with the group, said they were Cherokees, but agreed that they were rogues. Their guns were taken and guard was placed. The next morning, Captain Wade, on the basis of what Dunkleberry said, decided to give the Indians back their guns and release them. The men from Carolina were displeased because they were not allowed to kill them. If that was so, the men said they would not range any more for there was no purpose if they were not allowed to kill the enemy. After Dunkleberry left the camp, Captain Wade told the men they would march after the Indians and kill them. A few men posted themselves at each of the fords across the New River hoping to find an opportunity to kill them there, but the Indians divided into two groups, some crossing at one ford and some at the other. The men decided to wait until all the Indians were together.

Twelve of the best men were to follow and kill the Indians and the rest were to go to the Dunker fort about a half-mile below. The captain went to the fort, and Echols along with Adam Harman, Daniel Harman, William Hall, Richard Hall, Jr., Tobias Clap, Philip Clap, Joseph Clap, Benjamin Angel, David Currie, Richard Hines and James Lyons set out. At Peach Orchard Creek (present Grayson County) they overtook them and killed four, and wounded the other. Some of the men went to look for the wounded Indians, some went after the horses, while others went on to the fort.

On Monday, August 21, they marched toward home, as Indian signs were plentiful and their supply of ammunition was low. They camped at Little River, going on the next day to Blackwater and the head of Pig River. The group divided and Echols and four others went across by Gobleing town and came to Fort Mayo. The rest and the captain went to Hickey's Fort and the next day came to Fort Mayo (Deposition dated October 26, 1758).

The Cherokees heard this news from Virginia just about the time George Turner was preparing to bring the warriors to Virginia; but they now delayed, seeking peace talks with Governor Dinwiddie, for they wanted promises that their people would not be molested in Virginia. In the fall of 1758, a delegation was sent to Charleston and presents were brought for the Indians as peace offerings. These were accepted and the Cherokees agreed to send warriors to Virginia.

Attakullakulla proceeded to General Forbes' camp in November and offered to give his assistance. But because of the insults from Forbes, who greatly disliked all Indians, the warriors abandoned the army just a few days before the battle of Fort Duquesne which was fought on November 25, 1758. Forbes ordered them apprehended and disarmed and conducted back to their own country. They were first taken to Winchester where Attakullakulla conferred with Christopher Gist and demanded an audience with Governor Fauquier. This audience was granted in January 1759, and they parted on good terms.

In the meantime, similar difficulties were encountered in South Carolina. When the officers and men who were stationed at Fort Prince George heard about the attacks on the back settlements of North Carolina and in the Overhill towns, a group of lawless officers attacked the Indian towns while the men were away. In November 1758 a peace mission which was sent to Charleston failed and the Cherokees attacked the English traders. In May 1759 Governor Lyttleton demanded that the Indians be executed for killing the white men and that all trade from South Carolina be cut off. The chiefs refused to surrender and Lyttleton declared war in November 1759. Meantime thirty-two of the most prominent Indian men were sent with their Chief Oconostota to make peace, but they were captured on their way and confined to the prison at Fort Prince George.

Fort Loudoun

Incensed by the accumulation of wrongs and misunderstandings the Cherokees attacked Fort Prince George in February 1760, and beginning on March 4, a four-day assault was made on Fort Loudoun, which was repulsed without losses to the garrison. On June 6 the fort reported that they were holding out in good spirits, but their corn was rationed. Attakullakulla, their friend, continued to visit the garrison and bring news and the Indian women who were wives of the men garrisoned there brought food which they had obtained by trading items from the fort.

Following a call by Governor Lyttleton for troops, Amherst sent 1200 men from New York to assist the army of South Carolina. They arrived at Fort Prince George on June 4 with plans to relieve the now desperate situation at Fort Loudoun; but 100 men were killed or wounded in a battle near Etchoe on June 27, and the remaining men returned to Charleston and boarded ships for New York. On May 1, 1760 Virginia received an appeal for the rescue of the men besieged at Fort Loudoun, now over forty days. Seven hundred additional men were ordered to join the three hundred already on the frontier, and by the end of June the men from Virginia were reported enlisted and Colonel William Byrd was put in charge of the troops. Byrd's orders were to build a fort at Long Island, another at Stalnaker's, and to rescue the men at Fort Loudoun.

As time wore on conditions worsened at Fort Loudoun; some starving soldiers tried to escape, some were killed, others wandered in the wilderness for over a month and

finally found their way to Colonel Byrd's army in Virginia. The only remaining alternative was to seek favorable terms of surrender. An agreement of capitulation was signed on August 7, 1760 and two days later the English colors were pulled down from the fort and the force, consisting of 180 men, 60 women and some children, took up the march to Fort Prince George. The first night was spent at Cane Creek where on the following morning two soldiers were wounded from Indian ambush. When a lieutenant returned the fire, the sad little group was attacked by 700 Cherokee Indians. Twenty-three men were tortured and killed, and others taken prisoner were cruelly treated; the remainder surrendered.

Captain John Stuart, rescued during the early part of the fighting by friendly Indians, escaped with the help of Attakullakulla to Virginia. On September 8 he reached Long Island where he found Andrew Lewis camped. Word of the disaster at Fort Loudoun reached William Byrd at present site of Fort Chiswell in Wythe County on August 27, and while he remained there, he ordered Lewis and 300 men to proceed to the Holston.

With the attempts of the South Carolinians an utter failure, and Virginia's feeble attempts not much better, both colonies now were determined to eliminate the Indians and end the war on all fronts. In the Virginia Assembly in October 1760, all Virginia forces were ordered to concentrate all their strength to the southwest part of Virginia in an attack against the Cherokees. With assistance coming to South Carolina from General Amherst, and from North Carolina and Virginia, a new offensive resulted.

It was during this period 1760-61 that Colonel William Byrd and his troops were encamped on the Western Waters, and that Fort Chiswell was established at [Alexander] Sayers' Camp in present Wythe County (See Fort Chiswell—The Big Fort which follows). It would not be until May of 1761 that Colonel Hugh Waddell mustered the South Carolina men into service for seven months of duty. Many men from North Carolina marched from there to Charles Town to enlist, and although it took several months for the aid bill to pass in the North Carolina Assembly, eventually £20,000 was provided for men and supplies.

In April 1761 there were a number of Cherokee Indians at Fort Chiswell with eighteen prisoners, and the governor requested that Thomas Walker go to purchase them and send the Indians back to their nation. Walker was detained at the fort longer than he expected due to "frequent & heavy Rains" arriving home at Castle Hill on May 2. In May, Plumstead and Franks of Philadelphia reported that orders had been given for the forty or fifty thousand [pounds?] of flour to be sent to Fort Chiswell and ten or eleven at each of the other forts in anticipation of the movement of the army. The plan was to store the "chief part of the Provisions" at Fort Chiswell (Henderson, *Dr. Thomas Walker*, pp. 63, 64, 65).

On June 6, 1761 a general return of the Virginia Regiment of Foot, commanded by Colonel William Byrd then located at a camp near Staunton, reported that as of that date there were stationed at Staunton, one colonel, one lieutenant colonel, one major, three captains, nine lieutenants, three ensigns, one adjutant, one chaplain, one quartermaster, no surgeon, but one surgeon's mate on staff. In addition there were fourteen sergeants, eight fifers, and seven drummers. The total number fit for duty was 334. There were 21 men sick, making 355 effective rank and file.

At Fort Chiswell on the same date Byrd's report shows that there was one major, one captain, three lieutenants, two ensigns, one mate, eight sergeants, two fifers, three drummers, with a total fit for duty, 138 and seven sick, making a total of 145 effective rank and file. In addition there were members of the Virginia Regiment stationed at Fort Fauquier (54), Fort Lewis (54), Blackwater (75), and at Winchester one surgeon, one sergeant and thirteen sick. On the westward quarter there were twenty-nine men and on furlough recruiting, one captain, four lieutenants, two ensigns, six sergeants, five fifers, and five drummers. In the entire regiment there were 688 men fit for duty, 53 sick, 34 deserted.

On June 30, 1761 Byrd's return of the regiment showed that at Fort Chiswell there was one colonel, one lieutenant colonel, one major, six captains, sixteen lieutenants, eight ensigns, one chaplain, one adjutant, one quarter master, one surgeon, two mates, thirty sergeants, twelve fifers, fourteen drummers, fit for duty, with the rank and file total of 601 and an additional fifty men sick. A letter from Fort Chiswell on July 1, written by Byrd, was full of details regarding his provision problems. Byrd noted that he had done everything he could to forward the expedition and had arrived the day before "at this our most advanced post without the least assistance from contractors." Byrd himself had undertaken to engage all the provisions and carriages for the march and had made arrangements to forward all the necessary stores and tools.

Byrd noted, "We are now advanced 300 miles from Winchester and have about a month's provisions with us which will enable us to proceed with 500 men to Stalnaker's where I must remain till a Magazeen can be formed and I propose to leave Lt. Col. Stephen here with the remainder of the Regiment to escort the flour and cattle to that place when it comes up."

Byrd added that it was the 10th of June before the orders given the contractors by Amherst and General Monckton were carried out. They made an agreement with Dr. Thomas Walker at Philadelphia to act for them and Byrd did not see any of them until late in June when they came to him for instructions.

On July 9, 1761 Byrd was still at Fort Chiswell and wrote a letter which has been preserved at the Harvard College Library and appears on microfilm at the Virginia Historical Society. In this letter, he notes the trouble he has had regarding provisions. He added that the whole strength of the regiment amounted to no more than 650 men for duty, recruits included. He noted that he had 220 miles to proceed, the roads to cut, the posts to garrison and the escorts to furnish, and "when I reach the nation I shall have five times my number to engage." He noted that the North Carolina regiment was still recruiting and at that time had only 150 men. "The militia do not think proper to come up to the forts, although they received orders long ago." Byrd reported that Colonel James Grant arrived in the Cherokee nation from South Carolina about the 9th of last month (June), and that two days later he was involved in skirmishes with the Indians.

Byrd's future plans were spelled out in the remainder of the letter. He would proceed the following day (July 10th) with about 500 men and six weeks provisions as far as the Holstein [Holston] River to endeavor to draw off the attention of the enemy from Colonel Grant, "which I fear will be all I can do and which am apprehensive will not answer the desired end." He noted that the situation was very disagreeable and was asking for advice because his orders were written in general terms, being to "chastise the enemy" which he believed to be out of his power. Amherst believed that it would take about 1,000 men, and Byrd noted that with only 650 he certainly was not equal to the undertaking.

There is no doubt that Byrd was embittered by the proceedings, being detained at every phase of his undertaking. His final sentences requested "leave to quit the command for it never was my intention to serve a campaign to act on the defensive which must now be the case. The few men I have may be so posted as to protect the Frontier of the Colony, but I fear they cannot *anoy* the enemy."

On August 1, Byrd was encamped at Stalnaker's on the Holston where he had arrived on the 15th of July. He was again detained for want of carriages and horses, and felt that there was no probability of Dr. Walker being able to provide the army further than Stalnaker's. The return of the regiment at Stalnaker's showed that there were only 650 men fit for duty, with another 45 left at Fort Chiswell. The men he employed on his arrival at Stalnaker's were busy building a block house, and throwing up an entrenchment around it, for the security of themselves and the provisions. Byrd was still 200 miles from the nearest town in Cherokee country and had road to open all the way. He requested again that he be allowed to resign the regiment and turn the operations over to lieutenant colonel Adam Stephen. On September 7, 1761 Byrd was in Philadelphia and noted that he had resigned his command, and finished the post on Holstein [Holston] and left two months provision there.

The following year, Byrd was still trying to get the accounts settled for the campaign. Some of the amounts had not been allowed and he was trying to explain the situation in order to collect the money due him. He noted that wagons had been employed by his orders to carry up the new clothing, repaired arms, ammunition, medicine chests, and baggage for himself and his officers and they were to proceed from Winchester to Fort Chiswell. But they were detained nearly a month between two branches of the Shenandoah River because of the excessive rains that fell that spring of 1761.

Under the leadership of Colonel Adam Stephen, the troops were led to Great Island of Holston at present Kingsport, Tennessee and garrisoned there. Stephen and Waddell of North Carolina proceeded then to build Fort Robinson which was completed by the end of November 1761.

With the news of the French collapse, the Cherokee towns realized their only foreign source of supplies was their English acquaintances and they wished to sue for peace. However, Grant refused their pleas until the Cherokees had been punished for the Fort Loudoun affair. Unrelenting, Grant proceeded to Etchoe pass and on to the middle towns of the Cherokees where he destroyed everything in his path. In July he reported his work of destruction was completed. Fifteen Indian towns were destroyed, 1,500 acres of crops had been cut down, and 5,000 Cherokees were driven into the mountains to starve.

The treaty with South Carolina came a few months later and was ratified by the Cherokees on December 16, 1761. A treaty with the Virginians was signed in November 1761 when a delegation of four hundred Cherokees met with Colonel Stephen. At the request of the Cherokees, a soldier was asked to accompany them home to convince the people that the English were sincere. Lieutenant Henry Timberlake volunteered and spent several months in the Cherokee nation. Once peace was made with South Carolina and Virginia, the Virginia army returned to Fort Lewis and in February 1762 the army was paid off and disbanded.

Colonel William Byrd had many reasons for his delays and inactivity during the campaigns on the Western Waters. How could a regiment of almost 700 men be fed and supplied? Where would the food come from? How could it be transported to the troops on the frontier? Byrd was often detained for want of horses and carriages, and lack of provisions which had not been properly forwarded. Dr. Walker, who had agreed to supply some of the provisions, could not promise supplies past Stalnaker's camp, and this was 200 miles from the Indian nation, and the road had to be built every step of the way through the wilderness.

Although Byrd and his men did little of the actual suppression of the Cherokees, his expedition holds an important place in Virginia history. It brought hundreds of men in actual touch with "The Beckoning Land" of Southwest Virginia. They had seen for themselves well timbered territory, with plenty of water and a place very suitable for settlement. Now that the Indians posed less of a threat to the adventurer, there seemed to be no reason that the land could not be occupied and settled. The Proclamation of 1763, as already mentioned, was only a temporary barrier.

In addition, Byrd and the army had constructed roadways of sorts through the unsettled neighborhoods of the frontier, and the way for the early settler was improved to such an extent, that soon the roads would be filled with travelers. Some would settle in far Southwest Virginia, others would venture over the mountains into what would become the State of Kentucky. Their goal was to find land suitable for settlement, or to claim their reward for military service in the war, the acreage depending on each man's rank. The claims filed in the courts of Southwest Virginia follow in the next chapter.

(For references see the following: Kegley, *Virginia Frontier;* Hening, *Statutes at Large* for proclamation of 1754; also Vol. 6, pp. 6, 631, 565, 438; Chalkley, *Chronicles,* Vol. I, 313; II, 510; Rev. McAden's Journal as quoted in Foote *Sketches, North Carolina,* First Series; Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County;* Ford, *Writings of Washington,* pp. 199, 203, 220; Preston Papers, Draper Manuscripts, 1 QQ 131-133, 136; *Journals of the House of Burgesses,* 1756, p. 58, 369; 1758, p. 37 among others. Jeffrey Amherst Papers from the Public Record Office, War Office Records as found in Historical Society, Richmond; also Miscellaneous Amherst Papers, June 1757-Oct. 1763 WO Class 34, Vol. 47, pp. 92, 385, 529, 268, 271, 292; Baker-Crothers, *Virginia and the French and Indian War;* William, ed. *Memoris of Henry Timberlake;* Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier, Conflict and Survival, 1740-62;* Brown, *Old Frontiers;* Virginia State Library, Colonial Papers; and "Fort Chiswell—The Big Fort," by Mary Kegley, *Journal of Roanoke Valley Historical Society,* 1978; and others quoted in the text.)

Fort Chiswell—The Big Fort

Louis Philippe, destined to become king of France, spent more than three years traveling in America in the 1790's. One of the places he visited was Fort Chiswell, in present Wythe County. On April 22, 1797 he recorded the following in his diary: "We halted at Fort Chiswel to have a horse shod. To the left of the road there was a big fort torn down since the peace. Before and beyond the fort you cross Read Creek." With the recent publication of the translation of this diary, the existence of this colonial fort is certain. Its demolition between 1795 and 1797 ended a vigorous military period in Southwest Virginia begun about thirty-five years before.

Fort Chiswell—the colonial fort which housed the army of Colonel William Byrd III, the fort which was the center of great activity during the Revolutionary War, the fort which gave its name to an important crossroads in Wythe County—was located on the south side of Reed Creek on a high barren knoll east of Mill Branch and on the main road which, from the earliest times, passed through Southwest Virginia. Because of recent highway construction of Interstate 77 and its service roads, the name will probably continue as that of a major intersection of Interstate 77 and Interstate 81. Much of the history of the early fort now lies permanently buried under tons of gravel, rock, and sleek new highway, in spite of some salvage archeology done in the summers of 1975 and 1976.

Following the archeological work in 1976, the site of the colonial fort was included in the Virginia Landmarks Register and was nominated for the National Register. A few years earlier, the brick McGavock home constructed about 1839, which stands south and west of the colonial fort site, was recognized as an outstanding architectural landmark in Wythe County and the nation, with its inclusion in the state and national landmarks registers.

The land on which the house stands and the colonial fort stood was first surveyed in 1747 for Thomas Walker who chose 1,150 acres, "The Great Buffalo Lick" tract, under terms of the Wood's River Company. This company had received a grant to take up as much as 100,000 acres on the "Western Waters," not in a single tract, but in small ones in locations the early settlers and entrepreneurs chose. Walker received the patent for the land in 1752 and transferred 504 acres, part of the 1,150 acres to Alexander Sayers in 1758, although the bargain had been made four years before. Also included in the purchase were millstones and irons. In tracing the story of Fort Chiswell, it was learned that there were primarily two families associated with the site during the period 1754-1797; those of Alexander Sayers and James McGavock, Sr.

The mill of Alexander Sayers was first mentioned in March 1754 when a road was established from that place to the Holston River. It appears to have been built about this time, although the "fraem and trunck" of the "tubb mill" was mentioned in 1747 in the account of Colonel John Buchanan against the estate of Alexander Sayers. In the same account there is evidence that Sayers and his wife stayed with Buchanan from the middle of December 1745 until the following November (Preston Family Papers, Library of Congress, Item 479). Henry Grubb, the millwright, testified that the mill at Fort Chiswell was not finished at the time the inhabitants "were drove from their plantations by Indians." Grubb gave no evidence when or if the mill was completed, but when the Indians came, Grubb left the community for several years, returning after

On September 29, Captain Ourrey, in writing to Colonel Henry Bouquet, describes the details of the disaster at Fort Loudoun which he had received in an express written September 15 at Sayers' Mill, "frontiers of Virginia" where Colonel Byrd was encamped awaiting orders from Williamsburg. The orders were conveyed to Byrd by the governor with the approval of the Council on October 16, 1760. The letter containing the orders has not been found, but it seems clear that once the fort was constructed, provisions, arms, and items necessary for the continuation of the war would be transported to that central place. Strategy would be planned for future meetings with the Cherokees. Colonel Byrd was still at Sayers' on November 3 where he was joined by Little Carpenter and 32 Cherokees who brought in 10 more prisoners from Fort Loudoun and news that all hostilities would be suspended by the Cherokees until "the new moon in March," provided that the army would go no further and that they would be allowed to return safely to their homes. The troops of the regiment, however, were to be stationed "in such a manner as will best protect the Frontier." Although the regiment was ordered to continue on the frontier, Colonel Byrd and most of the army did not remain at Sayers' Mill. However, Major Andrew Lewis, Captain Thomas Bullit, Lieutenant William Fleming, Lieutenant Walter Cunningham, Lieutenant Reuban Vass, Ensign [Burton] Lucas, and Ensign [George] McKnight remained at the site and were provided with extraordinary rations from November 20, 1760 until May 1, 1761.

It is evident that these officers were in charge of a group of men who constructed the "big fort" in that fall and winter of 1760-1761, probably according to the specifications conveyed to Colonel Byrd before his departure. Major Andrew Lewis, senior officer in charge, had four years earlier built a fort for the Cherokee Indians one mile above Chota (in present Tennessee), in exchange for assistance from that nation. At that time 60 Virginia men assisted him, and the governor of Virginia provided money to purchase 100 beeves, horses, provisions, and tools. William Fleming, third in command on the frontier in 1760, is known to have had among his more than 324 books, the authoritative manual on fortifications by Vauban.

The expertise was present, the men were there over the winter, and the name Fort Chiswell emerged on February 7, 1761 when a letter written by William Fleming on that date used that address. Fleming was requesting instructions regarding an expected visit from the Cherokees who were coming to the fort with prisoners. A few weeks later the letter was mentioned in the Council minutes, but the actual letter has not been found among the colonial papers at the Virginia State Library, or at any other place, although inquiries have been made.

In March 1761 there were further statutes passed for continuing the regiment, and plans were under way for Colonel Byrd's return to the frontier. Arrangements were being made for the provisions for the army, as well as for the purchase of prisoners who were still in the custody of the Cherokees. The governor was persuaded that the plan for attacking the Cherokee Towns should be carried out and that as a result they would be reduced to the "greatest Extremity's." The army was to rid itself of the invalids, and recruiting was expected to obtain 1,000 effective men for duty who would be ready to march as soon as wagons and tents and other necessities arrived from Pennsylvania. They were then to proceed as far as the Great Island of Holston and garrison with militia the forts left by the regiment on the frontier. The Council agreed that the Virginia forces were "quite unequal to so arduous and Perilous an undertaking" and were relying heavily on the support of Colonel Grant and his South Carolina troops.

In April the Governor of Virginia gave detailed instructions to the Commissioners who were appointed to purchase the prisoners brought in by the Cherokee Indians. They were to go to Fort Chiswell to meet them, redeem the prisoners and pay them in goods (except arms or ammunition) and inform them that peace could only be made with them in conjunction with the colonies of North and South Carolina. They were to be assured that no trade would be resumed until a general peace was guaranteed. Thomas Walker, one of the commissioners appointed to meet with the Cherokees at Fort Chiswell in April, spent more time than expected at the fort due to "frequent and heavy rains," arriving home in Albemarle County on May 2, about the same time Plumstead and Franks of Philadelphia reported that orders had been given for 40,000 or 50,000 [pounds] of flour to be sent to Fort Chiswell and 10 or 11 at each of the other forts in anticipation of the movement of the army. The plan was to store the "chief part of the Provisions," at Fort Chiswell. The report of the commissioners, Thomas Walker and John Chiswell, was received at the Council on June 10.

In June the Council received a letter indicating that Colonel Byrd anticipated arriving at Fort Chiswell in July. Byrd reported on the strength of his Regiment of Foot, and although the major portion of the army was then camped at Staunton, there were 138 men stationed at Fort Chiswell. It seems that these men were probably the same ones who had spent the winter at the site constructing the fort and preparing for the army's return. It is known that Major Andrew Lewis was there in May when an attack was made on 200 Cherokees camped within one-quarter mile of Fort Chiswell. Six were killed (presumably by northern Indians), many wounded, and 50 women and children were brought to Lewis for protection.

By the end of June there were 651 men at Fort Chiswell where Colonel Byrd was encamped en route to Stalnaker's where he was going to build a magazine. By July 15 he had arrived there and on August 1, reported 650 men fit for duty at Stalnaker's where they had built a block house and entrenchments for the security of themselves and their provisions, as directed by Governor Francis Fauquier on April 28. Since there is no mention of such activity at Fort Chiswell at this time, it must be assumed that the entrenchments, blockhouses, magazine, etc. had already been completed there.

In September Colonel Adam Stephen, who had replaced Byrd, was writing from Fort Chiswell and on October 8 wrote the Council a letter stating that Colonel Waddell, commander of the North Carolina troops, had arrived at Fort Chiswell with about 300 men and some Tuscarora Indians. Although the army was ordered to be continued in November, peace negotiations were under way as early as January 1762, and in the spring the Indian traders agreed to go as far as Fort Chiswell as agreed upon in an audience of Skiagusta with the Governor of Virginia.

It seems appropriate to discuss the naming and probable design for Fort Chiswell. Colonel William Byrd chose to name the fort for his good friend, John Chiswell, who had discovered valuable ore deposits at the lead mines, eight miles to the south. There Chiswell's tract of 1,000 acres was surveyed by Andrew Lewis, assistant surveyor of Augusta County, on October 31, 1760 about the same time he and his men were settling in for the winter at Sayers' Mill. Chiswell had petitioned the Council on May 6 for permission to have the survey made. Although it has often been stated that Fort Chiswell was built to protect the lead mines, this is unacceptable in view of the distance between the two places. In addition, a blockhouse was erected at the mines on the east side of the New River, about the same time work was being done at Fort Chiswell. In 1776 a new fort was erected for the protection of the mines, but the structure was not mentioned again and apparently was given no specific name.

Traditionally, Fort Chiswell was believed to have had a palisade or stockade built around a group of buildings for their protection. Forts of the colonial period were usually square, though sometimes pentagonal, with sides ranging from 60 to 500 feet in length, and pointed bastions at each corner. The palisade stakes were set into the ground to a depth of 4-5 feet and were on the average 12 inches in diameter, and 12 to 15 feet in height. In one of the bastions the bomb-proof magazine was usually built of stone or brick, and lead, flints, and gunpowder stored there. The other bastions often included blockhouses where mounted guns could be placed. Just how well the military engineers of the frontier followed the traditional design or just how completely they constructed Fort Chiswell by the standard pattern is not known. Often modifications were made due to terrain, soil conditions, and the time allotted for construction.

During the recent archeological excavations at the site of Fort Chiswell, the presence of a palisade was not confirmed, but cannot be ruled out because less than one acre of the 10-acre site was sampled and/or excavated in 1975/76. However, during the

last few days of excavation, a diamond-shaped structure five to six feet in the ground approximately 17 to 20 feet in length was uncovered. Evidence of timbers, stairs, bricks, as well as lead, 50 flints, and gunpowder have led archeologists to believe the powder magazine for the fort had been discovered.

About the time the army was disbanded and the peace negotiations were taking place, Alexander Sayers purchased land from John Smith at Dunkard Bottom, the location where Sayers had served previously as a wagonmaster. In addition he entered two tracts of land on Reed Creek for which no survey or patent has been found in his name. Early in 1764 Sayers was at the Lead Mines, "damning over the loss of Dunkard Bottom." It was about this time that Fort Chiswell and the Dunkard Bottom lands were mortgaged, and before Sayers could extricate himself from his financial difficulties he drowned in crossing the New River in the spring of 1765.

Under a judgment of Augusta County Court in August 1769, to satisfy the mortgage of Walter Buchanan, proceedings were undertaken to foreclose unless Robert Sayers, the young son, was able to pay the sum of £158.18.1½ with interest at five percent. Apparently neither Robert nor his mother, Mary, nor his sister, Catherine, were financially able to comply. In settling the estate James McGavock purchased Fort Chiswell and on September 24, 1771 paid the sum of £100 towards the purchase. Thus the era of the French and Indian War and the Sayers' ownership of Fort Chiswell came to an end.

There is no doubt that this period (1754-1771) was one of difficulty for frontiersmen such as Alexander Sayers. First, the Shawnee Indians had attacked the settlements, scattering the inhabitants; his own wife and family were apparently forced to live in Bedford County. Later the Virginia Regiment under Colonel Byrd would attempt to aid soldiers trapped by the Cherokees at Fort Loudoun in what is now Tennessee, and the following year would attempt an all-out attack on that nation. Fort Chiswell played an important role in the drama of the 1760's. The name was understandably changed from Sayers' Mill to Fort Chiswell after the "big fort" was constructed. Logically, a fort was a place of protection for the army as well as individual settlers. Those who think in a narrow plane will state Sayers' house was fortified and this was the fort; while others who think in terms of 650 men of the First Virginia Regiment, thousands of pounds of flour, ammunition and other supplies, will think of a "big fort" and will see that Fort Chiswell had to be more than protection for local inhabitants; there were no local inhabitants—they all had fled. Byrd recorded the building of entrenchments and a blockhouse as well as a magazine at Stalnaker's. The lack of a written record cannot rule out construction of a similar nature at Fort Chiswell. In fact, with the discovery of the structure of the magazine, and Louis Philippe's comment regarding a "big fort" recently torn down, as well as the reference to Fort Chiswell as the storage place for the chief part of the provisions for the army, it is clear that Fort Chiswell was a military installation of significant proportions. The missing Council letters of 1760 and 1761 may have the answers. The governor's instructions to Colonel Byrd may have the answer. In the meantime, Fort Chiswell of the French and Indian War period stands out as a fortification suitable for the 650 men of the Virginia army, not just for a few local militiamen who gathered around one man's house. Furthermore, Fort Chiswell would remain an important frontier fortification during the Revolutionary War, a place suitable for supplies, ammunition, soldiers, and settlers alike, a place which flourished under the direction of James McGavock.

(This portion of the account of Fort Chiswell is taken from "The Big Fort" by Mary Kegley, *Journal of the Roanoke Valley Historical Society*, Vol. X, No.2, 1978. That article continues the story of Fort Chiswell under the leadership of McGavock. Each statement has been footnoted in that article, but the references were omitted here.)

CHAPTER VI

Bounty Land For Service in the French and Indian War

Military Surveys

According to the terms of the Proclamation of 1763, men who had served during the French and Indian War were entitled to a certain number of acres of land according to their rank. The warrants were issued by the Governor of Virginia and the first surveys were made in 1774, and recorded in Fincastle County Survey Book A. Sometimes the original warrants were assigned and the survey may mention two or three names, but the person who first assigned the land was the one entitled to it under the terms of the Proclamation of 1763.

The warrants were for the officers and soldiers from the Earl of Dunmore and directed to the surveyors of Fincastle County, and by him recorded with the "several assignments thereon." One such example follows:

> I do hereby certifie that Peter Steinbergen is entitled to two thousand acres of Land agreeable to his majesty's proclamation in the year 1763 and being desirous to Locate the same in the County of Fincastle County on any of the Western Waters if he can lay it on any vacant lands that have not been surveyed by Order of Council or Patented since the above Proclamation, you are hereby strictly authorized and required to survey the same. Given under my Hand and seal this 24 Day of Feby 1774 Dunmore
>
> To Surveyor of Fincastle County, I hereby assign over all my right title and Interest of the above warrant to Colo. Abraham Hite his Heirs and Assigns for Value received this 28th day of Feby. 1774.
> Test John Savage Peter Steinbergen

All of the following surveys were made in 1774, unless otherwise specified, and these records may be found at the courthouse in Christiansburg, or on microfilm at the Virginia State Library. The records were transcribed in the order found in the book, using the spelling given, and unless otherwise stated the land surveyed was located on branches of the Ohio River, including the Kentucky River, Beargrass, and Elkhorn:

William Christian, assignee of Capt. John Blagg of the 1st Virginia Regt. and assignee of Capt. William Bradley of the 2nd Virginia Regt., 2,000 acres; James McCorkle, assignee of Daniel Trigg who was assignee of Capt. John Blagg, 1,000 acres; Col. George Washington, assignee of Rev'd Mr. Charles Myn Thruston, Lieut. in Va. Regt., 2,000 acres; John Ware, 1,000 and 1,000 acres; Bartholomew Dandrige, assignee of James Southall, 2,000 acres; Alexander Spotswood Dandridge, assignee of Alexander Spotswood, 1,000 acres; John Floyd, assignee of Daniel Trigg, 1,000 acres; Hugh Allen, 1,000 acres; Patrick Henry, assignee of James Clerk, 2,000 acres; Patrick Henry, assignee of Thomas Fleming, 3,000 acres; William Christian, Gent., Capt. of 2nd Va. Regt. 3,000 acres; William Henrey, 1,000 acres; Alexr. Spotswood Dandridge, assignee of Alexander Spotswood, 2,000 acres; William Russell, heir of Henry Russell, 2,000 acres; Andrew Boyd, heir of Alexander Boyd, deceased, 2,000 acres; Thomas Barnes, 2,000 acres; John Carter, representative of Thomas Carter dec'd, 2,000 acres; Patrick Henry, assignee of James Robinson, 1,000 acres; Patrick Henry assignee of John Ware, 1,000 acres; Thomas Hind, assignee of James Robinson, 1,000 acres; Thomas Hanson, 200 acres; a tract recorded for Capt. Meredith, 3,000 acres, refused and surveyed in other warrants; Joseph Bickley, 2,000 acres; William Preston, 1,000 acres; Samuel Meredith of Hanover County, Va., assignee of Nathan Abbot, Corporal in Byrd's Va. Regt. of Hanover County, Va., 200 acres; Adam Smith, assignee of William Christian, assignee of ________, 1,000 acres; William Ingles, 1,000 acres (warrant called for 2,000 in March 1774); William Ingles, assignee of Patrick Coutts, assignee of Thomas Booth, 2,000 acres; William Christian, 1,000 acres; William Preston, 1,000 acres; Bartholomew Dandridge, assignee of Edward Deen, heir-at-law of Thomas Deen, sargeant under Col.

Byrd, 200 acres; Audley Paul, lieutenant in Va. service, 2,000 acres; William Christian, assignee of William Henry, 1,000 acres; William Christian, 1,000 acres; John McDiffit, sargeant, 200 acres; Patrick Henry, assignee of Richard Omohudro (Omohundro), sargeant, 200 acres and 200 more assignee of Francis Drake, Corporal; William Fleming, Capt. of Va. Regt., 3,000 acres; George Skillern (?) assignee of John Smith, 1,000 acres; Shadrack Vaughan, for service under Col. Byrd, 2,000 acres; William Philips, 3,000 acres; Honourable William Byrd, 1,000 acres, and another 1,000 acres.

Captain Samuel Meredith of Va. Reg't under Col. Byrd, 2,000 acres; John Carter, merchant of Williamsburg, assignee of Mathew Anderson, non-commissioned officer, 200 acres; Henry Harrison, son and heir of Capt. Henry Harrison, deceased, 1,000 acres, and another 1,000 acres (warrant for a total of 3,000 acres Feb. 7, 1774).

Andrew Lewis, 2,000 acres; Charles Lewis, 2,000 acres; Gabriel Jones, assignee of Burr Harrison, 1,000 acres; William Preston, assignee of Abraham Hite (by Isaac Hite, son and attorney in fact), assignee of John Savage, 1,000 acres (survey 1775, patent 1779); John Floyd, assignee of John Draper, officer of Va. Regt., 1,000 acres (warrant to Ensign John Draper, 2,000 acres March 1774); Evan Shelby, 2,000 acres (1775); Hugh Mercer, assignee of James Duncanson, 1,000 acres; William Preston, assignee of Alexander Waugh, 1,000 acres (patent 1780); Zachary Taylor, heir-at-law of Hancock Taylor, assignee of Alexr. Waugh, assignee of John Waller, 1,000 acres; James Taylor, heir-at-law of George Taylor deceased, 1,000 acres (warrant states 2,000 acres and says 1,000 not yet surveyed); William Peachy, 1,000 acres; Hancock Eustace, 1,000 acres; Hugh Mercer, assignee of James Duncanson, assignee of Joseph Bledsoe of Fredericksburg, 1,000 acres; Hancock Taylor, of Orange County, Va. assignee of Alexander Waugh of Orange County, Va., assignee of John Waller, 1,000 acres (warrant for 2,000); Mary Fraser, only daughter and heir-at-law of George Fraser deceased, lieutenant in Virginia Regt. under Washington, 2,000 acres, (warrant received by her guardian Michael Robinson); John Ashbey, 2,000 acres; William Peachy, 2,000 acres; John Lewis, 2,000 acres; Angus McDonald, 2,000 acres; Philip Love, 2,000 acres; Hugh Mercer, 5,000 acres and 50 acres, assignee of James Duncanson (warrant shows 50 acres of John Twentyman assigned March 21, 1774); John Lawson, 1,000 acres; Hugh Mercer, assignee of George Weeden, 3,000 acres; Hugh Mercer, assignee of James Duncanson, 1,000 acres; Griffin Peart, ensign in Va. Regt., 2,000 acres; (Col.) Andrew Lewis, 3,000 acres (warrant for 5,000, Dec. 1, 1773); Zachary Taylor, 200 acres; William Sutherland, ensign in His Majesty's 95th Regt. of Foot under Col. Burton, 1,000 acres (warrant for 2,000 acres); Daniel McDonald, (brother in warrant) and heir-at-law of Theodosius McDonald, ensign in Va. Regt., 2,000 acres; Edmund Taylor, assignee of Andrew Waggoner, heir-at-law of Edmond Waggoner, subaltern in Va. Regt., 1,000 acres; (warrant on March 7, 1774 states Hancock Taylor purchased tract) Edmund Taylor, assignee of Andrew Waggoner, heir-at-law of Thomas Waggoner, captain in Va. Regt. under Col. Washington, 3,000 acres (warrant spells the name Wagener, Waggoner, and Wagner, March 7, 1774); John Tennant, assignee of William Woodward, 2,000 acres; John Ashby, 1,000 acres (warrant for 3,000 acres, Feb. 3, 1774); William Sutherland, ensign in 95th Regt. of Foot, 1,000 acres; John Floyd, assignee of William Preston, assignee of Alexander Waugh, 1,000 acres; Evan Shelby, 1,000 acres on Holston's Beaver Creek; Stephen Keywood, assignee of John Ross, assignee of Richard Boxsom, drummer in Va. Regt. under Col. Byrd, 50 acres, North Fork of Holston River; Francis Preston and John Smith, assignee of Francis Smith, assignee of George Elliott, 2,000 acres.

Adam Stephen, 1,000 acres (warrant for 5,000 acres Feb. 7, 1774); Adam Stephen, heir of Alexander Stephen, deceased, 2,000 acres; Adam Stephen, 2,000 acres; Henry Collins, Esq., 3,000 acres; Charles Warrenstaff, ensign in the Pennsylvania Regiment, 2,000 acres; Robert McKenzie, 3,000 acres; Adam Stephen, 1,000 acres; Adam Stephen, 1,000 acres; John Connally, surgeon's mate in General Hospital, 2,000 acres; Edward Ward, 2,000 acres; James Southall, assignee of John Hickman, 1,000 acres (warrant to Hickman for 2,000 acres Nov. 17, 1773); Richard Charleton and James Southall, assignees of William Finnie, 6,000 acres, 2,000 acres as surgeon's mate in Va. Regt. under Col. Byrd, 2,000 acres from father, Alexander Finnie, lieutenant in same Regt., and 2,000 acres as heir of brother, John Finnie, ensign in same Regt; Honourable William Byrd, Esq., Col. of Va. Regt. 1,000 acres; Alexander Craig, attorney in fact for John Polson, 1,000 acres; Edward Ward, 3,000 acres; Alexander McKee, 2,000 acres; James Southall, assignee of John Hickman, 1,000 acres; Alexander Craig, attorney in fact for John Polson, 1,000 acres; Honourable William Byrd, Colonel of the Virginia Regiment, 1,000 acres; Thomas Bowyer, 1,000 acres.

Israel Christian, assignee of Mordecai Debnam, 1,000 acres; John Boyd, assignee of Israel Christian, assignee of Mordecai Debnam, 1,000 acres; Lieutenant Walter Cunningham, 1,000 acres (1775); Col. Abraham Hite, assignee of Lt. Peter Steinbergen (Steenbergen), 2,000 acres (1775); John Dickenson, 3,000 acres (1775); James Wright, assignee of Thomas Hugart, heir-at-law of William Hugart, 1,000 acres, (1775); James McDowell heir-at-law of James McDowell deceased, 1,000 acres, (1775); another 1,000 acres, (1775); Thomas Wright, assignee of Thomas Hugart, heir-at-law of William Hugart, 1,000 acres, (1775); George Moffett, 1,000 acres, (1775); David Bell, assignee of Lieutenant John Lightfoot, 2,000 acres, (1775); George Moffett, 1,000 acres, (1775); Samuel McDowell, 2,000 acres, (1775).

William Christian, as captain in Virginia Reg't., 1,000 acres; David Robinson as officer in Va. service, 1,000 acres, (1776); John Allen, heir-at-law of Hugh Allen, deceased, 1,000 acres, (1776); James Allen, representative; of John Allen deceased, 2,000 acres; George Skillern, assignee of John Logan, assignee of James Smith, assignee of John Smith, who had a warrant for 3,000 acres as captain in the "New Levies," 1,000 acres; Walter Stewart, sergeant in His Majesty's 44th Regt., 200 acres, (1776); Jethro Sumner, 2000 acres, (1775); John Armstrong, Sergeant in late war, 200 acres, (1776); John Howard, assignee of Thomas Bowyer, 1,000 acres; George Skillern, 1,000 acres as assignee of John Smith as captain in the "New Levies," (1775).

Thomas Gist, 2,000 acres; Thomas Gist, representative of Nathaniel Gist, 3,000 acres, (1775); Thomas Gist, representative of Christopher Gist, 3,000 acres, (1775); John David Wollpeper, 2,000 acres, (1775); William Madison, assignee of John Bowyer, 1,000 acres, (1775), (Bowyer's warrant for 2,000 and 1,000 assigned to Rev'd Dan Smyth); James Hickman, heir-at-law of brother, Richard Hickman, lieutenant, 2,000 acres, (1775); Benjamin Logan, 200 acres assigned by William Bell of Fincastle County, Va., sergeant, (1775); Arthur Campbell, 1,000 acres (warrant for 2,000 acres); Col. William Preston, 1,000 acres, (1775) (note by Preston: "This land I assigned to Col. Hite in lieu of 1,000 of Savage's warrant assigned to me.")

Thomas Maxwell, assignee of John Gilliam, 200 acres, (1775); and two tracts of 200, (1775); William Peachy, 2,000 acres adjoining William Christian, (1776); Leroy Griffin, daughter and heir of Leroy Griffin, 2,000 acres, (1775); John Floyd, assignee of Charles Cummens, assignee of James Cowden, assignee of James Buford, sergeant in late war, 200 acres, (1775); James Hickman, 2,000 acres; William Christian, 1,000 acres.

Military Warrants With No Surveys Found in Fincastle County

Although many of the warrants listed at the back of Fincastle Survey Book A were followed by surveys in Fincastle County, many others were not. The men whose names appear on the following pages received warrants, but are not listed in Fincastle Surveys mentioned above. Information found both places has been combined in the list of surveys found on preceding pages. Those for whom no surveys were found are as follows:

Hancock Eustace, 3,000 acres, (warrant Dec. 30, 1773, and certificate received Nov. 27, 1779 by William Eustance, Jr. for delivery to executors of Hancock Eustace, dec.).

Richard Johnson, 2,000 acres, (warrant Jan. 7, 1774 and received by Robert Johnson, April 1780).

James Bell, Fort Vause, prisoner.
Christopher Hicks, Fort Vause, prisoner.
——— Cole, Fort Vause, prisoner.
——— Graham, Fort Vause, prisoner.
Benj. Daries, Fort Vause, prisoner.
Lieut. John Smith, Fort Vause, killed.
John Tracey, Fort Vause, killed.
John English, killed.
Mrs. Mary English, Fort Vause, prisoner.
Wm. Robinson, Fort Vause, wounded.
Thomas Robinson, Fort Vause, wounded.
Samuel Robinson, Fort Vause, wounded.
Robert Pepper, Fort Vause, wounded.
John Robinson, Fort Vause, killed.
John Walker, Fort Vause, prisoner."*

1757.
Feb.

In July of this year, Richard Pearis, who was located on the Holston river carrying on a trade with the Cherokee Indians, addressed a letter to the Governor of Virginia requesting a grant for the lands on the Long Island in the South Fork of the Holston river. In reply the Governor encouraged Pearis to believe that he could obtain a grant, and wrote him as follows: "I am surprised the inhabitants on Holston river should submit to be robbed by a few Indians. Let the Chickasaw know that I greatly approve of his conduct and have a real esteem for him." This last sentence in the Governor's letter had reference to a Chickasaw warrior who had resented the murder of one of the white settlers.

At the time of which we write the Virginia colonists, and the Cherokee and the Chickasaw Indians were exceedingly friendly, and through the agency of Richard Pearis, who was a great favorite with the Indians, the Governor of Virginia subsequently sought to enlist the Cherokee and the Chickasaw Indians in the war against the French and the Northern Indians.

1756

SANDY RIVER EXPEDITION.

For the purpose of avenging the massacre of the settlers upon the New river, the Governor of Virginia enlisted a hundred and thirty Cherokee Indians, to whom were joined four companies of the Rangers of West Augusta, for the purpose of invading and destroying the Shawnese towns at the mouth of the Big Sandy and on the Ohio river. The command of this expedition was given to Major Andrew Lewis.

This force consisted of two hundred and sixty-three white men, commanded by Captain Peter Hogg, with forty men; Captain William Preston, with thirty men; Captain John Smith, with thirty men; Captain Samuel Overton, with forty men; Captain Obadiah Woodson, with forty men; Captains Robert Breckenridge, Archibald Alexander, John Montgomery and ——— Dunlap commanding eighty-three volunteers, and Captain Richard Pearis commanding a hundred and thirty Cherokee and Chickasaw Indians.

This force was rendezvoused at Fort Lewis, near Salem, Va., whence they marched in Feb. 1756, for the Indian towns. They traveled from Fort Lewis, near Salem, to the New river, which they crossed at the Horseshoe Bend; they thence descended the New river to the mouth of Wolf creek, thence up Wolf creek to its source, thence to Bluestone river, thence to the head of North Fork of Sandy, which they reached on the 28th day of February, 1756; thence down the Sandy to the Great Burning Springs, at which point they saw the rawhides of several buffaloes hung upon bushes to dry. At this time provisions became very scarce and a famine was threatened, but this little army was saved by the bravery and firmness of Major Lewis.

The army then proceeded from the Burning Springs to the banks of the Ohio, where they remained for two days. Seeing no evidences of Indians, they began to retrace their steps, and by the time they had reached the Burning Springs on their return, the hunger of the men had become so great that the hides of the buffaloes, which had been hung upon the bushes, were cut into tugs, and the men devoured them as the only means of preserving life. It is said that from this circumstance the Tug Fork of Sandy river received its name. Thus this expedition ended disastrously for the settlers. The Indians were correspondingly elated and immediately advanced upon the settlements east of the Alleghany mountains, committing many murders and carrying off many prisoners.

The Governor and Council of Virginia agreed to build a number of forts for the protection of the western settlements, and, among

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*Col. Wm. Preston diary in L. C. Draper Manuscript.

At this time the governor of Virginia, looking to the southwest, saw danger looming. To General Abercrombie he wrote: "I have Account y't the French from Missisippi, to the number of 400 are coming to the rivers of . . . and Holston back of Lord Granville's Land, with Intention to build some Forts. . . . They vaunt much of their Expectation of a great Force of Regulars from France by way of the Missisippi."[7]

On July 4, 1754, Washington was compelled to surrender Fort Necessity, on terms of being allowed to march his forces back to Virginia.

Glen who had sent a company of Carolina troops to aid the Virginians under Washington now demanded of Dinwiddie its return. The latter in turn wrote to General Abercrombie that he had expected the assistance of the Cherokees and even of the Chickasaws "for they belong to this [Virginia] government;" and of Glen he said: "that Gent., his letters are in such a dictatorial Style that I shall not answer them."[8] Glen had taunted his brother Scot: "Why did Virginia have so few men on the campaign? They could not have exceeded 185 while South Carolina had 115 men."[9] The coolness between the two governors was now congealing to iciness.

Dinwiddie, in an effort to get Cherokee aid for another push to be directed by General Edward Braddock, sent another messenger to the mountains of Tennessee—this time young Nathaniel Gist, son of the celebrated Christopher Gist. Young Gist had for some years been a trader to the Overhills, but his mission, too, was unsuccessful, though he was a favorite of the Indians to whom he was sent.[10]

1751-4-5

Governor Braddock fought his disastrously unsuccessful battle in 1755, without Cherokee aid, though Dinwiddie had earnestly urged Glen to encourage the Indians to join the British and Virginians. To him Glen "did not look like a well wisher to what we have

get

Pearis

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ceeded by neither Attakullakulla nor Oconostota, who at the time headed opposing factions, but by the Standing Turkey (Conockotoco): "Conockotoco (constituted Emperor of the Cherokee Nation by the Great Warrior, of Chota after Old Hop's death and by the opposite faction with the Little Carpenter)"—address (1761) to Col. Adam Stephen, appearing *sub*, p. Adair called Old Hop the "archimagus" having dangerous "political powers." *Hist. Am. Indians*, 80 (Williams ed. p. 85).

[7] *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 286.

[8] *Ib.*, I, 237–8.

[9] C. O. 5: 14 p. 497.

[10] The failure was, in part, due to a quarrel between Gist, then twenty years of age, and Richard Pearis who had been a trader to the Overhills operating in partnership with Thomas Price from Long Island (Kingsport) for three years prior to 1754. Pearis was heavily indebted to the elder Gist for goods, and sent a letter to Old Hop saying that Gist had stolen the letter to that red ruler from Dinwiddie from him, Pearis. "The letter of Pearis to Old Hop was laughed at." Gist also brought a message from the Six Nations in western New York asking the Cherokees to come to the aid of the British. Williams, "Nathaniel Gist, Father of Sequoyah," in *E. T. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, V, 39–55; Darlington, *Christopher Gist's Journals*, 72–80; *Indian Book*, V, 41, 53 (S. C. Arch.) It appears that while yet a lad, Gist was among the Overhills, and in all probability he had been taken there by his father from their home then on Yadkin River in North Carolina. However, research has failed to discover the actual presence of Christopher Gist in the Overhill country.

[11] To Glen himself Dinwiddie wrote that the Cherokees had sent word to Virginia that they had been ready to send warriors "but that the Governour of South Carolina desired them to remain at home. If this is true, I think his Majesty's Service has been ill used and much slighted by one of His Governors." But he frankly confessed: "If I had known Abra. Smith's character, I would not have employed him even as a messenger, but it was a necessity, having very few Traders to those Indians." *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 273–4. Further: "The Emperor of the Cherokees was here [1752] with his attendants. I received him properly with Presents, and recommended him and his People to your Province for Trade, as being much more contiguous." (Aug. 5, 1754).

on the Anvil;" "he is altogether the strangest possitive assuming Man I have ever corresponded with, and there I leave him."[11] Glen, on his part, thought the "assuming man" was quite another, then resident at Williamsburg in Virginia, whom he looked upon as an incompetent, and to whom time and again the suggestion had been made by Glen that other governors be called into conference at Williamsburg to consult on colonial policy and plans in regard to the West.

The year, 1756, opened with the French holding the British from the Upper Ohio. A flank attack had been planned by Governor Dinwiddie. The chivalrous Major Andrew Lewis was chosen by his colonel, Washington, to lead a force of western militia and 130 Cherokees, brought in from the mountains by Richard Pearis,[12] down Sandy Creek (now Big Sandy River) to the towns of the trouble-making Shawnees on the Ohio. Washington was not enthusiastic over the plan. Indeed he indicated to the governor his apprehension that the project "will prove abortive."[13] The expedition set out February 6th and on the 28th reached the head of Big Sandy, two hundred Virginians, and the Cherokees led by Chief Ostenaco and Pearis, the latter now commissioned a captain, composing the force.

After days of toilsome marching through the woods their provisions and ammunition were lost in an effort to cross the stream, swollen by thawing snow and rains. On March 8th all of the militia but the officers and twenty or thirty privates mutineered and deserted. All others then were obliged to return to the settlements. Nearly famished, they were forced to kill horses for food.

The Overhill Indians started to return to their country on foot. Finding some horses running loose in the woods of Southwest Virginia, they took them. As they had lost their own on the campaign conducted for the protection of the border whites, most of whom would not go out themselves, the Indians thought themselves warranted in impressing, so to speak, horses found out on the range. The frontiersmen did not see the matter in this light and followed up the warriors, killing about a score of them, including some braves of note. The natural antagonism between the raw whites and the redmen flamed into conflict. Thus at a fateful moment the allegiance of the Cherokees was put to strain.[14]

War was formally declared by Great Britain against France May 7th, though the declaration was not known in America until late in July, and on the frontier, weeks later.[15]

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[11] *Dinwiddie Papers,* I, 488, 508. Dobbs also complained of Glen's conduct to Loudoun: Instead of sending Indian aid to Virginia as he had promised, Glen chose "the very time they were wanted to appoint a Meeting for a treaty with the Cherokees" and thus had "regarded himself and not the Public Service." (Aug. 24, 1755). *N. C. Col. Recs.,* V, 359. Dinwiddie expressed the view that, but for Glen, Gen. Braddock would not have been defeated, as the French Indians would, with Cherokee auxiliaries, have been "attacked in their bush way of fighting which the Regulars are strangers to."

[12] Pearis had been ordered in September previous to bring in all Cherokees he could influence. Carolina traders, he claims, tried to persuade the Indians not to go, and Pearis to remove this impression said "he would forgive their debts and burn his books which he accordingly did." *Journal H. of P., of Va.,* for 1757, 379–81.

[13] *D. Papers,* II, 315, Washington to Governor, Jan. 13, 1756.

[14] It was with difficulty that the chiefs in the Indian towns held the young braves in leash.

[15] The French King had been averse to open war. In 1755 the two powers endeavored to arrive at a *modus vivendi* by establishing a neutral zone on the Upper Ohio, but their ministries, affected by the rising distrust and actual conflicts, felt that such an agreement might expose their respective colonies to ruin. Formal declaration of war followed.

Kegley's VA Frontier

CHAPTER SIX

EVENTS OF 1756—ATTACKS AND COUNTER-ATTACKS

THE EVENTS of 1756 connected with the safety and progress of the Roanoke Settlements were:—The Expedition against the Shawnees; The Attack and Massacre at Vause's Fort; The Building of the Cherokee Fort; The Planning for a Line of Forts; Building Fort Lewis and Fort Vause; The Defense of Fort William; Washington's Tour of Inspection.

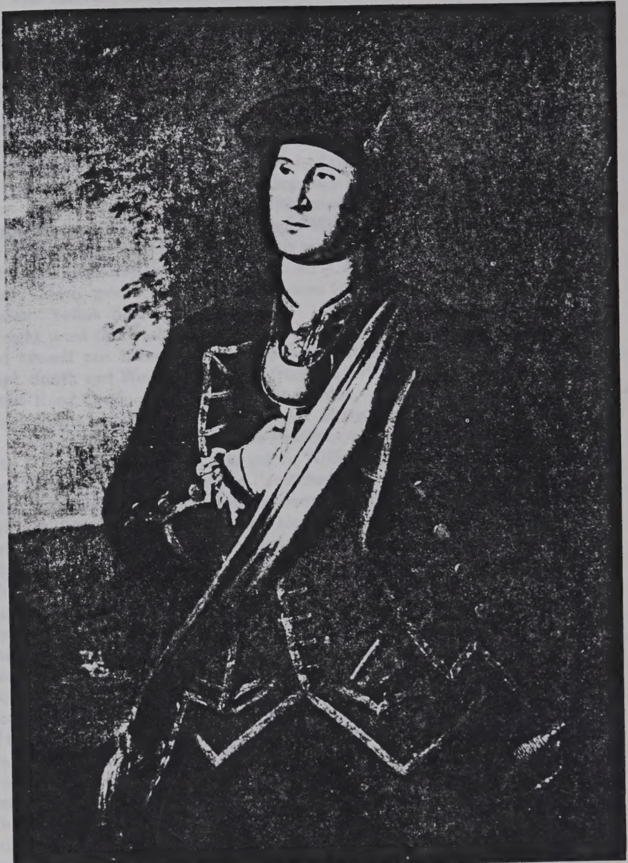
THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SHAWNEES

On August 14, 1755 Col. Washington had received his commission appointing him Colonel of the Virginia Regiment and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces now raised and to be raised for the defence of his Majesty's Colony and for repelling the unjust and hostile invasions of the French and their Indian allies.

He was to command the sixteen companies being raised formed into a regiment; to contract for the supply of clothing and other things needed; to appoint a commissary with adjutant and quartermaster; and other inferior officers; to have field officers reside at Winchester, Alexandria and Fredericksburg to recruit men fit for the service. Headquarters were to be at Winchester.—Dinwiddie Papers II, 184–186.

On arriving at the front Washington reported the "situation in general bad." No orders were obeyed but what a party of soldiers or his own drawn sword enforced. Without this a single horse could not be had. The poor distressed people were invited to lodge their families in some place of security and join the parties scouring the woods for the enemy. The militia were under poor regulation. The insolence of the soldiers and the inactivity of the officers such that under that establishment they would become a nuisance, an insupportable charge to the country. The people were sometimes scared at drunken soldiers carousing. In one case a party thought to be Indians proved to be a mulatto and a negro hunting cattle. They were seen by a child who alarmed its father and the father the neighborhood. The people were leaving in such numbers that an advertisement was issued to allay an inconceivable panic that prevailed among them. Captain Wagoner said that it was with difficulty that he passed the ridge for the crowds that were flying as if every moment were death. There was total negligence among the recruiting officers. Several had been out six weeks or two months without getting a man, spending their time in all the gayety of pleasurable mirth with their relatives and friends, getting no one, except those proffering themselves on their own inclination.—Ford, Writings of Washington. Dinwiddie Papers.

Rev. James Maury said, "Such numbers of people have lately transported themselves into the more southerly governments as must appear incredible to



George Washington as a Colonial Colonel
From Portrait by Peale

any except such as have had an opportunity of knowing it. By Bedford courthouse in one week 'tis said, and I believe truly said, near 300 inhabitants of this colony passed on their way to Carolina. From all the upper counties, even those on this side of the Blue Hills, great numbers are daily following."

On December 14 Gov. Dinwiddie addressed the following letter to Col. Washington:—"The Cherokees have taken up the hatchet against the Shawnese and French and have sent 130 of their warriors into New River and prepare to march immediately to attack and cut off the Shawnese in their towns. I desire they shall be joined with three companies of rangers and Capt. Hogg's company, and I propose Col. Stephen or Major Lewis to be commander of the party on this expedition. Col. Peter Randolph and Col. Wm. Byrd are going commissioners to the Catawbas and Cherokees with a handsome present to confirm our interest and to prevail with them to send a number of their warriors to our assistance in the spring."—Dinwiddie Papers, Vol. II, 291–292.

Major Lewis, being at Winchester when the Governor's letter came to hand, was immediately dispatched by Washington to Augusta to take command of the troops destined against the Shawnese Town. He thought this scheme would likely prove abortive as he had heard that those Indians were removed up the river into the neighborhood of Fort Duquesne. It was necessary to act defensively.—Washington to Dinwiddie, January 14. Ford—220.

Major Lewis was commissioned to command the forces on this expedition and was sent blank commissions for other officers to be filled out as necessary. He was to consult with Pearis about people to attend the Indians. There would likely be about 350 men. And it would probably take no longer than six weeks. Every man could carry five days allowance in bread, of wheat or corn flour.

Suggestions were given to Captains Hogg, Woodson, Smith and Preston. Woodson and Smith were referred to as "old woodsmen." Hogg was to take their advice. Smith was to take sixty men from his own and Preston's company and Preston to command the remainder. A supply of 150 small arms, 10 lbs. gunpowder, 2000 lbs. shot and 91 blankets for the Indians was "sent up." Major Lewis was to see about clothing, etc. Col. David Stewart was commissary and Lieut. William Fleming, surgeon.

The different companies came together through the Roanoke Valley to Dunkard Bottom on New River, the place of rendezvous, where they were to meet the Indians. The fortification there was called Fort Frederick. Capt. Preston said that he left Fort Prince George on February 9th with two Lieutenants, 2 Sergeants, 3 Corporals and 25 Privates. He had one waggon load of dry beef weighing 2000 lbs. The first day he traveled 15 miles and lodged at the home of Francis Cyphers, on Roanoke, and early on Tuesday morning, being the 10th, he proceeded as far as Richard Hall's, about 15 miles. The next day he marched to New River, followed closely by Capt. Hogg's company. As they marched by the Cherokee Camp they saluted the Indians by firing off guns, which was returned by them with great joy, and a war dance followed. Thursday they heard a sermon at Capt. Woodson's Camp preached by Rev. Mr. Brown. The next day Major Lewis reviewed the troops, which numbered about 340, including the Indians. Rev. Mr. Craig preached a military sermon. Major Lewis gave Captain's Commissions to two head Cherokee Warriors named "Yellow Bird" and "Round O." On the next Sunday James Burk brought word that Robert Looney was killed near Alexander Sawyers' and he had himself one horse shot and five taken away by the Shawnee Indians. Capt. Smith and Woodson marched from the fort in order to range the woods about Reed Creek and go to Burke's Garden. Capt. Hogg's company and Major Lewis marched out on Wednesday afternoon.

Capt. Preston himself left Fort Frederick at 10 o'clock on Thursday 19th with 27 loaded pack horses. He got to William Sawyers' and camped on his barn floor. The next morning he "switched" one of the soldiers for swearing which incensed the Indian chiefs present. As they advanced to Alexander Sawyers' they met the Indians who had gone out with the first division and lost some of their own. The Indians that deserted them were persuaded to return by Major Lewis and Capt. Pearis who found them at Col. Buchanan's. The next day, Sunday, was spent in marching 7 miles to John McFarland's. In their march over the mountain to Bear Garden on Monday they lost sundry horses. One more day and 9 miles brought them to Burke's Garden where they found plenty of potatoes which the soldiers gathered in the deserted plantations. From Burke's Garden they passed over the mountains by the head of Clinch River and reached the head of Sandy Saturday afternoon. From frequent crossing of the creek made troublesome by recent heavy rains some of the horses broke down under their loads and were left. From signs of Indians traveling and hunting it was thought that Stalnaker and the prisoners taken with him were carried that way. They soon came into coal land where there were more signs of enemy Indians. Here the troops were put on half rations. The march was now greatly retarded, because the mountains closed in on them from both sides of the river and each man had only a half pound of flour and no meat, except what could be killed. Many horses wandered off and could not be found. The river was so deep and had to be crossed so often that both men and horses almost expired. The Captain lost his fourth horse.

About this time another week was gone, the men were faint and weak with hunger, there was no game in the mountains nor appearance of level country, a half-pound of flour was insufficient support, a proposal to kill the horses for food was refused; yet another effort to go forward was made. The Indians made bark canoes for themselves and Major Lewis had a large canoe made for the ammunition and provisions. The last stretches of the journey were made by marching across ridges that extended so close to the river that they could not be passed. By the middle of the next week which was the 10th of March the men had determined to desert and go home. Eight of Capt. Smith's men went off immediately, a part of Preston's had to be disarmed by force, the canoes were wrecked in the river and everything of value lost, even the men were compelled to swim for their lives. Major Lewis made a last effort to save the expedition. Each Captain called his men together to hear a speech by the Major—all that were willing to share his fate could go with him. All the officers and 20 or 30 privates joined him. Montgomery's volunteers marched off followed by Smith's, Preston's and Dunlap's companies.

Captain Preston's saying that he left Fort Prince George for Fort Frederick on New River staying one night at Francis Cyphers' 15 miles distant and another at Richard Hall's 15 miles farther on means that he was at Fort William which he is calling Fort Prince George and went straight up the Catawba and down the North Fork of Roanoke. Francis Cyphers lived on North Fork next below the McDonald Mill place and Richard Hall's was at the head spring of Meadow Creek, the eastern branch of Strouble's Creek of New River near the divide where the trail north and south by Draper's Meadows intersected with the trail out of the Roanoke by the Sulphur Spring to New River—later the Chrisman—Stephens—Taylor land. Christopher Gist stopped at Hall's on his return from his trip west in 1750 and said that this was then one of the most western settlements. It is not clear where New River was crossed, probably at Bingaman's later Pepper's ferry, or the regular crossing near the Mouth of Little River.—Preston's Journal—Draper Manuscripts, Augusta County—Land Records.

On their return from the Shawnee Expedition the companies were scattered, in fact, most of the men had deserted. The officers remained in the service. Major Lewis was sent to the Cherokee Country to build a fort. Capt. Overton was with him. Capt. Dunlap took charge of a fort at the mouth of Craig's Creek, Capt. Preston remained in charge of his company and guarded the Catawba and Buffalo Creek Valleys until the 24th of June when he disbanded his men, Capt. Smith remained on the main waters of Roanoke until he was captured at Vause's Fort on June 26th.

The appointment of Major Lewis to oversee the building of a fort in the Cherokee country was made on April 24th. On the same day Capt. Preston was ordered to draft one-third of the militia for the protection of the frontier of Augusta County. Col. John Buchanan was to act as County Lieutenant in

the absence of Major Lewis. In this capacity he would be the commander of the Augusta Militia. Major Lewis was to enlist 60 men, many tradesmen that could use the saw and axe, their pay being what he thought proper. The Governor sent £700 to purchase 100 beeves to drive along and the horses necessary to carry provisions and tools. He arranged to take 10,000 lbs. of flour. The supplies were to be collected at *Roanoke* and when ready the men were to march to Chota in the Cherokee country. The Indians there were to understand that they had come from Virginia at very great expense to assist in building a fort.—Andrew Lewis to Dinwiddie—Preston Papers 1QQ 131–133 and 136. Dinwiddie to Lewis—Dinwiddie Papers Vol. 2, 390.

March 30, 1756. A Petition of the Inhabitants of Augusta setting forth that because of many acts of violence committed on the inhabitants of that and neighboring counties, many of the families who have survived their barbarities have removed their effects out of this Government and others daily continue to do so. And since this is due chiefly to the defenceless state of the frontiers where there are but few strongholds, for the protection of the back inhabitants against the incursions and depredations of the savages, and since there is no method can so certainly and with little expense, secure them against a repetition of these heavy cruelties as a chain of forts extended quite across the country for their present defence and establishing a fair trade and cultivating a friendship with the several Indian nations upon and to the westward of the River Ohio; the said petitioners pray that such a chain of forts may be erected and an Indian Factory established at such places, under such direction, and in such methods as to this house shall appear most conducive to guard against future mischief, to promote the success of the common cause, and restore tranquility and security to the inhabitants of this colony.—Journals of the House of Burgesses 1756–1758, Page 349.

This petition followed the report of the unsuccessful expedition against the Shawnees. The letter of Major Andrew Lewis, dated at Roanoke March 28th, inclosing a copy of the minutes of a council of war held at Sandy Creek on the 15th of March, reached the Governor soon after the news of the return and was presented to the house on April 6th. A committee was appointed to inquire into the conduct of the officers and men.—Journals 1756–58, Page 356.

April 9, 1756. Claims against the country for services rendered came in.—Charles Anderson and William Boyd represented that they had each of them a waggon with their horses and drivers impressed to carry goods for the soldiers at Fort Frederick; That the petitioner Anderson's team was employed in the service 28 days, and the said William Boyd's 25 days, and that they provided for their said horses and drivers during the time they were so employed and have not yet received any satisfaction for the same.—Journals 1756–58, Page 361.

April 15, 1756. The committee appointed to inquire into the conduct of the officers and men employed in the late expedition against the Shawnees

reported that they had examined several witnesses and agreed that Major Andrew Lewis, who commanded the expedition, discharged his duty with integrity and resolution, and that the ill success thereof was entirely owing to the refractory and mutinous behavior of Captain Obadiah Woodson, John Smith and John Montgomery, who commanded the volunteers, and of the Volunteers. Whereupon it was ordered that an address be made to the Governor to desire that his Honor would be pleased to stop the pay of the said Woodson, Smith and Montgomery, and that the officers may never more be employed as officers in his Majesty's service.—Journals 1756–58, 369.

April 20, 1756. The House provided £20,000 for expenses in building the Fort in the Cherokee country and desired that Major Andrew Lewis and Captain Samuel Overton be appointed to manage and overlook the building of the fort. Journal 1756–58, 372.

September 23, 1758. In reference to the action of the House in regard to the conduct of Captain Smith, Captain Woodson and Captain Montgomery while on the Shawnee Expedition, Captain Smith represents that he had no opportunity of clearing up his conduct at the time of the censure, being at a great distance on the Frontiers, but when he heard it, he waited on the Governor and so far satisfied him of his innocence that he was pleased to continue him in the service. He now has witnesses in town that would fully clear him of any misbehavior on that Expedition.

Upon hearing these witnesses the committee reported that the said Smith never shewed any backwardness to proceed in the Expedition or encouraged any mutiny or Desertion, but on the contrary endeavored to prevent his men from deserting, by encouraging them with the hopes of an open country being near, and that after his men had turned back, he declared he was willing to proceed on with ten men, provided the Cherokee Indians would go with him.

It was resolved that the said John Smith did not misbehave himself in the said Expedition against the Shawnee Indians, and that he ought to receive his pay.

Ordered that the committee appointed to settle the militia accounts make an allowance to the said John Smith for his pay during his service in the said Expedition.—Journals 1758–61, Pages 20 and 26.

In the case of Obediah Woodson against the House for censuring his conduct on the Shawnee Expedition, the committee came to the conclusion that the ill-success of the expedition was occasioned by the want of provisions, and that the said Woodson did not behave himself in such a manner as an officer ought to have done. October 9, 1758.—Journal 1758-61, Page 37.

William Fleming reported that in the year 1755 he had received a commission as ensign in David Bell's company, and in pursuance of orders from Col. Washington recruited a number of men and subsisted them at his own expense; ten of which, in their march to the county of Augusta, deserted and were never afterwards retaken; for which reason Col. Washington in settling

the recruiting accounts, refused to make any allowance for the deserters;—he desired to be reimbursed by the public for this expense, which amounted to £35/13—To which the House agreed.—Journals 1758-61, Page 161.

An item of expense for provisions for the troops on this expedition is shown in a receipt of John Smith to John Bingeman on New River for beef.—"Received of John Bingeman 861 weight of beef for use of my company and the Cherokee Indians at 10/ per C., £4/6/3¼, and more to cash upon the same account, 18/, per me. John Smith."—Chalkley I, 486.

April 21, 1756. Richard Pearis represented that he was ordered by the Governor last September to go to the Cherokee Nation in order to bring a number of them to the assistance of this Colony; That he was there much impeded in his solicitations by the North Carolina traders, who endeavored to persuade the Indians that he only wanted them to hunt till they got deer-skins enough to pay him a debt they owed him of 2586 lbs. deer-leather; upon which, to remove all doubt, the petitioner told them he would forgive them the debt and burn his books, which he accordingly did; and thereupon 82 of their warriors marched with him and joined Major Lewis in the expedition against the Shawnees.

Upon consideration of this petition the committee which had it in charge reported that the said Richard Pearis should be allowed the sum of £100 towards reimbursing his loss.—Journals, Pages 379, 381.

John Allen represented that he accompanied Mr. Pearis to the Cherokee Nation and that he lost his horse worth eight Pistoles and that he also lately lost in the service a pair of Pistols.

Samuel Overton and James Gunn said that they were sent out upon the late intended expedition against the Shawnees and that before their return, they each of them had lost their guns and several other things of considerable value.

On information of Major Lewis there were not arms enough provided for the people that went on the expedition. Mr. Overton carried two guns that he borrowed, one of which was lost by a canoe's oversetting in crossing a river and the other was, by the direction of Major Lewis, given to an Indian Warrior.

Mr. Gunn carried with him a valuable gun which was lost.

Mr. Overton left his horse, bridle and saddle with a sick man who has not been heard of since. John Allen left his horse at Fort Frederick when he went on the Expedition and could not find him on his return.

Samuel Overton ought to be allowed £8/1/3 for his two guns and the sum of £13 for his horse, saddle and bridle.

James Gunn, the sum of £5/7/6 for his gun, and £8 for horse.

John Allen, nothing for his horse.

Alexander Mackie furnished Captain Woodson, Smith and Pearis with sundry necessaries for the expedition. He should be paid £103/14/2 for goods furnished and the hire of two wagons from John Thompson for the use of the expedition.

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In the hope of enlisting the aid of the friendly Cherokees and Catawbas in the struggle against the French and their Indian allies, Governor Dinwiddie appointed Colonel William Byrd and Colonel Peter Randolph to visit the two nations.

This they did in the summer of 1756, carrying with them many gifts, and successfully concluded a treaty with the tribes whereby they agreed to furnish Virginia with 500 warriors in return for the erection of a fort for the protection of their wives and children against the assaults of the northern Indians. Virginia at once fulfilled her promise, and Fort Loudon on the Tennessee was built the same summer.

In the spring of 1757 when the long promised Indian aid arrived it was found to consist of but 400 warriors and of these only 180 remained at the fort at Winchester, the others immediately returning home. They had evidently become disaffected towards the Virginians through French influence, and now were bent upon mischief, for in their march back and forth through Virginia they committed many acts of violence upon the inhabitants, and slew and tomahawked[1] one of their own members in Col. Clement Read's yard.

When they reached western Halifax and Bedford Counties they became bolder in their defiant attitude and robbed the inhabitants of their horses, plundered their homes, and offered brutal insults to their persons.

The people of Halifax were placed in a most trying position, for it was well known and understood that the Cherokees were our friends and allies, and that their warriors had marched to our aid; yet here were marauding bands of more than a hundred warriors straying over the country and boldly robbing the inhabitants, who hesitated to offer resistance to the intruders for fear of provoking them to war. We may know that the Cherokees were keenly sensible of the plight in which these Virginians were placed, for they remained several weeks terrorizing the countryside.

A letter[2] of Colonel Fontaine to relatives in England, dated June 11, 1757, said: "Those of the Indians that call themselves our friends do despise us, and in their march through our inhabited country, when going to our assistance, insult and annoy. It is not above a month ago since a

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[1] Dinwiddie Papers, Vol. 2, p. 609.

[2] "Memoirs of a Huguenot Family," by Maury.

party of about a hundred and twenty Cherokees, in passing through Lunenburg insulted people of all ranks."

When Col. Read[3] notified the Governor of the presence and behavior of the Cherokees his Excellency advised reasoning with them in a mild way for fear of provoking them to open warfare, which he said "would prove of fatal consequences; however the people are not to be robbed and insulted."

But when the people, acting upon the Governor's advice, attempted to reason with the Indians, their peaceful overtures were repulsed and bloodshed followed.

A letter[4] from the Governor to Col. Fontaine, County Lieutenant, in regard to the situation stated:

May 7, 1757.

"Sir,—

I received y'r L're of April 20, last night and am very sorry for the aprehensions the frontiers are under an attack from the Indians. It is a surprise to me that the People allow Indians to come so frequently among them: the very examining of the Co'try and the Peoples Houses was Suspicion Sufficient to raise the militia and Take 'em all Prisoners. I approve of your sending out James Dillard with fifty men; and please order him to continue out aranging."

The citizens of Bedford County petitioned[5] to be allowed to kill the Indians, and asked for soldiers to be stationed among them for protection, but their petition was denied in the hope of preventing open conflict.

Governor Dinwiddie's term of office expired January, 1758, and Mr. Blair, president of the Council, became the presiding official of the colony until the arrival of Governor Fauquier in the following June. Blair ordered an investigation into the origin of the troubles in Halifax and Bedford Counties with the Cherokees, and for this purpose a especial court was held at Mayes Ferry (now Booker's Ferry), on Staunton River, in Halifax County, on June 1, 1758, when the following depositions[6] were taken of those who had suffered from Indian outrages or taken part in the conflicts with them:

"Halifax County } At Mays's Ferry on Staunton River June the 1st,
to-wit— } 1758, was taken by Order of Mr. President

Blair—The State cause and process of the three several Engagements, had between several parties of militia of Halifax and Bedford Counties, in Company with part of Captain Hawkin's men, with several parties of Indians in their march thro' those Counties which is as followeth, to-wit,

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[3] Dinwiddie Papers, Vol. 2, p. 612.

[4] Dinwiddie Papers, Vol. 2, p. 619.

[5] "North Carolina Hist. Review," Vol. 2, p. 443.

[6] "Indian Book," Vol. 6, pp. 153-59, at Columbia, South Carolina.

John Wheeler, William Verdiman, John Hall, Richard Thompson, William Verdiman Junr, Robert Jones Junr, and Henry Snow being first sworn, as to the first of the three Engagements they deposed in Substance as followeth.

First John Wheeler aged about 50, John Hall and Richard Thompson aged about 25 each, swore that having been robbed of some Horses sometime in the begining of May, being at a neighbours House, were informed by him, that several Indians were seen to pass thro' the Neighbourhood with a great number of packed Horses, and that several other Horses were missing of that Neighbourhood, to the number of 20 at least That they had Robbed several Houses, and had as was supposed murther'd or—Captivated a family near that Neighbourhood, as the family was missing, and could not be heard of, and that they called themselves Shawanees; Whereupon these three Deponents with four others agreed to go after the Indians, and in a friendly manner demand the Horses, and other things Stolen; That these three Deponents, being on Horse back, the rest on foot, came up with the Indians, And the Deponent Wheeler calling them Brothers, desired to treat with them. The Indians painted and sullen, put themselves in a posture for Battle, And sternly asked if they were for War, The Deponents replied they were not, That they were friends and Brothers and desired peace and quiet delivery of their Horses, and asked the Indians of what Nation they were; upon that they instantly set up the War Whoop; The deponent Wheeler seeing his Horse in the Hands of an Indian took hold of the Bridle, and whilst they were strugling for him, other Indians came up and seized him and the Horse he rode, which he was forced to quit to them after receiving several Blows with a Tomahawke—fled on foot, three Indians pursued him, and three Guns were fired, as he supposed at him and his Companions, as he heard a Bullet whistle by him, and he and his Companions made their escape without any other Hurt or loss, then that of two more Horses, which were then taken from them by the Enemy, That in their flight they met the rest of the Company on Foot, coming to them upon which reinforcement, they came to a resolution once more to follow the Indians, and being joyned afterwards by a few others, did so, making up the Number Eleven tho' some of those Eleven were without Guns, That they came to Staunton River. and when there, these several Deponents, to-wit; John Wheeler, William Verdiman, John Hall, Richard Thompson, William Verdiman, Junr, Robert Jones, Junr, and Henry Snow, Swear that when they arrived at the River Bank they as they imagined heard the Indians WarHalloo on the other side, that they proceeded to pass the River, that when they gott over, on rising the Bank on the other side, they found a small fire just kindled, and at some little distance from thence, they observed the Enemy, upon which all the Deponents say that Old William Verdiman aged about sixty, went foremost, and that they all followed close at his heels, that when they came up to the Enemy they found they had tyed their Horses, pretty many in Number to the Bushes, that most of the Indians were painted and others then painting, some black some Red, but mostly black, that when they came near Old Verdiman pulled off his Hatt and Bowed and accosted them in terms of peace, and Friendship, and said Gentlemen we come in a Brotherly manner to ask you for our Horses, and other Goods, that you have taken from us, that the Indians gave a kind of a Grunt, and appeared determined for mischief, stripped themselves threw out the priming of their Guns, fresh primed and Cocked them, struck their Tomahawks into Trees, and in an angry manner demanded of the Deponents if they would fight; that whilst Verdiman who was still uncovered Bowing and Treating with them, the Enemy Indeavored to Inviron them, and had actually got them into a half Circle before the Deponents were aware upon which, and young Verdiman observing that two Indians had pointed their Guns, they the Deponents all retreated backwards with their Faces to the Enemy, and took to trees, that on their retreat, the Indians threw their Tomahawks, and that two of them narrowly missed two of their men, that one of them would have hitt Old Verdiman, but that he luckely parried it with an Elder Stick he had in his hand (for he was one of the number of those that had no Guns) and the Indians pursuing and they retreating in Order, they were near drove to the River Banck, where they must have inevitably perished had they then attempted to have crossed, that on the retreat a Gun was fired upon which the Engagement insued, and many Guns discharged on both sides, in which Engagement the Father of John Hall one of the deponents fell, and being mortally wounded soon after died, that during the Engagement those of the Deponents who had Guns were obliged to fly from tree to tree to one another for a shott of Powder and Lead both being very scarce among them, that in the Engagement three Indians fell, that at last their Powder and Lead being Expended they fled back over the River in different places, and being all met again on the other side, they went to a Neighbours House, supplied themselves with more Ammunition, and went back again to place where the Engagement was to look for their wounded friend, who they found expiring, three Indians dead in the Field and much plunder, that they scalped the Indians, threw their dead Bodies into the River, and brought away their dying friend and the plunder, and that their Friend soon after dyed, the account of Spoil found in the Field consisting of Horses, Saddles, Bridles, Mens, and Womans apparel &c., is herewith sent Contained in two papers Numbered 1. 2.

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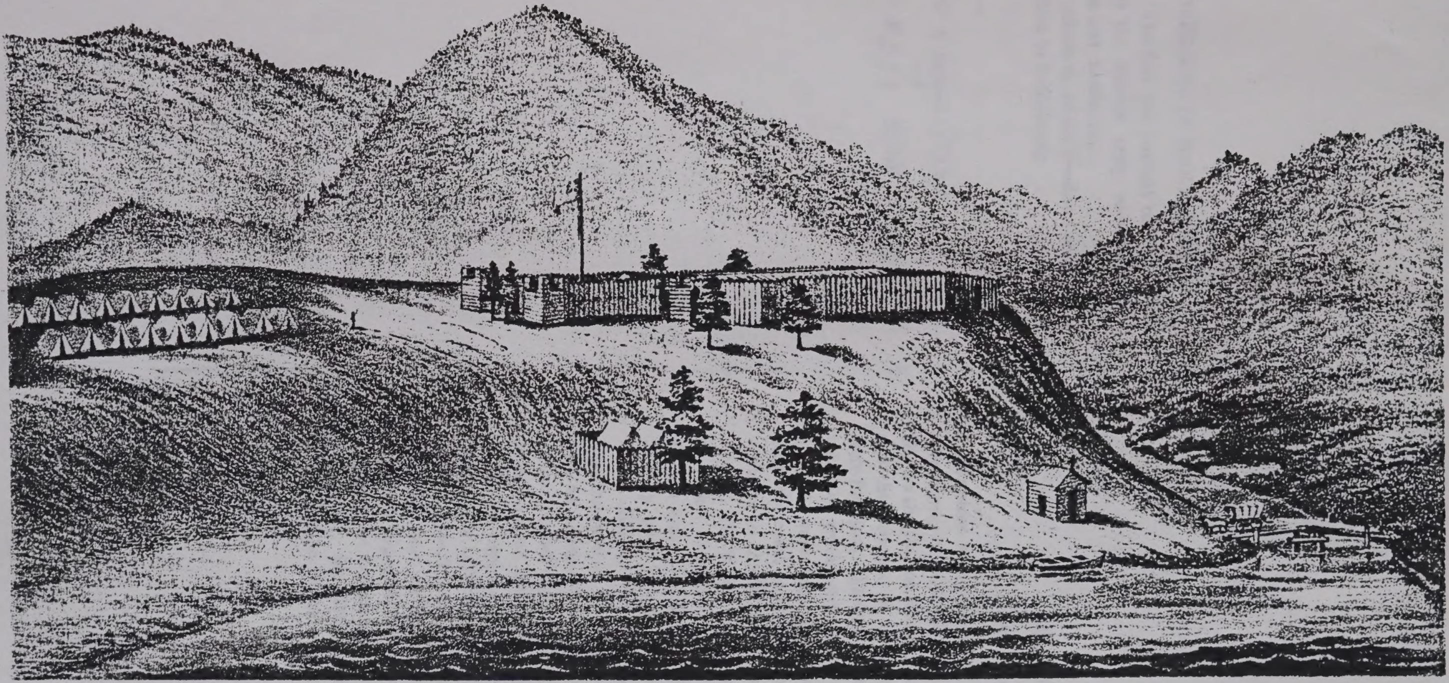


Lith. by A. Hoen & Co. Baltimore

LOWDERMILK'S HISTORY OF CUMBERLAND.

FORT CUMBERLAND 1755.

From foot of Nobley.

two hundred prisoners. The fort was now set on fire, and on the 16th of August the French army re-embarked, leaving behind them ruin and desolation.

This was the state of affairs to which Loudoun returned from his fruitless expedition to Louisbourg.

by Lady Matilda R Edgar (1910)

Wr 545 F8571 E28 (Calfee)

CHAPTER IX

THE CHEROKEES

A HUNDRED and fifty years ago, the French claimed the sovereignty of that vast area which stretched from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, including the province of Canada and the province of Louisiana, whose western boundaries were limitless. Their settlements were few and far between, yet each settlement was a military centre, by which the Indians were kept in allegiance. The strip along the Atlantic coast held by England seemed insignificant in contrast to the broad domain claimed by the monarch of France, yet it was being rapidly settled by a population of varied elements, hardy, enterprising, and independent. It was certainly deficient in military organisation, as has already been shown, whereas every man in New France was a soldier, and one viceroy reigned over all the land. The instructions to this governor were precise and minute, and to ensure his carrying them out, there was another officer, called the intendant, whose business it was to travel about the colony, investigating the family affairs of every household, and to keep a watchful eye on the governor's actions. From 1755, Pierre François, Marquis de Vaudreuil, was governor, and Bigot, of scandalous memory, was the intendant.

If one regarded the number of inhabitants of the English colonies in comparison to the French, the disparity was enormous, for the former were about eleven hundred thousand, scattered along the Atlantic border, while the

latter numbered in 1755 only about sixty-six thousand souls. But the French had for allies, in a much larger number than the English could command, the Indians, those ruthless demons of the forest who stained with deeds of horror every engagement of this war.

It cannot be said, though, that the English were averse to having their support. Every effort was made to conciliate them, and, what to modern ideas of civilisation seems monstrous, a bounty of fifty pounds was given to these savages by the English Government for every scalp brought in and delivered to them. In the southern colonies, the Cherokees, who lived on the borders of Virginia, were disposed to enlist in King George's service, but after the success of Montcalm at Oswego they, too, were wavering.

Early in the spring of 1757, however, a body of them came to Fort Frederick to offer their services to Governor Sharpe. The following letter from their chief, Wahachy, is a curious specimen of Indian diplomacy. The English answer is given in the picturesque account written by John Ridout and Daniel Wolstenholme, who had been sent as ambassadors to Fort Frederick to meet the savage warriors:

'Fort Frederick, *29th April* 1757.

'To the Governor of Maryland:

'Brother of Maryland. This day I came into your Province, with a company of our nation, on our way to war against the French, Shawanese, and all their Indians, hearing they had killed some of our brothers, not knowing when we set off from Winchester but the murder was committed in Virginia; but coming to this Fort, found we were in another Province; and on being informed by Capt. Beall, that our brother, the Governor of this Province, had a real love for our nation, and that he had provided clothes for our nation,

though unacquainted with us, I have just now held a council with my young warriors, and have concluded to write to you, to acquaint you, our brother, our design of coming into this country, was, hearing from our good brother, the Governor of Virginia, that it was the desire of our father, King George, that we would join the English in war against the French and their Indians. On hearing this news we immediately took up the hatchet against the French and their Indians, and hold it fast till we make use of it, which I expect will be in a few days. We intend to set out immediately from this fort, and immediately on our return expect to meet you, our brother, here, to make ourselves acquainted with you. If you cannot come yourself, you will send one of your beloved men with your talk, which we will look upon as from your own mouth. I hope you will let the Province of Pennsylvania know that I am come this length to war, and if they are in need of our assistance, I have men plenty at home, and will not think it troublesome to come and fight for our brothers. I set off from home with 150 men, part of which are gone to Fort Cumberland; forty more by this are come to Winchester. Our people will be so frequent among you, that I wish you may not think us troublesome. Our hearts ache to see our brothers' bones scattered about the country, but you will hear in a short time we have got satisfaction for our brothers, and in confirmation of what I have spoke, I have sent you these few white beads to confirm my regard to this Province. Likewise I have sent you these black beads, to convince you that I have taken up the hatchet against all the English enemies. We intend to stay as long amongst our brothers as there is use for us. I have sent you a list of what is useful for us, and have got our good friend Mr. Ross to carry this letter to you, whom we shall always

acknowledge as a particular friend to us. As we expect to see you soon, we will add no more at present; but remain your loving brother, His

'WAHACHY X OF KEEWAY.'
Mark.

In answer, the governor sent with his commissioners, Messrs. Ridout and Wolstenholme, a wagon-load of presents, and also the sum of £100, which had been voted by the Assembly for the purpose of securing the services of the Cherokees. A much larger sum had been voted some time before, but the appropriation had been expended in raising, equipping, and paying five hundred men for the defence of the frontier. However, as the Cherokees had killed four hostile Indians while waiting for his answer, the governor had to furnish £200 worth of goods in payment for their scalps.

The letter relating the adventure of the two young envoys gives a vivid picture of the manners and customs that then prevailed in dealing with the red man.

'To His Excellency Horatio Sharpe Esq. Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of Maryland.

'SIR,—Agreeable to the Instructions which We had the Honour to receive from your Excellency the 17th Instant, We proceeded the same Day towards Fort Frederick and reached that place on the 19th in the Afternoon. We were met about nine miles beyond Conegochiege by a party of the Cherokee Indians who escorted us to the Fort and when We came near the Gate drew up in a Rank and Saluted us. Wahachey their Chief then invited us to Smoke a Pipe with him and some of the Warriors that were in greatest esteem. On our Accepting his Invitation he bad us Welcome and expressed great Satisfaction at our Arrival, he afterwards enquired how long We had been on the Road and what the Distance was between Fort Frederick and the place where the Governor resided. When we informed him that We had made the Journey in three Days they seemed to be surprized that they had not received an answer to their message sooner and observed that many Days had elapsed since your Excellency must have received it. We told them that when they sent their message you happened to be far from home, and that you had been obliged after your return home to send to Distant Parts of the Province for a Quantity of Goods to make them a present of, by reason that a proper assortment was not to be had in Annapolis nor in any one part of the Province; With this answer they seemed to be well satisfied and only asked whether the Goods were yet collected and brought up. We told them that they may be expected in a Day or two and that whenever they came We should immediately advise them thereof. The Chief afterwards asked some questions about the Treaty which he said he had heard the Governor of Pensilvania was then holding with the Shawanese and Delawares at Lancaster, and expressed a good deal of Surprize at the Pensilvanians treating as Friends and making presents to a People with whom they were at open War, by whom they had been so cruelly used, and against whom the English had been and were still Solliciting their (the Cherokees') assistance. Finding that what had been dropt about that Treaty had made an ill Impression on their Minds We intimated that the affair had been misrepresented to them, for that none but some of the six nations and of Certain Tribes of the Shawanese and Delewares who were in Amity with the English and

who disapproved of the others Conduct were come to the Treaty of which they had heard. The Chief soon after ordered some of their young Men to bring down the two Indian Prisoners which they had taken and by way of Compliment obliged them to parade before us and to sing their Death Songs. The next Day we Invited the Chief and the principal Warriors to Dine with us, and after Dinner the Interpreter Capn. Pearis told them He understood that their Brother the Governor's present would be up the next Morning, and that he had made a Considerable addition to it as a reward for the Services they had done in destroying four and taking two of the Ennemy Prisoners, but that it was expected that they should deliver up the Prisoners and Scalps before they received the additional present such being the Custom here and what was required by the Laws of the Province. To this the Chief replyed with some warmth that he thought it would suffice to shew his Brother the Governor or those that he had sent to represent him, the Prisoners and the scalps of the Ennemies that they had destroyed, that it was the Indians' Custom to preserve as Trophies the Hair of the Ennemies that they killed in Battle and to carry them home to their own People, and in short that if they were not to have the Goods that had been talked of unless they would purchase them with their Prisoners or Scalps they would return home naked as they came thence, and that they would think no more of going to War if they were not allowed to keep what they set the highest value on as it procured them most Honour among their own People. As the Chief (for many of the others did not) appeared to be much displeased with the proposal that had been made or the Intimation that had been given him by Captain Pearis We desired the Interpreter to drop the affair, but as we were not at liberty to give them a larger present than could be purchased with £100 unless they would deliver up the Scalps to be destroyed agreeable to the Directions of the Act of Assembly and as we understood that so small a present as £100 would not be Acceptable, We desired Mr. Pearis the Interpreter to talk to them severally and to endeavour by any arguments that he should think fit to urge, to persuade them to give up some of the Scalps that we may be thereby enabled to make such an addition to the present given by the Assembly as might make it acceptable. In the morning of the 21st Instant he assured us that he had used his utmost Endeavours to procure us either the Prisoners or some Scalps, but that Wahachey the Chief continued obstinate and had declared that nothing should tempt him to part with the Prisoners, but that Yaughtanew the second in reputation and who was in fact much better affected than the other, had promised him to send the Scalps as a present to your Excellency afterwards, tho he could not deliver them up to be destroyed in such a manner as the Act Directs, lest he should be charged by his own People with Selling them. Upon this assurance We sent to Conegochiege for two hundred pounds Worth of Goods more, and as soon as they were brought up We advised the Indians thereof and desired to know if they would choose to receive them in the afternoon and to hear your Excellency's answer to the Message which they had sent you by Mr. Ross. Our proposal being accepted the Goods as well as those that were purchased with the one hundred pounds, the price of four Scalps, were after Dinner laid on a Table in two Separate parcels, and when all the Indians except a few who were left to guard the Prisoners were Assembled (Capn. Beall the Commandant of the Fort, Capn. Armstrong who was come thither from Pensilvania with a message

from Governor Denny to the Cherokees, and several other Officers of the Maryland and Pensylvania Troops being also present) we addressed ourselves to Wahachey the Chief saying that We were come thither by your order and that We were about to deliver your Excellency's answer to their message which answer Capn. Pearis would interpret to them, and then we proceeded.

'"Brother Wahachey of Keeway and Brethren of the Cherokee Nation. I have received the Message which you sent by Mr. Ross to advise me of your being come to Fort Frederick, I rejoice at your arrival and bid you welcome by this String of Wampum [gave a string]. I have heard of your Fame and your good intentions towards us from your Brother of Virginia and have for a long time had a great desire to see you, but it happens that now you are come I am unable to meet you, this I am sorry for but I hope you will excuse me since I have sent Mr. Wolstenholme and Mr. Ridout to communicate my Sentiments to you. I have appointed them because I know that they have a particular regard for you, and because I am Confident they will deliver my words faithfully; They will in my name and on behalf of the People of Maryland make a league with you which I hope will last as long as the Sun and Moon shall endure, to confirm it I present you this Belt of Wampum [gave a Belt]. Brethren when Mr. Ross was with me I gave him orders to supply you with such Provisions as you should stand in need of. As a farther mark of my Friendship towards you I have now sent you a present [pointing to that of one hundred pounds Value], was it in my power I would send you a larger, but as it is not I hope you will not consider the value of the present so much as the inclination of him that sends it.

'"Brethren now we have made a League of Friendship and are known to each other I will speak to you more freely on the purpose for which you are come. You say that your good Brother the Governor of Virginia has signified to you that our Father King George desires you will joyn the English and declare War against the French and their Indians who without any just cause or provocation have fallen upon our People and Scattered their Bones over the Country. You also tell me that upon our Father's pleasure being made known to you, you have taken up the Hatchet against our Ennemies and that you will hold it fast till you have used it against the French and the Indians in their Alliance; I am well pleased that you have already taken such a resolution. I hope you will soon make our Ennemies sensible of it and that you will prosecute the War Vigorously against them, to make your Hatchet Sharp and to fasten it in your Hands I present you with this String of black Wampum [gave a string].

'"You were told, you say, when you came to Fort Frederick, that you were no longer in Virginia but in another Province. This was true, but I must observe to you that We and the Virginians are nevertheless one People. The Inhabitants of Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pensylvania and of all the Provinces to the Northward are Brethren, Subjects of the same great King, and they that are Friends to some of us must be Friends to all. You are then the Friends of all. Let us become one People and unite against the French and their Indians our Ennemies. Let our Men go out to War with you. Look on them as your Brethren. Teach them to fight after your manner, and then neither the French nor their Allies will be able to stand before you. For your Encouragement and as a reward for those that fight bravely I will give you a present as large as that which I have now sent you [pointing to the small parcell]

for every two Ennemies that you shall take Prisoners and deliver up to me or that you shall kill and bring me the Scalps of, or I will give you the value thereof in money. Let this sink deep into the minds of your young men and let them remember my promise in the Day of Battle. I have ordered Capn. Beall who commands at Fort Frederick and the Officer that commands the men at Fort Cumberland to receive and at all times Treat you and those of your nation that shall join you as Brethren and as my best Friends. I have also notified your Arrival to your Brother the Governor of Pensylvania; in this I hope I have done according to your desire and that the words which I have spoken are agreeable to you, to Confirm the truth of them and to Convince you that they flow from my Heart, I give you this Belt [gave a Belt] and the answer in Writing."

'After a short pause, We addressed Ourselves to them again and spoke to the following purport:

'"Brethren you have heard your Brother the Governor's answer to your Message, you have also seen the present which he sent you as a mark of his Friendship and to welcome you to this Province, we are now to Congratulate you in his name on the Success which you have lately had against his and your Ennemies. He was exceedingly pleased with the news, and for the Service you have already done he has ordered us to give you these Goods [pointing to the large parcell]; Brethren now you have found where the Ennemy is to be met with, We hope you will not suffer them to escape but on the Contrary that you will pursue and overtake them and destroy till none of them remain. To inspire you with such a Resolution your Brother the Governor sends you this String [gave a String of black Wampum]."

'After a few Minutes, Wahachey rose up and said he had heard good words, and then stepping up on one of the Seats that were round the Table he harangued his People a Considerable time, repeating as we were told by the Interpreter the substance of what We had said and Concluding with an Exhortation to the young Men to look on the English and on the People of this Province in Particular as their Friends and Brethren, to fight bravely for them against the Ennemies that had attacked them, and to entitle themselves to the present that had been promised as a reward for their Valour. They then proceeded to divide the Goods and We retired, having first desired the Commandant of the Fort to order Sentries to the Door to prevent the Intrusion of any White People.

'An Account being brought to the Fort in the Evening that several Mocсoson Tracks had been discovered a few Miles off on the South side of Potowmack River, and the Indians being informed thereof they sent to us early in the Morning of the 22nd Instant saying they were very impatient to pursue the Indians that had as it was Supposed made the abovementioned Tracks, and that they hoped We would meet them as soon as possible and hear the reply that they intended to make to their Brother the Governor. We immediately complied with their request, and as soon as We were seated the Chief expressed himself in the following words: "I am now going to reply to the Governor of Maryland, but as I do not understand making Beads I shall send him nothing but Paper. Brother, while I was coming from home my thoughts were very bad. I was enraged against the Ennemy who have been Murthering my Bretheren, but now I have been out and killed some of them I am better Satisfied in my mind. My Brother the Governor of this Province has sent us this Belt [holding in his Hand the Belt that was first given him the Day before] to welcome us hither and to open a Path from my Country.

This shall be done; at present it is only a small Track, but I will make it a large Path. All my young Men have taken hold of this Belt, they are determined to make the Path Broad, and will take care that there be no blood shed upon it; I will keep this Belt to remind our young Men to Freshen the Track and I will immediately send off to my Nation that they may see these Belts [holding up all the Belts and Strings that had been given him] and know how kindly We have been received and treated in this Province. I will also send them a speech and invite them hither to go out to War with us and to receive presents as we have done. These are not only my own Sentiments and my own Resolutions, but all the young Warriors that are with me agree with me and are come to the same Determination. This String [holding up the black String] that was first given, my Brother the Governor sent to Sharpen my Hatchet; he may depend on our doing so therewith, and that We will always have it Stained with the Blood of the Ennemy; the very sight of this String makes me angry with them, they have often sent to me calling me their Father, but I looked on them with disdain and as Ennemies. My talk with the Governor of Maryland shall be always Straight. I shall never deal double with him and I hope his Language to us will be always Straight and true." Then, holding up the Black String that was last given, he said: "I received this yesterday with a speech to invite me to War, which I receive as if it came from our Father King George, the Governor our Brother having sent you to deliver it, and you may be assured that so long as King George will furnish us with Cloathes, I will continue to Destroy his and our Ennemies. I have been a long time here to War, and having killed a few of the Ennemy have received a small present, but when I come this way again with my People I will kill more of the Ennemy and hope to receive a larger Present. I hope our Father King George will take care to furnish us with Cloaths, and I desire he might be informed of what I have already done and of what I intend to do."

'The young Warrior called Yaughtanew then put into his Hand the Scalps which he had promised us and holding them up to Wahachey proceeded: "When I came to Winchester I heard that the Ennemy was murthering People in this Province, the news made my Heart ache and I immediately pursued and came up with them. I have killed some of them, and to shew the Governor my Brother that I have destroyed some of his and my Ennemies I send him this Hair for which I expect my Brother will thank me" [gave the scalps]. He then signed the answer as it was taken down, and the Interpreter certified it to be a true Interpretation as your Excellency will see by the Original herewith presented. After he had done speaking we thanked him in a few words for the reply he had made and the Hair which he had given, and concluded with telling them that you would look on the Latter as a Testimony of their Bravery and memorial of their Friendship. As soon as we had finished, Capn. Armstrong and the other Gentlemen who were sent by Governor Denny to invite the Cherokees to Pensilvania delivered their Message, and Yaughtanew the second Warrior gave them a Short Answer. The Indians soon after took their leave appearing well Satisfied and went over to Virginia carrying their two Prisoners with them. We also left the Fort the same Day, and returned towards Annapolis to Inform your Excellency of our proceedings, and to assure you That we are Your Excellency's Most Humble and Most Obedient Servts.,

'DANL. WOLSTENHOLME.
'J. RIDOUT.

'*The 25th of May* 1757.'

Archives of Maryland Vol VII F176A61 (37)

L. H. J. Liber No. 48 May 5

On Motion, Resolved, That this House do not proceed on any new Business of any Kind this Session after this Day.

On Motion, the Question was put, That the Governor's Accounts, relating to his Expences on Two Journeys to the Northward, be Referred to the Consideration of next Session of Assembly. Resolved in the Affirmative.

His Excellency the Governor communicates to Mr. Speaker the following Message, viz.[1]

Gentlemen of the Lower House of Assembly,

Inclosed you have a Letter or Message, which has been sent to me by some Cherokee Indians, who, upon an Invitation given them last Year by Governor Dinwiddie, have declared in our Favour, and are determined, if they meet with proper Encouragement, to act in Conjunction with our Troops against the French and their savage Allies. As you all know how useful Indians are to the Party whose Cause they espouse, and how formidable to those against whom they wage War, I shall not enlarge on the Services that these People may do us at this Time, not doubting but you will agree with me on the Expediency of securing them in our Interest, and enable me to send them an agreeable Answer, by accompanying it with a Present. I presume you will think, that the least Thing we can do for them, during their Stay on our Frontiers, is to have them supplied with Victuals and such Necessaries as they may stand in Need of: And as Mr. Ross has already delivered Provisions to Sixty-two of these People, who are at Fort Frederick, in Confidence that such a Step would meet with our Approbation, I hope you will provide for his being paid for the same.

5th May, 1757. Hor^o. Sharpe.

And the following Letters or Messages, viz.[1]

To the Governor of Maryland.

Fort Frederick, April 29, 1757.

Brother of Maryland,

This Day came into your Province, with a Company of our Nation, on our Way to War against the French Shawanese, and all their Indians, hearing they had kill'd some of our Brothers, not knowing when we set off from Winchester but the Murder was committed in Virginia; but coming to this Fort, found we were in another Province; and on being informed by Capt. Beall, that our Brother, the Governor of this Province, had a real Love for our Nation, and that he had provided Cloaths for our Nation, tho' unacquainted with us, I have just now held a Council with my young Warriors, and has concluded to write to you, to acquaint you, our Brother, our Design of coming into this Country was hearing from our good Brother, the Governor of Virginia, that it was the Desire of our Father King George, that we would join the English in War against the French and their Indians. On hearing this News, we immediately took up the Hatchet against the French and their Indians, and hold it fast till we make use of it, which I expect will be in a few Days. We intend to set out immediately from this Fort, and immediately on our Return expect to meet you our Brother here, to make ourselves acquainted with you. If you can't come yourself, you will send one of your beloved Men with your Talk, which we will look upon as from your own Mouth. I hope you will let the Province of Pennsylvania know, that I am come this Length to War, and if they are in Need of our Assistance, I have Men plenty at home, and will not think it troublesome to come and fight for our Brothers. I set off from home with 150 Men, Part of which is gone to Fort Cumberland, Forty more by this is come to Winchester. Our People will be so frequent among you, that I wish you may not think us troublesome. Our Hearts ache to see our Brothers Bones scattered about the Country; but you will hear in a short Time we have got Satisfaction for our Brothers; and in Confirmation of what I have spoke, I have sent you these few white Beads to confirm my Regard to this Province: Likewise I have sent you these black Beads to convince you, that I have taken up the Hatchet against all the English Enemies. We intend to stay as long amongst our Brothers as there is Use of us. I hope our good Brother will not be backward in providing Necessaries for us. I have sent you a List of what is useful for us; and has got our good Friend Mr. Ross to carry this Letter to you, which we shall always acknowledge as a particular Friend to us. As we expect to see you soon, we will add no more at present; but remain

L. H. J. Liber No. 48 May 5

p. 430

Your loving Brother,
his
Wahachy — of Keeway.
Mark.

This is the Truth, taken from the Head Warrior.

Richard Pearis.

To the Catawbas.

Brothers,

Yesterday I came to Fort Frederick, and this Morning I received an Account of your bad Success at War last Winter when you went out; you lost all your White Men, now I understand you have lost Seven more, which I look upon you ought not to rest long till you go again, and have Satisfaction. I am informed you are going home, but I desire, as you are like my own People, that you may not go home till we have Revenge for our Brothers the English. I expect in a few Days to overtake the Party of Enemy that has committed

L. H. J. Liber No. 48 May 5 the Murders here: They kill'd 9 White Men since they kill'd the Jacks. The next News I expect to acquaint you with, that we have got Satisfaction for the Murders they have committed; and will join you, with the rest of my People, as soon as possible. I remain,

Your loving Brother,
his
Wahachy ~ of Keeway.
Mark.

p. 431 Which were severally Read, and Ordered to lie on the Table.

Mr. Carroll brings in and delivers to Mr. Speaker, an Address to his Excellency; which was Read, Approved, and Ordered to be Ingrossed.

Richard Lee, Esq; from the Upper House, delivers to Mr. Speaker, the Bill, entituled, An Act for his Majesty's Service, and the more immediate Defence and Protection of the Frontier Inhabitants of this Province; (Indorsed), "By the Upper House of Assembly, 5th May, 1757. Read the first and second Time by an especial Order, and will Pass.

Signed ꝑ Order. J. Ross, Cl. Up. Ho.

And the Bill, entituled, An Act for the Relief of certain languishing Prisoners in the several County Gaols therein mentioned; Indorsed, By the Upper House of Assembly 4th May 1757. Read the first time and ordered to lie on the table and thus by the Upper House of Assembly, 5th May, 1757. Read the second Time, and will Pass.

Signed ꝑ Order. J. Ross, Cl. Up. Ho.

Which Bills were severally Read here, and Passed for Ingrossing.

The Petition of the Inhabitants of Baltimore-Town, &c. was Read and Referred to the Consideration of the next Session of Assembly.

On Reading and Considering his Excellency's Message of this Day, Resolved, That the Sum of 100 l. be taken out of the Treasurer of the Eastern Shore, his Hands, and be sent as a Present to the Indians mentioned in the said Message.

On Motion, Ordered, That Col. Tilghman, Mr. Hammond, and Col. Henry, do prepare and bring in an Address to his Excellency in Answer to the said Message.

The House adjourns until 2 of the Clock Afternoon.

Post-Meridiem.

The House met according to Adjournment, &c.

Mr. Carroll brings in and delivers to Mr. Speaker, the following Ingrossed Address, viz.[1]

To his Excellency Horatio Sharpe, Esq; Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the Province of Maryland: L. H. J. Liber No. 48 May 5

The humble Address of the House of Delegates.

May it please your Excellency,

Your kind Representation to the Earl of Loudoun, of the Case of the Inhabitants of this Province, whose Horses and Carriages were taken for his Majesty's Service, by the Army that marched from our Frontier, under the Command of General Braddock, demands our sincerest Thanks; and we cannot but join in Sorrow with your Excellency, that his Lordship has it only in his Power to express his Concern at those poor Peoples Misfortunes, and not to order them the Payment so justly due.

As Orders were issued by General Shirley for satisfying the Owners of such Horses and Carriages as were lost and destroyed, by the unhappy Event of the Expedition in which General Braddock was engaged, we must presume there was a Fund provided sufficient for that Purpose; and that tho' the Time allowed for those poor People to bring in their Accounts was so short, that few of them cou'd receive any Benefit from such Orders, yet certainly the Justice of their Claims remains; and we cannot but entertain Hopes, from the benevolent Disposition of the Earl of Loudoun, that he will use his Endeavours to procure himself a Power of doing an Act, which p. 432 will afford him so much Pleasure as Relieving the Distressed.

It is true that we have prepared a Bill for the Relief of the Inhabitants of this Province, whose Servants have been Enlisted into his Majesty's Forces, in Hopes, nevertheless, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to order, that whatever Sums this Province may pay on that Account, may be Refunded: But we find Claims against the Public so numerous, and so large, that we are much at a Loss how to make Provision for them all; and we cannot think ourselves excusable in further allowing any that ought, in all Justice and Equity, to be satisfied elsewhere.

Which was Read and Assented to, and Signed, by Order of the House, by the Honourable Speaker.

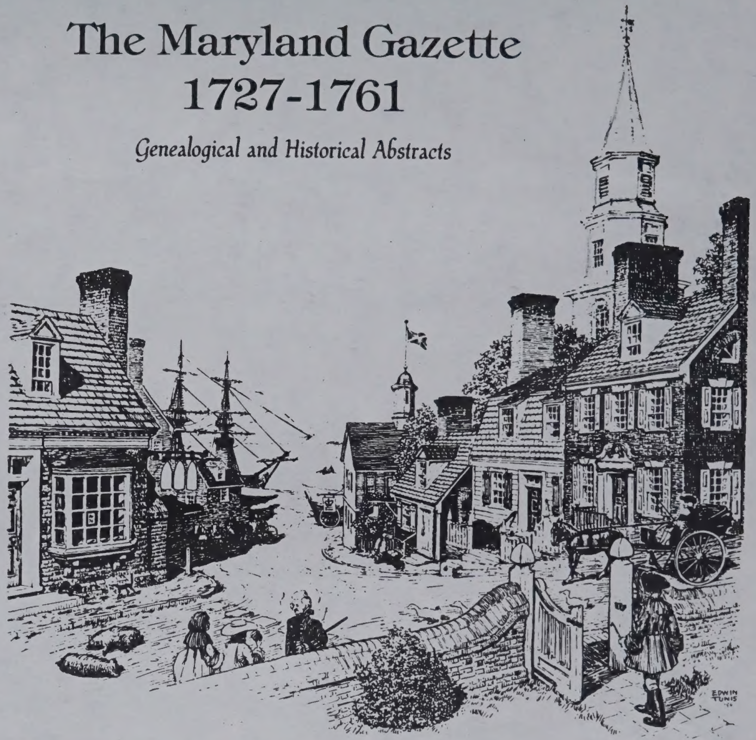
Ordered, That Mr. Gray and Mr. Reeder to acquaint his Excellency, That this House hath prepared an Address, to be presented to him, and desires to know when and where he will please to receive it: They return and acquaint Mr. Speaker, That the Governor was pleased to signify, he would be ready to receive the Address immediately at his House.

Ordered, That Capt. Tolley and Capt. Ward do present the Address to the Governor.

Mr. Govane brings in and delivers to Mr. Speaker, a Bill, entituled, An Act to prevent the Exportation or Carrying out of this Province,

The Maryland Gazette
1727-1761

Genealogical and Historical Abstracts



By Karen Mauer Green

The Frontier Press, Galveston, 1989

The Maryland Gazette 1727-1767, Karen Mauer Green (1989)Frontier Press, Galveston
page of book/date/issue #/text

195 - Thurs 23 June 1757 #633...A soldier deserted from Lieut. Duncan McRae: Joseph Mchugh, age about 25, was born in the lower part of Prince George County, near Patuxent. Deliver to Capt. Richard Pearis or Lieut. McRae.

196 - Thurs 21 July 1757 #637...Several deserters are reported from the Maryland companies of Capt. Francis Ware and Capt. Richard Pearis: William Jones (about age 30, a carpenter, born in Prince William County, Virginia), John Brightwell (a out age 20, born in Prince George's County), William Owen (about age 19, born in Maryland), John M'Cullum (about age 18), Rezin Rickets (Anne Arundel County, about 22) and John Genneter (about age 20, a glazier and painter, born in London, enlisted in Charles County).

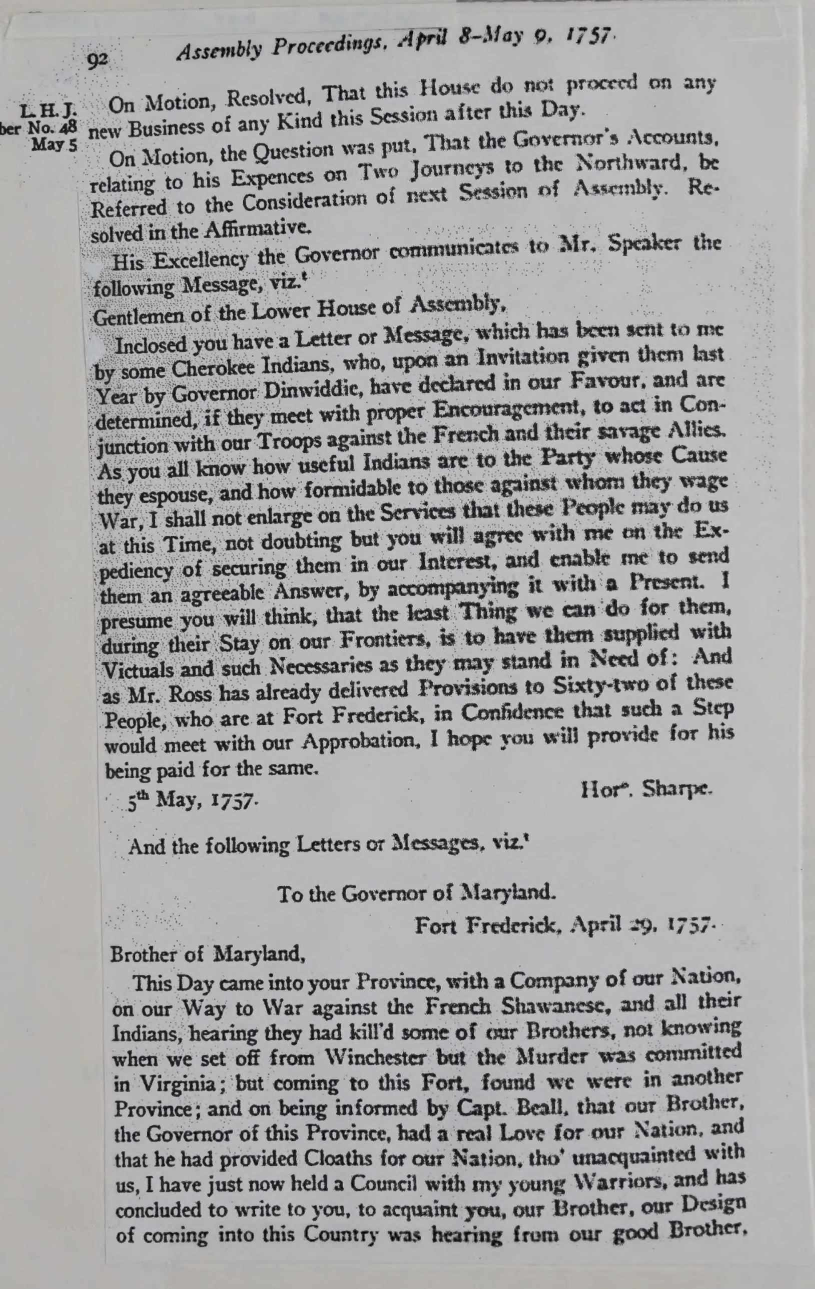
205 - Thurs 16 Feb 1758 #667...Capt. Pearis and his company went from Fort Cumberland at the end of January, headed for Fort du Quesne.

227 - Thurs 14 June 1759 #736...Capt. Richard Pearis, of the Pennsylvania Provincials, now recruiting in Annapolis, reports a deserter named Thomas Fowler, born in Wiltshire in England, aged 22 years, by trade a weaver.

PEARIS FAMILY

It really appears that Gov. Horatio Sharpe was pleased to have Wahatchy's services at first, but that after he got Atkin's letter he was loathe to affend the Virginians by not cooperating. And if Wahatchy had not been insulted by what he considered the pittance being offered, he might have turned into a good ally against the Shawnees.

From Archives of Maryland



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This Day came into your Province, with a Company of our Nation, on our Way to War against the French Shawanese, and all their Indians, hearing they had kill'd some of our Brothers, not knowing when we set off from Winchester but the Murder was committed in Virginia; but coming to this Fort, found we were in another Province; and on being informed by Capt. Beall, that our Brother, the Governor of this Province, had a real Love for our Nation, and that he had provided Cloaths for our Nation, tho' unacquainted with us, I have just now held a Council with my young Warriors, and has concluded to write to you, to acquaint you, our Brother, our Design of coming into this Country was hearing from our good Brother,

L. H. J. Liber No. 48 May 5

the Governor of Virginia, that it was the Desire of our Father King George, that we would join the English in War against the French and their Indians. On hearing this News, we immediately took up the Hatchet against the French and their Indians, and hold it fast till we make use of it, which I expect will be in a few Days. We intend to set out immediately from this Fort, and immediately on p. 430 our Return expect to meet you our Brother here, to make ourselves acquainted with you. If you can't come yourself, you will send one of your beloved Men with your Talk, which we will look upon as from your own Mouth. I hope you will let the Province of Pennsylvania know, that I am come this Length to War, and if they are in Need of our Assistance, I have Men plenty at home, and will not think it troublesome to come and fight for our Brothers. I set off from home with 150 Men, Part of which is gone to Fort Cumberland, Forty more by this is come to Winchester. Our People will be so frequent among you, that I wish you may not think us troublesome. Our Hearts ache to see our Brothers Bones scattered about the Country; but you will hear in a short Time we have got Satisfaction for our Brothers; and in Confirmation of what I have spoke, I have sent you these few white Beads to confirm my Regard to this Province: Likewise I have sent you these black Beads to convince you, that I have taken up the Hatchet against all the English Enemies. We intend to stay as long amongst our Brothers as there is Use of us. I hope our good Brother will not be backward in providing Necessaries for us. I have sent you a List of what is useful for us; and has got our good Friend Mr. Ross to carry this Letter to you, which we shall always acknowledge as a particular Friend to us. As we expect to see you soon, we will add no more at present; but remain

Your loving Brother,
his
Wahachy ⌒ of Keeway.
Mark.

This is the Truth, taken from the Head Warrior.
Richard Pearis.

To the Catawbas.

Brothers,

Yesterday I came to Fort Frederick, and this Morning I received an Account of your bad Success at War last Winter when you went out; you lost all your White Men, now I understand you have lost Seven more, which I look upon you ought not to rest long till you go again, and have Satisfaction. I am informed you are going home, but I desire, as you are like my own People, that you may not go home till we have Revenge for our Brothers the English. I expect in a few Days to overtake the Party of Enemy that has committed L. H. J. Liber No. 48 May 5 the Murders here: They kill'd 9 White Men since they kill'd the Jacks. The next News I expect to acquaint you with, that we have got Satisfaction for the Murders they have committed; and will join you, with the rest of my People, as soon as possible. I remain,

Your loving Brother,
his
Wahachy ⌒ of Keeway.
Mark.

p. 431 Which were severally Read, and Ordered to lie on the Table.

U. H. J. Liber No. 36 June 22

which we find has been frequently rejected, and doubt not on Sufficient Reasons, and by your State of the Matter appears to have been relinquished, ever since the Year Seventeen hundred and fifty three

If your Honours incline to pass the Ordinance agreeable to Our Message, We shall prepare it, if not, the Claims proposed to be provided for must lye over

Signed by Order T: Wright Cl: Lo: Ho:

Read the following Request of Upton Scott One of the Executors of John Ross, late Clerk of this House Deceased

To the Honourable the Upper House of Assembly

The Subscriber, One of the Executors of John Ross Esq.,^{r} Deceased, being informed since the Delivery of M.^{r} Ross's Account, for transcribing the Council and Upper House Journals, in the Years 1739 and 1740. to this Honourable House, that it will appear, on the Journal of Accounts for the Year 1740., that the Allowance, then made him, was in full for that Service, requests the Claim, for a Sum still appearing to be due, on M.^{r} Ross's Account, may be waved until the Matter can be more fully looked into

UScott Ex.^{r} of John Ross Deceased.

In Consequence whereof the following Message is sent by Benedict Calvert Esq.,^{r}

By the Upper House of Assembly 22^d June 1768.

Gentlemen

M.^{r} Ross's Executor having, in Consequence of some Information he has received since he Exhibited to this House the Account we sent You with Our Message of Yesterday, desired that his Claim might be waved, till he can have an Opportunity of making further Enquiry, We agree to its being left out the Ordinance not doubting but that if he can make it appear at a future Session, that the p. 405 Allowance made to M.^{r} Ross was really inadequate to his Services, and less in Proportion than that you proposed to be made to M.^{r} Ducket, You will be ready to make such further Allowance to M.^{r} Ross's Executors, as may be agreeable to Justice and Equity

Signed by Order UScott Cl: Up: Ho:

Adjourned until 3 of the Clock in the Afternoon

Eodem Die Post Meridiem

This House met again according to Adjournment.

Present as in the Morning

Mess.^{rs} Grahame and Dickinson bring up from the Lower House the following Ordinance Viz.^{t} For the immediate Reimbursement of His Excellency Horatio Sharpe Esq.^{r} Governor, his Account of Supplies to the Nanticoke Indians, and for Payment of Cap.^{t} Richard Pearis for his Services to this Province, during the late War, and for Payment of John Ducket, for finding a Book, and transcribing the Notes and Proceedings of the Lower House of Assembly from the Year Seventeen hundred and four until the Year Seventeen hundred and fifteen inclusive. It is Ordained by His Excellency the Governor, and the Upper and Lower Houses of Assembly, that the Committee of both Houses of Assembly, appointed to inspect the Office and Proceedings of the late Commissioners, for paying off the Public Claims for Emitting Bills of Credit, Established by Act of Assembly, shall pay to His Excellency the Governor, or his Order, One hundred and twenty three Dollars and two thirds of a Dollar, to Cap.^{t} Richard Pearis or his Order four hundred Dollars, and to John Ducket or his Order One hundred and twenty four Dollars and two thirds of a Dollar, out of the Bills of Credit now in the Office belonging to the Province.

U. H. J. Liber No. 36 June 22

22^d June 1768. Read
and assented to by
the Lower House of
Assembly
Signed by Order
Rob,,^{t} Lloyd Speaker

Hor,,^{o} Sharpe

22^d June 1768 Read
and assented to by
the Upper House of
Assembly
Signed by Order
Bened,,^{t} Calvert.

Benedict Calvert Esq.,^{r} brings in the following Report.

31,,st May 1768.

Maryland ss,,

" At a Committee of both Houses of Assembly, appointed to Inspect the Office and Proceedings of the late Commissioners, for Paying off the Public Claims, and Emitting Bills of Credit, Established by Act of Assembly

Were Present.

The Honble { Benedict Calvert Esq,,^{r} and Walter Dulany Esq.,^{r} } of the Upper House

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M.^{r} Charles Grahame	of the Lower House	M.,^{r} Thomas Ringgold
M.^{r} Henry Steele		M.^{r} Brice T B Worthington
M.^{r} Josias Beall Jun^r		M.,^{r} Robert Tyler
M.^{r} John Hanson Jun.^{r}		M.^{r} John Eden and
M.^{r} James Dickinson		M.^{r} Robert Buchanan

Who make Choice of, and appoint the Honourable Benedict Calvert Esq.^{r} Chairman, and James Brooks their Clerk and agree to make the following Report Viz,,^{t}

Your Committee find, that, by an Account from the Trustees in London dated 21st May 1767. that there was then £31,000 Capital Stock in the Bank of England, belonging to the Province, which Cost £39,179,,17,,6. and a Balance of £1235..4..4 not invested

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Cr.

L. H. J. Liber No. 49 Nov. 11

By Money raised by the Act for his Majesty's Service in February 1756, and appropriated by that and the Act in September following, to be laid out in Rewards for Indian Scalps and Prisoners,....	£4000 0 0
	£4000 0 0

That the Agents aforesaid have, pursuant to the Act of Assembly, entituled, An Act for his Majesty's Service, and the more immediate Defence and security of the Frontier Inhabitants of this Province, passed in September Session 1756, paid unto sundry Persons for Provisions by them furnished to the Detachments of Militia under the Command of Capt. Tobias Stansbury of Baltimore County, and Joshua Beall of Prince-George's County, the Sum of £235 17 8 and p. 73 as there was no particular Sum of Money appropriated for that Service by the aforesaid Act, it must be charged against any Surplus Money which may remain in the Agents Hands, arising out of the Sums appropriated by that and the Act for his Majesty's Service, &c. passed in February Session 1756.

Your Committee beg Leave to acquaint the Honourable House, that the foregoing Accounts are extracted from the Books kept by the Agents, in Compliance with the Directions of the Acts of Assembly passed in February and September Sessions 1756, for his Majesty's Service, and the Defence of the Western Frontier; and the following Accounts and Observations are drawn from an Examination into the Books kept in Pursuance of an Act for his Majesty's Service, &c. made in a Session of Assembly held at Baltimore-Town in April 1757: In the Course of which Examination we find, that the Sum of £10469 17 4 (or so much of that Sum which might then have been in the Hands of the Commissioners or Trustees for Emitting Bills of Credit, &c.) granted and applied by the last mentioned Act to the Raising, Cloathing, Paying, and Subsisting 500 Men, in the Pay of this Province, for his Majesty's Service, and the more immediate Defence of the Western Frontiers thereof, the Agents aforesaid have received from the Commissioners afore namd, by Virtue of sundry Orders drawn by his Excellency the Governor for that Purpose, the Sum of £8350 which has been expended and applied, as will appear from a View of the following Accounts, to wit.

The Public on the Act for his Majesty's Service, &c. passed in the Baltimore Session.

Dr.

p. 74

To Sundries as follows, viz.^t		
Pay of Pearis's, Ware's, Alexander and Joshua Beall's Companies, to the 8th September 1757,..		£2555 15 8
Ditto of Dagworthy's Company to the 8th May, 1757, ...		149 4 11
Victualling 4 Companies to the 8th September,....		1672 5 0
Ditto for Dagworthy's Company from 11th April to 8th July,..............................		299 11 0
Cloathing 5 Companies as above,................		1431 12 1
Bounty Money paid for 173 Men,...............		859 19 0
Hospital Account, ...		76 15 3
Expresses, ...		40 3 6
Petty Charges, ...		22 15 5
Waggon Hire, ...		5 0 0
To Ballance, viz.^t		
Bounty Money in the Hands of Recruiting Officers unaccounted for,.	£657 3 2	
Cash in the Agents Hands unapplied,	579 15 0	1236 18 2
		£8350 0 0

L. H. J. Liber No. 49 Nov. 11

Cr.

By Cash at sundry Times taken out of the Office for Emitting Bills of Credit, by Orders of the Governor, ...	£8350 0 0
	£8350 0 0

p. 75 Your Committee think themselves obliged to observe to the Honourable House, that of the Bounty-Money abovementioned, the Sum of £300 was delivered to Lieutenant Duncan M'Rae for the Recruiting Service, and the Sum of £50 to Ensign Burr Harrison, £100 to Ensign Alexander Somerville, and £30 to Ensign Rezin Beall, for the same Service; for which Sums, by the Terms of the Act for his Majesty's Service, &c. made at Baltimore Session, the Agents ought to have taken Bond with proper Security, conditioned for accounting for said Sums agreeable to the Directions of said Act; but upon Enquiry, we cannot find that Ensigns Burr Harrison, Alexander Somerville, or Rezin Beall, gave any Bond for the Sums aforesaid, or that Lieutenant Duncan M'Rae gave Bond with Security as aforesaid, for any more than £200. In which Instance, we conceive, the Agents have not complied with their Duty, pursuant to the Directions of the Act aforesaid.

From the preceding Account, please to observe, that only £149 4 11 has been applied to the Payment of Captain Dagworthy's Company till the 8th of May last, and the further Sum of £299 11 towards the Subsistence of said Company till the 8th July; since which Time no other Accounts relative to the Support of that Company appear on the Agents Books; and by the Certificates endorsed on the Rolls of that Company, your Committee find, that they were mustered at Fort Cumberland; and think it their Duty to acquaint the House, that from the Appearance the Muster Rolls of the other Companies make, there is great Room to suspect, that many of the Men that

U. H. J. Liber No. 36 June 22 That, of the Bills drawn by the late Commissioners, there were then unpaid four Bills amounting to £683,,12,,3,, which had not been presented, that all the Bills remitted by the said Commissioners have, since last Session, been received and passed to the Credit of the Province, except One Bill of £250 which was Protested, and which the Commissioners for the Payment of the Public Claims have received, and remitted to the Trustees in London, amounting with Damages to £287,,19,,6.

Your Committee have Examined the State of the Iron Chests and find the Accounts stand as follows Viz.^{t}

Iron Chests	D,,^{r}
To Balance per Report of the Committee November Session 1766	10,, 5,, 2
To Cash received of Col,,^{o} Tho..^{s} Prather for Land Tax	33,,14,,
To Cash received of G: Scott Sheriff of Prince Geo,,^{s} Co.^{ty} in part of Rob^{t} Riddles Bond...............	16,,10,, 4
To Cash received from Littleton Dennis for Nath.^{l} Whitakers Bond & Costs.......................	35,, 5,,10
	£95,,15,, 4

Contra	C,,^{r}
By Cash for Stationary £25 St.^{g} Ja.^{s} Anderson on Will.^{m} Anderson	32,,10,,
By Cash paid the Commrs 5 ℔ Cent Comm.^{n} on Sundry Debts Collected by them.......................	23,, 9,, 6
By Cash paid for two Bills of Exchange £30 St.^{g} Remitted to the Trustees........................	39,,15,,10
	£95,,15,, 4

Your Committee further Report, that the amount of the Journal, and List of Debts, as they passed last Session was $5623499\frac{3}{4}$ Pounds of Tobacco, and £19,840,,1,,$2\frac{1}{4}$, That the Commissioners have discovered Sundry Errors therein, by wrong Additions, which we have carefully examined, and find the true Debt against the Province on the Journal and List of Debts to be $5841083\frac{3}{4}$ Pounds of Tobacco, and £19998,,0,,$0\frac{1}{2}$ which amounts to 150,679 Dollars, and two fifths of a Dollar

p. 407 Your Committee have spent some time in Examining the Accounts, and Proceedings of the Commissioners, and find that they have paid to Sundry Claimants Bills of Credit, to the amount of 145,808 Dollars, the Accounts of which we have Examined up to the 5th March 1767, when the sum of 98511 Dollars and One half Dollar and two Ninths of a Dollar was paid away, and proper Vouchers and Receipts appear therefor, and the Books appear to

Your Committee, as far they have Examined them, to be fairly and regularly kept, but the Number of the Payments have rendered it impossible for Your Committee to go through the whole Examination, this Session U. H. J. Liber No. 36 June 22

Your Committee also find, that the Commissioners have paid away to the Printer, the Treasurer and for their and their Clerks Salaries agreeable to the Act of Assembly, and other Office Expences 3330 Dollars, and $^{5}/_{6}$ of a Dollar

	Dollars
Your Committee have received from the Commissioners Bills of Credit to the amount of 24601 Dollars, and $^{4}/_{9}$ of a Dollar, out of which they have paid to Sundry Claimants for Allowances on the Journal and List of Debts	$2146^{1}/_{6}$
To Amos Ogden for the Use of the Nanticoke Indians as directed by Act of Assembly this Session..........	$666^{2}/_{3}$
To Ann Catharine Green as directed by Act this Session.	$948^{1}/_{2}$
To His Excellency the Governor as directed by Ordinance of both Houses of Assembly this Session.....	$123^{2}/_{3}$
To Cap.^{t} Richard Pearis by Ditto..................	400
To John Ducket by Ditto.........................	$124^{2}/_{3}$
There is still due to Sundry Claimants on the Journal and List of Debts............................	$2707^{2}/_{9}$
And there remains in the Iron Chest unapplied.........	$17466^{5}/_{9}$
Dollars	$24601^{4}/_{9}$

All which is Submitted to the Consideration of both Houses of Assembly this 22^{d} day of June 1768.

Benedict Calvert
Walter Dulany
Brice T: B Worthington
Thomas Ringgold
Charles Grahame
James Dickinson
Henry Steele
Robert Tyler
Robert Buchanan

John Ridout and Walter Dulany Esq.,^{rs} are sent to acquaint the Lower House that His Excellency requires their Attendance in the Upper House immediately, to see the Bills, passed both Houses this Session, receive the Assent.

The Lower House attend, and by their Speaker present to His Excellency the following Bills p. 408

All which is Submitted to the Consideration of both Houses of Assembly this 22ᵈ day of June 1768.

Benedict Calvert
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U. H. J. Liber No. 36 June 22 which we find has been frequently rejected, and doubt not on Sufficient Reasons, and by your State of the Matter appears to have been relinquished, ever since the Year Seventeen hundred and fifty three

If your Honours incline to pass the Ordinance agreeable to Our Message, We shall prepare it, if not, the Claims proposed to be provided for must lye over

Signed by Order T: Wright Cl: Lo: Ho:

Read the following Request of Upton Scott One of the Executors of John Ross, late Clerk of this House Deceased

To the Honourable the Upper House of Assembly

The Subscriber, One of the Executors of John Ross Esq.,^{r} Deceased, being informed since the Delivery of M.^{r} Ross's Account, for transcribing the Council and Upper House Journals, in the Years 1739 and 1740. to this Honourable House, that it will appear, on the Journal of Accounts for the Year 1740., that the Allowance, then made him, was in full for that Service, requests the Claim, for a Sum still appearing to be due, on M.^{r} Ross's Account, may be waved until the Matter can be more fully looked into

UScott Ex.^{r} of John Ross Deceased.

In Consequence whereof the following Message is sent by Benedict Calvert Esq.,^{r}

By the Upper House of Assembly 22^{d} June 1768.

Gentlemen

M.^{r} Ross's Executor having, in Consequence of some Information he has received since he Exhibited to this House the Account we sent You with Our Message of Yesterday, desired that his Claim might be waved, till he can have an Opportunity of making further Enquiry, We agree to its being left out the Ordinance not doubting
p. 405 but that if he can make it appear at a future Session, that the Allowance made to M.^{r} Ross was really inadequate to his Services, and less in Proportion than that you proposed to be made to M.^{r} Ducket, You will be ready to make such further Allowance to M.^{r} Ross's Executors, as may be agreeable to Justice and Equity

Signed by Order UScott Cl: Up: Ho:

Adjourned until 3 of the Clock in the Afternoon

Eodem Die Post Meridiem

This House met again according to Adjournment.

Present as in the Morning

Mess.^{rs} Grahame and Dickinson bring up from the Lower House the following Ordinance Viz.^{t} For the immediate Reimbursement of His Excellency Horatio Sharpe Esq.^{r} Governor, his Account of

U. H. J. Liber No. 36 June 22

Supplies to the Nanticoke Indians, and for Payment of Cap.^{t} Richard Pearis for his Services to this Province, during the late War, and for Payment of John Ducket, for finding a Book, and transcribing the Notes and Proceedings of the Lower House of Assembly from the Year Seventeen hundred and four until the Year Seventeen hundred and fifteen inclusive. It is Ordained by His Excellency the Governor, and the Upper and Lower Houses of Assembly, that the Committee of both Houses of Assembly, appointed to inspect the Office and Proceedings of the late Commissioners, for paying off the Public Claims for Emitting Bills of Credit, Established by Act of Assembly, shall pay to His Excellency the Governor, or his Order, One hundred and twenty three Dollars and two thirds of a Dollar, to Cap.^{t} Richard Pearis or his Order four hundred Dollars, and to John Ducket or his Order One hundred and twenty four Dollars and two thirds of a Dollar, out of the Bills of Credit now in the Office belonging to the Province.

22^{d} June 1768. Read		22^{d} June 1768 Read
and assented to by		and assented to by
the Lower House of		the Upper House of
Assembly		Assembly
Signed by Order		Signed by Order
Rob,,^{t} Lloyd Speaker	Hor,,^{o} Sharpe	Bened,,^{t} Calvert.

Benedict Calvert Esq.,^{r} brings in the following Report.

31,,st May 1768.

Maryland ss,,

At a Committee of both Houses of Assembly, appointed to Inspect the Office and Proceedings of the late Commissioners, for Paying off the Public Claims, and Emitting Bills of Credit, Established by Act of Assembly

Were Present.

The Hon^{ble} Benedict Calvert Esq.,^{r} and Walter Dulany Esq.,^{r} of the Upper House

M.^{r} Charles Grahame	of the Lower House	M.,^{r} Thomas Ringgold
M.^{r} Henry Steele		M.^{r} Brice T B Worthington
M.^{r} Josias Beall Jun^{r}		M.,^{r} Robert Tyler
M.^{r} John Hanson Jun.^{r}		M.^{r} John Eden and
M.^{r} James Dickinson		M.^{r} Robert Buchanan

p. 406

Who make Choice of, and appoint the Honourable Benedict Calvert Esq.^{r} Chairman, and James Brooks their Clerk and agree to make the following Report Viz,,^{t}

Your Committee find, that, by an Account from the Trustees in London dated 21st May 1767. that there was then £31,000 Capital Stock in the Bank of England, belonging to the Province, which Cost £39,179,,17,,6. and a Balance of £1235,,4,,4 not invested

PEARIS FAMILY

(not used in book as there was abundant other data)

After they had said all that was in the written paper they showed us a fine lace coat, and said their was many more with a great deel of other goods which should be giving us in concluding the peace with the Catabaws and the English would acknowledge the five Nations to be the Oldest nations and formerly the Owners of the land in which the English now lives on.

[Spelling and wording exactly as found.—G. A. T.]

[Torn in many places.—G. A. T.]

Lancaster, March 19th, 1758.

Dr Sir:

This day I received yours from the German Flats—Last night I came home from Winchester which place I left the 14th of this Month, the day before I left it came in a Party of Fifteen Cherokees from the Over Hill Towns (these—all the seven or eight Hundred Indians are come too which for these several weeks past we have had accounts of being in the Road for Virginia) the enclosed speech of the first February 1758 was sent by them from the head Warrior of Chite [?] & the other speech of August 1757 came last fall, I enclose you the speeches that you may see the Gov't of Virginia pursues their old method of making great promises performing nothing by which probably we may loose the Southern Indians [torn].

About three weeks ago a Party of Ten Cherokees came in to the So. Bra [torn] from Fort Du Quesene they set out from their own Towns in order to get more S (calps ?) [torn] from the Fort but the snow falling very deep while they were near the Fort [torn] remained a Fortnight in one place till their Provisions were out, [torn] two to view the fort & get a Scalp if possible but were discovered and [torn] obliged to run all the way in, these two Partys with 60 that have been in [torn] winter make 85 in all—this last Party have attempted to goe out twice [torn] Snow's which fell very deep

obliged them to return—some of them are gon [torn] Annapolis with a complaint against Capt. Paris—I imagine set * on by Smith [?] who I look upon to be a very good for nothing fellow—as soon as they return [torn] the whole goe to War—Watts writes that he expects to be in the beginning [torn]. April with a large party—Thirteen days ago Capt. Bosomworth set out from this town for Williamsburgh it is said he is gone for the Cherokees. Upon application being made by my L. Loudon our Assembly [torn] him Eight Hundred of their Provincials & Sent a Bill to the Govenor [torn] but as the Proprietor is taxed it is doubted whether it will pass [torn] Assembly has voted 400 men & sent up a Bill for Thirty Thousand Pounds but for the same reason the Gov'r refused it.

Coll. Burd tells me that some Indians from the Ohio are gone to Philadelphia with some Belts of Wampeum I have not heard the Speech neither could I learn from him whether they were Delawares, Shawnesse or foreigners—he tells me that Tudjuscungs son with two or three more [torn] Gang are gone to the Ohio to bring a Prisoner—I find by him that they are still in hopes of getting a trade fixed with the Indians as I heard him say he knew some gentlemen that would advance Twenty Thousand Pounds towards carrying it on. There is a good many Indians of one sort or other at Shamokin Mr Carson who is appointed to trade with them Indians is gone to Philadelphia and as I did not see him I cannot learn who they are. I am, D'r Sir,

Your most humble Serv't,

(Abraham Smith?)

William Trent.

The Proceedings of a Council of Officers held at Fort Loudon in Virginia, March 30, 1758, called by Capt. Thos. Bullit to consider whether a proposal of Peace (offered by King Tudyuscung and several Indians chiefs to the hon'ble Wil-

*I doubt Richard Smith filed the complaint, though it is certainly possible. Governor Sharpe of Maryland saw through it, and it appears from this that the Pennsylvanians did, too.

Your Committee also Report, that there have been laid before them sundry Receipts, amounting to £70 Bounty-Money paid the following Persons, who do not appear on any Muster Rolls laid before us.

May	25th, 1757.	John Carrill, ...	£5 0 0
	30.	Joseph Jones, ...	5 0 0
July	14.	George Laws, ...	5 0 0
	23.	John Day, ...	5 0 0
Aug.	15.	John White, ...	5 0 0
	16.	Samuel Powell, ...	5 0 0
		William Brown, ...	5 0 0
	4.	William Lay, ...	5 0 0
		Thomas Pudworth, ...	5 0 0
	23.	Charles Dorsey, ...	5 0 0
Sept.	4.	William Jennings, ...	5 0 0
	2.	John Cole, ...	5 0 0
	15.	James M'Neil, ...	5 0 0
		Robert Chilton, ...	5 0 0
			£70 0 0

composed those Companies, and are certified to be on Detachment and Party, have likewise been stationed at Fort Cumberland; and that this Matter may more clearly appear to the House, your Committee have drawn up Lists from the Muster Rolls of Capt. Alexander and Joshua Beall's, Capt. Pearis's and Ware's Companies, shewing the State and Condition each Individual Person appeared in at the Time of the several Musters made for the Months of June, July, August, and September; from which Lists (herewith delivered in) it will appear, that except in a very few Instances, the same Men that were certified to be on Detachment, Party and Ranging, at their Muster in June, have continued in the same Employment through all the subsequent Musters till the 8th September; nor does it appear to your Committee, from any Papers submitted to their Perusal by the Agents, in what Service they were employed during the Time aforesaid. Your Committee further observe, in the Course of their Examination, that the following Charges have been made and paid by the Agents, which they think not warranted by the Laws; and therefore Report it to the House, that they may judge of the Reasonableness or Expediency of them.

L. H. J.
Liber No. 49
Nov. 11

p. 76

In the Subsistence Account, there are Charges for the Provision found Four Women to each Company, amounting in the Whole to £204 17 3. In the Hospital Account, Wages paid to sundry Nurses to the Amount of £25 12.

In Fort Account, to sundry Women officiating as Cooks, £19 10. To John Linginfelter, Baker, £7 4 for 48 Days Baking Bread at 3 s. ꝑ Day.

That by the Hospital Account, it appears, the Sum of £167 17 6 has been allowed and paid the Commissary, being 6 d. ꝑ Day for 6715 Days of sick Men, over and above the 9 d. ꝑ Day Subsistence-Money allowed them by the Law.

That the Gun-Smith or Armourer, besides his Wages of 2s 6 ꝑ Day, has been allowed and paid his Account for mending Soldiers Arms to the Amount of £32 5 2 and for other small Services done for and about the Fort £17 7 9.

In the petty Charges and Expresses Accounts, several sums have been paid to sundry Persons, who have been employed in carrying Money from the Agents to their Managers at the Fort, and other Services, amounting to £29 18 of which Sum £18 15 arises due for an Express sent to Philadelphia with a Letter to a Gentleman, offering to contract for 1000 Stand of Arms, and one of the Agents Expences in going thither himself to compleat the Contract for said Arms. Thirty-five Shillings paid by the Agents to Mr. Michael Macnemara for a Copy of the Law, and Twenty Shillings to Mr. Edward Dorsey for drawing the Form of a Bond to be taken from the Recruiting Officers.

L. H. J. Liber No. 48 May 5

On Motion, Resolved, That this House do not proceed on any new Business of any Kind this Session after this Day.

On Motion, the Question was put, That the Governor's Accounts, relating to his Expences on Two Journeys to the Northward, be Referred to the Consideration of next Session of Assembly. Resolved in the Affirmative.

His Excellency the Governor communicates to Mr. Speaker the following Message, viz.[1]

Gentlemen of the Lower House of Assembly,

Inclosed you have a Letter or Message, which has been sent to me by some Cherokee Indians, who, upon an Invitation given them last Year by Governor Dinwiddie, have declared in our Favour, and are determined, if they meet with proper Encouragement, to act in Conjunction with our Troops against the French and their savage Allies. As you all know how useful Indians are to the Party whose Cause they espouse, and how formidable to those against whom they wage War, I shall not enlarge on the Services that these People may do us at this Time, not doubting but you will agree with me on the Expediency of securing them in our Interest, and enable me to send them an agreeable Answer, by accompanying it with a Present. I presume you will think, that the least Thing we can do for them, during their Stay on our Frontiers, is to have them supplied with Victuals and such Necessaries as they may stand in Need of: And as Mr. Ross has already delivered Provisions to Sixty-two of these People, who are at Fort Frederick, in Confidence that such a Step would meet with our Approbation, I hope you will provide for his being paid for the same.

Hor^{o}. Sharpe.

5th May, 1757.

And the following Letters or Messages, viz.[1]

To the Governor of Maryland.

Fort Frederick, April 29, 1757.

Brother of Maryland,

This Day came into your Province, with a Company of our Nation, on our Way to War against the French Shawanese, and all their Indians, hearing they had kill'd some of our Brothers, not knowing when we set off from Winchester but the Murder was committed in Virginia; but coming to this Fort, found we were in another Province; and on being informed by Capt. Beall, that our Brother, the Governor of this Province, had a real Love for our Nation, and that he had provided Cloaths for our Nation, tho' unacquainted with us, I have just now held a Council with my young Warriors, and has concluded to write to you, to acquaint you, our Brother, our Design of coming into this Country was hearing from our good Brother,

L. H. J. Liber No. 48 May 5

the Governor of Virginia, that it was the Desire of our Father King George, that we would join the English in War against the French and their Indians. On hearing this News, we immediately took up the Hatchet against the French and their Indians, and hold it fast till we make use of it, which I expect will be in a few Days. We intend to set out immediately from this Fort, and immediately on our Return expect to meet you our Brother here, to make ourselves acquainted with you. If you can't come yourself, you will send one of your beloved Men with your Talk, which we will look upon as from your own Mouth. I hope you will let the Province of Pennsylvania know, that I am come this Length to War, and if they are in Need of our Assistance, I have Men plenty at home, and will not think it troublesome to come and fight for our Brothers. I set off from home with 150 Men, Part of which is gone to Fort Cumberland, Forty more by this is come to Winchester. Our People will be so frequent among you, that I wish you may not think us troublesome. Our Hearts ache to see our Brothers Bones scattered about the Country; but you will hear in a short Time we have got Satisfaction for our Brothers; and in Confirmation of what I have spoke, I have sent you these few white Beads to confirm my Regard to this Province: Likewise I have sent you these black Beads to convince you, that I have taken up the Hatchet against all the English Enemies. We intend to stay as long amongst our Brothers as there is Use of us. I hope our good Brother will not be backward in providing Necessaries for us. I have sent you a List of what is useful for us; and has got our good Friend Mr. Ross to carry this Letter to you, which we shall always acknowledge as a particular Friend to us. As we expect to see you soon, we will add no more at present; but remain p. 430

Your loving Brother,
his
Wahachy ⺈ of Keeway.
Mark.

This is the Truth, taken from the Head Warrior.

Richard Pearis.

To the Catawbas.

Brothers,

Yesterday I came to Fort Frederick, and this Morning I received an Account of your bad Success at War last Winter when you went out; you lost all your White Men, now I understand you have lost Seven more, which I look upon you ought not to rest long till you go again, and have Satisfaction. I am informed you are going home, but I desire, as you are like my own People, that you may not go home till we have Revenge for our Brothers the English. I expect in a few Days to overtake the Party of Enemy that has committed the Murders here: They kill'd 9 White Men since they kill'd the Jacks. The next News I expect to acquaint you with, that we have got Satisfaction for the Murders they have committed; and will join you, with the rest of my People, as soon as possible. I remain,

L. H. J. Liber No. 48 May 5

Your loving Brother,
his
Wahachy ⺈ of Keeway.
Mark.

p. 431 Which were severally Read, and Ordered to lie on the Table.

From: Archives of Maryland (Assembly Proc.)
(Copied at WI SHS May 1998 F176 A67)

J. Beall

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declare noaids
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                        FULL DISPLAY    ITEM 1 (of 2)
   TITLE     Archives of Maryland. -- Baltimore : Maryland Historical Society,
               1883-1972. -- Vol. 1 (1883)-v. 72 (1972).
                                                              (ALC9188)

 LOCATION    Historical Society Library
 CALL NO.    F176 A67
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vs. 6, 9, 14, 31 – all Horatio Sharpe

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             HOLDINGS: v.1-72 (1883-1972).
             NOTES: LIBRARY HAS, 72 v. bd in 72: Complete file; some on film
               only: v. 3, 5, 11, 18, 20-22
   STATUS    For circulation information, please ask staff.

 LOCATION    Historical Society Library Microforms Room
 CALL NO.    Micro film P87-1202 5n
             HOLDINGS:
               3 (P87-1202);
               5 (P87-1202);
               8 (P92-4630);
               11 (N80-290);

               18 (P92-4630);
-----------DISPLAY CONTINUES (MADCAT UW-MADISON).  NEXT SCREEN = ns -----------
                                                                        14 52
▪ MadCat

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Items needed are in Volume 9

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                        FULL DISPLAY    ITEM 1 (of 2)
               20 (P91-4779);
               21 (P91-4779);
               22 (P91-4597).
             FORMAT: Microfilm. Madison : State Historical Society of Wisconsin,
               1980-   . rels : negative ; 35 mm.
   STATUS    For circulation information, please ask staff.

   FORMAT    72 v. : ill. ; 28 cm.

    NOTES    Irregular
             Available on microfilm from the State Historical Society of
               Wisconsin.

             OCLC NUMBER: 01513875
             ISSN: 0066-6645


-----------DISPLAY CONTINUES (MADCAT UW-MADISON).  NEXT SCREEN = ns -----------
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Sorder 20,25

Vol 9 - Corres of Gov Horatio Sharpe

7/1/57   no - this is Pearis, [illegible]

Capt Pearis   45, 60, 61, 130, 183, 194,

205, 206,   not this ~~212~~, 223

312

45   59-61   182-3   194   205-6   312-5   318-326

Reported it so bad that he was surprized it had not already produced a plague; I had it immediately buried, and ordered our own Commissary to furnish the Provincials here with the same good Provision we Eat ourselves in the proportion they usually received Provisions; this Conduct of mine, I know, will displease some about which I am very Indifferent, as I know it the first Duty of Every man in any kind of authority to do all in his power to preserve the Healths of the Subject. I send you back M^{r} Hay & the Serjeant to Ioyn L^{t} Campbell, who will all be under Your Direction, & beg you will believe that I am, with great Truth,

D^{r} Sir, Your most obed^{t}
humble servant
John Stanwix
(Colonel)

Liber J. R. & U. S. p. 190

[R. Smith to Sharpe.]

Carlisle July 4. 1757

Sir

Agreeable to my Instructions from M^{r} Atkins I immediately upon receiving your Orders sent a Party of the Cherokees to scour the Woods about Ray's Town, and I think it my Duty not only as it is agreeable to my Instructions from M^{r} Atkins but as the Good of his Majesty's Service depends on it to acquaint you of the Disposition and Temper of this party of Indians which came with me to this Government, and as your Honor may be the better judge of it have inclosed you a Copy of a Speech of theirs made at Fort Loudoun the 1st of this Instant and give you my opinion. These People say that one Part of their People had been with the French, and that they were returned with very large Presents and great Promises, upon finding that number of their People inclined to join the French they determined to come and see their Brothers the English as they have always had a Regard for them in hopes that their Brothers would treat them in such a manner that upon their going Home they should be able to shew their People that it was their Interest to let their Nation see that their Brothers were not that bad people which those in the French Interest had represented them, at their coming from their Towns, they told them the Virginians would deceive them and not perform their promises, they say they are sorry to find what they were told before they came from Home should turn out to be true that they do not value the Presents but should they go Home after being so long in the Service of the English, and have nothing to shew for their Services that they will be made a Mock of, and give the Party in the French Interest an opportunity of persuading their People to join the French which a contrary Behaviour on the Side of the English would prevent.

Liber J. R. & U. S.

Sir it is my opinion if this Party goes away displeased, it will be the means of engaging us in a War with them which will draw on a War with the Creeks also, as they are intirely influenced by them, and the Consequence must be dreadful to the English Colonies in General. When on the other Hand should they go off in good Temper, I am of opinion that they will be able to bring over the Over Hills People, and Creeks to the side of the English, I was glad to see the good understanding between the Six Nations and these People, as appears by the speeches made by the Mohock Sachem to them and their answers, and they have agreed with the Six Nations to meet upon these Frontiers in the Spring in great numbers if they are now well treated in order to carry on the War against the French.

Sir I make Bold to recommend to you the sending home these People in good Temper as their future Conduct will be regulated by it, and by my Instructions I am ordered to call upon and M^{r} Croghan for such Rewards for these People as I shall think necessary: I am your Honors.

most obedient humble servant
Rich^{d} Smith.

To his Excellency Horatio Sharpe Esq^{r}
Governor of Maryland.

Letter Bk. III

[Sharpe to Capt. Alex^{r} Beall.]

6th of Iuly 1757.

Sir

This is to inform you that if you have not already you may soon expect to receive orders from Col^{o} Stanwix to send a Detachment of two Sergeants two Corporals & fifty six private Men from each of the New Companies to reinforce the Garrison of Fort Cumberland. if Colo Stanwix should not particularly specify what Officers he would have march with these Detachments You will order Capt Pearis, Lieut^{t} Mathews, Lieut^{t} Hanson & Ensign Beall on that Service.

I am S^{r} Y^{r} humb Ser^{t} H S.

[Sharpe to Wm. Sharpe.]

6th of Iuly. 1757.

D^{r} B^{r}

Having just received Advice of a Vessel's being about to sail from a distant part of the Province I embrace the Opportunity to acknowledge the Receipt of your Favour of the 26th

J. Beall

Pg 44-5

Letter of Richard Smith to Governor Horatio Sharpe

Sir Carlisle 4 July 1757

Agreeable to my Instructions from Mr. Atkins I immediately upon receiving your Orders sent a Party of the Cherokees to scour the Woods about Ray's Town, and I think it my Duty not only as it is agreeable to my Instructions from Mr. Atkins but as the Good of his Majesty's Service depends on it to acquaint you of the Disposition and Temper of this party of Indians which came with me to this Government, and as your Honor may be the better judge of it have inclosed you a Copy of a Speech of theirs made at Fort Loudoun the 1st of this Instant and give you my opinion. These People say that one Part of their People had been with the French, and that they were returned with very large Presents and great Promises. Upon finding that number of their People to join the French they determined to come and see their Brothers the English as they have always had a Regard for them, in hopes that their Brothers would treat them in such a manner that upon their going Home they should be able to shew their People that it was their Interest to let their Nation see that their Brothers were not that bad people which those in the French Interest had represented them, at their coming from their Towns, they told them the Virginians would deceive them and not perform their promises. They say that they are sorry to find what they were told before they came from Home should turn out to be true, that they do not value the Presents but should they go Home after being so long in the Service of the English, and have nothing to shew for their Services that they will be made a Mock of, and give the Party in the French Interest an opportunity of persuading their People to join the French which a contrary Behaviour on the Side of the English would prevent.

Sir it is my opinion if theis Party goes away displeased, it will be the means of engaging us in a War with the Creeks also, as they are intierly influenced by them, and the Consequence must be dreadful to the English Colonies in General. When on the other Hand should they go off in a good Temper, I am of opinion that they will be able to bring the Over Hills People, and Creeks to the side of the English. I was glad to see the good understanding between the Six Nations and these People, as appears by the speeches made by the Mohock Sachem to them and their answers, and they have agreed with the Six Nations to meet upon these Frontiers in the Spring in great numbers if they are now well treated in order to carry on the War against the French.

Sir I make Bold to recommend to you the sending home these People in good Temper as their future Conduct will be regulated by it, and by Instructions I am ordered to call upon and Mr. Groghan for such Rewards for these People as I shall think necessary: I am your Honors mlst obedient humble servant Richd Smith

Letter Bk. III Quantity of Provisions in 12 large Boats & that he was told by some of the Garrison that 700 men were expected down from a Fort which had been built on this Side the Lakes, upon whose Arrival some Expedition of Importance would be undertaken wherein they should have Occasion for 6 Cannon & 2 mortars that had been got ready for such a purpose. If what he says also about a Party's being sent from Fort Du Quesne a few Days before he left it to cut off our Communication with Fort Cumberland is true It is not I think very improbable that they have a Design on that place. As it is much farther advanced than any other of our Forts it has served as a Place of Retreat to all the Parties of Soldiers or Cherokees that have at times annoyed the Enemy. this the French are not ignorant of, they have heard also that a considerable Quantity of Ammunition & other Stores were left there by Colᵒ Dunbar & they cannot but see that it is exceedingly weak as well from its Situation as from the materials wherewith & manner after which it is built. For some time past it has been garrisoned with 150 Men who are in the pay of this Province but I apprehend that Colo Stanwix has e'er now given orders for the Garrison's being reinforced with 120 men from two New Companies that the Assembly of this Province when they met in May last thought fit to impower me to raise, the Rest of the Troops that are at present supported by this Province being in Number about 140 effective Men are left at Fort Frederick to garrison that place & patroll on our Frontiers for the Protection of our Westernmost Settlements from which that Fort is about 12 miles distant. I am My Ld wᵗʰ the utmost Respect Yʳ Ldps—

Original. [Dinwiddie to Sharpe.]

Williamsburg Iuly 28ᵗʰ 1757

Sir

Yours of the 16ᵗʰ I recᵈ And I hope Doctʳ Ross has replac'd at Fort Loudoun the Flour & other Things not objected to by Your People. I have a Copy of Iohn Streets Information & I believe Fort Du Quesne has been reinforc'd & supplied with Provision from Mississippi, & that they will constantly send Parties to harrass our Frontiers, & probably endeavor to supplies being sent to Fort Cumbld; but I cannot think that 700 Men are sent from the Lakes, as I am of Opinion that all the Men they possibly can collect will be sent to Canada to oppose Lord Loudoun; however the News ought not to be neglected but we shou'd be provided against the Worst & no Doubt Colᵒ Stanwix will do the necessary to have the Forces ready to join on a Call; & the Convoy sent to Fort Cumbld on their Return may be able to give some more particular Informations.

The Method the Assembly concerted for augmenting our Forces has not fully answer'd Expectation, as upwards of 100 deserted from Fort Loudoun in one Week; the dastardly Spirit of our common People, their Ignorance of Arms & cowardly lazy Disposition, makes the raising of Men very difficult, but I am determin'd to make Examples of some of them by Death. Our Press continues employ'd in printᵍ our Paper Money, that they have not had Time to print our Acts of Assembly, but when printed I shall send them to You.

We have no certain Accᵗ of the Fleet &c from Ireland having arrived at N: Scotia, but from different Accᵗˢ from New England it's said they have join'd Lord Loudoun, & I think it's more than probable to be true; it's late in the Year for executing the Grand Plan of Operations, however I dare say Lᵈ Loudoun will proceed on it, & I sincerely wish them Success; its said there are eight Line of Battle Ships at Lewisburg, & many Transports with Men gone up Sᵗ Lawrence, but as there are so many flying Stories, I incline to suspend my Opinion thereon till more certainly inform'd. It is reported here that the Prussians have gain'd a Second Victory but it wants. Confirmation.

Capᵗ Arburthnott arrived here last Monday & is going to Careen to be ready to convoy the Trade home; I have not yet seen him, but the Time of his sailing from the hereafter inform You, for the Benifit of Your Trade.

I remᵃ with great Esteem & Regard
Your Excellency's
most obedᵗ hble Servant
Robᵗ Dinwiddie

Govʳ Sharpe.

to hear of his Return to this Province, Letter Bk. III
ave forbidden Pearis to make any Promise to him or any
er of the Cherokees in my name or to transact any Busi-
s whatever with them on behalf of this Province but if they
l at any time come to Fort Frederick they will be furnished
provisions as usual & if they should bring in any Scalps
eliver them up while our Act of Assembly continues in
e the Agents will not refuse to pay the præmium tho if
choose to give such Directions the Agents will purchase
ods therewith & deliver them in your name or with any
ech that you shall desire them to make on such occasion.
n &c.

J. Beall

[Sharpe to Atkins.]

29th July 1757.

Sir

I am obliged to you for Your Letters of the 12th & 30th of Iune & 12th Inst which were dld to me a few Days ago by Mr Fell. If the Assembly of this Province had left it to me to cultivate the Friendship of the Southern Indians or to encourage their Service by such Methods as I should judge proper I shoul proceed according to Your Advice & Directions but as the Assembly did long before His Majesty was pleased to appoint you Super Intendant of Indian Affairs appropriate a Sum of Money for the Encouragement & Reward of such of them as should take or destroy any of our Indian Enemies & did also after the Example that was set by the Northern Governts by an Act direct certain persons called Agents to pay a fixed Sum for every Scalp which should be brought in by them & deld up to any Magistrate it is not in my power to put a Stop to this practice neither can I order any of the Money that is so appropriated to be otherwise applied, however if You will communicate to me by Letter Your Sentiments on this point & set forth in strong Terms the Impropriety of such a measure I will lay Your Letter before the Assembly at our next Meeting & perhaps they will be brought to approve of such a plan as you shall fit to recommend. I would have You insist on the great Expence that these Colonies will subject themselves to by continuing the present Method as I am apt to think that such a Consideration will have its weight with our People & I do not think it would be amiss for you to observe that while the Indians are encouraged to run from One place to another for Presents their Service is lost to all of Us, You may also assure me that His Majesty will expect us to conform to Your Regulation with Respect to the Management of these Indians which will justify me in insisting upon the Repeal of that part of our Act whereby a Reward is allotted for such Scalps as shall be taken by our Indian Allies & support the Arguments that I may urge to persuade them to adopt Your Scheme. When the Assembly met last I earnestly recommended it to them to make some Provision for the payment of such Persons as I should order to supply any of our Indian Friends that may come to or pass thro the Province with such Victuals as they may stand in need of but they would not grant any Sum of Money for that purpose, Indeed they did as it were promise to pay for any Provisions that should be dld to them at Fort Frederick but it is a Doubt whether Mr Ross will ever receive any Allowance for what has been or shall be given to them at Fort Cumberland. I should think that the best way for you to carry your scheme effectually into Execution would be to represent the propriety & Expediency of it to the Ministry & if they shall be pleased to approve thereof the Governors of these Provinces may expect to receive Instructions to pass no Act relative to Indian Affairs unless it be entirely consonant to Your plan, & to get any Act that has been already made & interferes therewith repealed. I lately received a Letter from Colo Stanwix wherein he pressed me to impower Mr Croghan to purchase & in my Name to deliver a Present to the Cherokees that were then with him but I was obliged to tell him that I could not comply with his Request as the Assembly had not left any publick money to my Disposal. When I gave Capt Pearis a Commission in our Provincials I did not intend to take him from the Indians or to restain his Service to this Province nor was he thereby required to attend any New Duty. I understood that the Govern^t of Virga had employed several other Interpreters & as I thought too many could not be engaged I gave him a Company that was then raising to encourage him also to continue in the Service having been told that his Allowance from Virga was scarcely sufficient to support him. I am very sorry to find that his Conduct has neither met with Yours nor Goverr Dinwiddie's Approbation however as an Interpreter will be much wanted at Fort Cumberland while the Cherokees continue to go that way to war he might be of Service there & as Colo Stanwix has taken him & the Rest of our Officers under his own immediate Command I have desired him to order Capt Pearis thither. I suppose the Belt that Wahachee enquired after was one that was given to Yatanou upon Wahachee's refusing to part with either of them that had been dld with my Message. I am told that that Young Warrior shews a great Affection for Pearis which makes the old Fellow jealous & an Enemy to him if this is the Case it is not improbable that Wahachee has falsified in what he says of his having told him that he had the Management of Indian Affairs, for my own part I cannot help entertaining a very bad opinion of that old Fellow & do not desire to hear of his Return to this Province, I have forbidden Pearis to make any Promise to him or any other of the Cherokees in my name or to transact any Business whatever with them on behalf of this Province but if they shall at any time come to Fort Frederick they will be furnished with provisions as usual & if they should bring in any Scalps & deliver them up while our Act of Assembly continues in force the Agents will not refuse to pay the præmium tho if you choose to give such Directions the Agents will purchase Goods therewith & deliver them in your name or with any Speech that you shall desire them to make on such occasion. I am &c.

J. Beall

Shapo Cons.

Arch MD

vol 9
pp. 59-61

Letter Bk. III

e to the several Points which they had before not to hear any Propositions that should be ng them the Conference was attended with no & on Saturday they pressed me a second time ady hinted to put an End to the Session. It ecessary to trouble you with the particulars of etween the two Houses especially as I hope to sure of seeing you very shortly, All therefore y at present is that I shall agreeable to your for the Frontiers the 18th Inst in Expectation of Clair there & I propose to order two or three Militia to march & serve on the Frontiers of under my Command during the Summer or as tuation of Affairs shall make such a measure

ed is the last Letter that I received from the Officer at Fort Cumberland.

nem to keep together till he & I meet on the I find on my Arrival at Fort Frederick where 22d or 23d Inst that your Regiments are not leated in that Case I shall write to the Com- at Winchester & make him an offer of such as are enlisted generally for His Majesty's paying them & the Persons to whom they whatever their Arrears of Pay at that time which will not I suppose be so much as the at you allow for Recruits.

l a Copy of the Charge agst Capt Pearis ured with your Lettr which as I had repeat- peremptory Instructions to concern himself th the Cherokees farther than to interpret the Commanding Officer at Fort Cumber- le surprize me, but the Report of a Court of s been appointed to enquire into the Aff

[Sharpe to St. Clair.]

rnall's near Frederick Town, the 3d of June 175

he General leaves it entirely to you & me to s at is due to the Troops that are in Garrison at nd & Fort Frederick It is time I think you sh at Sum will be sufficient that you may procee on as you please for that purpose. By the incl general Account you will see that there was du s the 8th of April last a Trifle more than £4536

Letter Bk. III

Letter Bk. III

y or £2835 Sts & that the Agent Victualler's A plying with Provisions from the 8th of Octr la amounts to £2970. 15 Currency exclusive of a ount & the Expence of carrying Provisions f lerick to Fort Cumberland. There is likewise le sum due to him for Victualling the several ans that have been at those Forts since the Beg l 1757, but what the exact Sum is I do not as y have been already told that our Lower H mbly gave it as their opinion in October last es which should be placed as a Garrison in Fort could contribute in any manner whatever to the Province, they Resolved also at the same time l neither pay nor victual any men that should l sent or ordered to garrison that place. When I of Loudoun Advice of the Assembly's having a Resolution & intreated him to order some of regular Troops to march & take Possession lest the Maryland Forces should hear that the A ranted no money for their farther Support & upon abandon it His Ldp was pleased to tell

[Sharpe to St. Clair.]

15th of May 1758.

l Saturday last that I gave over all hopes of our Assembly to grant a Sum of Money for a Number of Troops to act under the Com- al Forbes & to garrison the Forts on our Fron- he Continuance of the Expedition, but the ich the Lower House came to on that Day hat no Supplies could be expected afterwards r the necessity of putting an End to the Ses- y the Case I shall (as soon as a Court in which I eside is over) repair with all possible Dispatch

Letter Bk. I. p. 294

[Sharpe to Calvert.]

30th July 1757 & transmitted by Capt Coolidge.

Sir

Herewith you will receive by Capt Coolidge the Rent Roll of Ann Arundel County made out as conformable to your Specimen as possible, there may be still a few Articles that are not sufficiently clear or regularly accounted for which is owing to the want of some Record Books that have been long since altogether or in part destroyed or to some other Cause of equal weight. All that I can say is that I have used my

J. Beall

Sharpe Corrs.

Arch MD

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ter Bk. III theirs to adhere to the several Points which they had before insisted on & not to hear any Propositions that should be made for waving them the Conference was attended with no good Effects & on Saturday they pressed me a second time as I have already hinted to put an End to the Session. It would be unnecessary to trouble you with the particulars of the Dispute between the two Houses especially as I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you very shortly, All therefore that I shall say at present is that I shall agreeable to your Desire set off for the Frontiers the 18th Inst in Expectation of Meeting S^r^ I S^t^ Clair there & I propose to order two or three Companies of Militia to march & serve on the Frontiers of this Province under my Command during the Summer or as long as the situation of Affairs shall make such a measure necessary.

P. S. inclosed is the last Letter that I received from the Commanding Officer at Fort Cumberland.

rs, unless I find on my Arrival at Fort Frederick where to be the 22^d^ or 23^d^ Inst that your Regiments are not o be compleated in that Case I shall write to the Com- ıg Officer at Winchester & make him an offer of such Soldiers as are enlisted generally for His Majesty's ;, upon his paying them & the Persons to whom they endebted whatever their Arrears of Pay at that time nount to, which will not I suppose be so much as the Money that you allow for Recruits.

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[Sharpe to St. Clair.]

M^r^ Darnall's near Frederick Town, the 3^d^ of Iune 175

D^r^ S^r^

Since the General leaves it entirely to you & me to s & pay what is due to the Troops that are in Garrison at Cumberland & Fort Frederick It is time I think you sh know what Sum will be sufficient that you may procee coin as soon as you please for that purpose. By the incl Sketch or general Account you will see that there was du our Troops the 8th of April last a Trifle more than £4536

Correspondence of Governor Sharpe.

Letter Bk. III

rency or £2835 St^s^ & that the Agent Victualler's A supplying with Provisions from the 8th of Oct^r^ la time amounts to £2970. 15 Currency exclusive of a Account & the Expence of carrying Provisions f Frederick to Fort Cumberland. There is likewise erable sum due to him for Victualling the several I Indians that have been at those Forts since the Beg April 1757, but what the exact Sum is I do not as y You have been already told that our Lower H Assembly gave it as their opinion in October last Forces which should be placed as a Garrison in Fort land could contribute in any manner whatever to the of the Province, they Resolved also at the same time would neither pay nor victual any men that should I after sent or ordered to garrison that place. When I Earl of Loudoun Advice of the Assembly's having such a Resolution & intreated him to order some of I esty's regular Troops to march & take Possession place lest the Maryland Forces should hear that the A had granted no money for their farther Support & thereupon abandon it His Ldp was

[Sharpe to St. Clair.]

15th of May 1758.

D^r^ S^r^

It was not till Saturday last that I gave over all hopes of prevailing with our Assembly to grant a Sum of Money for the Support of a Number of Troops to act under the Command of General Forbes & to garrison the Forts on our Frontiers during the Continuance of the Expedition, but the Resolutions which the Lower House came to on that Day convinced me that no Supplies could be expected afterwards & laid me under the necessity of putting an End to the Session. This being the Case I shall (as soon as a Court in which I am obliged to preside is over) repair with all possible Dispatch to Fort Frederick in hopes of meeting either yourself or the General somewhere on the Frontiers about the 22^d^ or 23^d^ Inst. I sent the 600 Dollars to Col^o^ Prather a few Days after I received Your Lett^r^ of the 8th of April & I had before that time given Instructions to the Commanding Officers at Fort Cumberland & Fort Frederick to obey & execute any orders that they should receive from the General or Yourself. In a Letter that I wrote to the General the 27th of April I told him that there were at Fort Cumberland the 8th of March last 220 Men exclusive of Commission'd & non Commission'd Officers & that the Number then at Fort Frederick was 114, this was

J. Beall

Sharpe Corres.

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Letter Bk. III

Braxton having intimated to me that he is just about
urn to Virga I embrace the Opportunity to acknowledge
eceit of the two Letters you were pleased to favour me
he 24th & 25th of March last as well as of that which the
presented to me.

r Assembly broke up yesterday without granting any
ies for the Support of a Number of Troops to act in
nction with those under the immediate Command of
dier Forbes or even for the Protection of our Frontier
tants while the Expedition is depending. We have at
ne upwards of 300 Men in Garrison at Fort Cumber-
Fort Frederick who have served ever since the 8th of
last without Pay in Expectation that the Assembly
have now granted a Sum of Money to discharge the
s that might be due & to keep them up at least untill
l of the Campaign. As I presume the General would
unwilling to see those Men who have now served a
rable time disbanded just as he is about to march I
courage them to keep together till he & I meet on the
rs, unless I find on my Arrival at Fort Frederick where
to be the 22d or 23d Inst that your Regiments are not
o be compleated in that Case I shall write to the Com-
g Officer at Winchester & make him an offer of such
Soldiers as are enlisted generally for His Majesty's
, upon his paying them & the Persons to whom they
endebted whatever their Arrears of Pay at that time
nount to, which will not I suppose be so much as the
Money that you allow for Recruits.

l received a Copy of the Charge agst Capt Pearis
. was favoured with your Lettr which as I had repeat-
ven him peremptory Instructions to concern himself
account with the Cherokees farther than to interpret
n them & the Commanding Officer at Fort Cumber-
l not a little surprize me, but the Report of a Court of
which has been appointed to enquire into the Affair

[Sharpe to St. Clair.]

Mr Darnall's near Frederick Town, the 3d of Iune 1758.

Dr Sr

Since the General leaves it entirely to you & me to settle & pay what is due to the Troops that are in Garrison at Fort Cumberland & Fort Frederick It is time I think you should know what Sum will be sufficient that you may proceed to coin as soon as you please for that purpose. By the inclosed Sketch or general Account you will see that there was due to our Troops the 8th of April last a Trifle more than £4536 Currency or £2835 Stg & that the Agent Victualler's Account for supplying with Provisions from the 8th of Octr last to that time amounts to £2970. 15 Currency exclusive of a Hospital Account & the Expence of carrying Provisions from Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland. There is likewise a considerable sum due to him for Victualling the several Parties of Indians that have been at those Forts since the Beginning of April 1757, but what the exact Sum is I do not as yet know. You have been already told that our Lower House of Assembly gave it as their opinion in October last that no Forces which should be placed as a Garrison in Fort Cumberland could contribute in any manner whatever to the Security of the Province, they Resolved also at the same time that they would neither pay nor victual any men that should be thereafter sent or ordered to garrison that place. When I sent the Earl of Loudoun Advice of the Assembly's having come to such a Resolution & intreated him to order some of His Majesty's regular Troops to march & take Possession of that place lest the Maryland Forces should hear that the Assembly had granted no money for their farther Support & should thereupon abandon it His Ldp was pleased to tell me that it was extreemly inconvenient to move the Troops at such a Distance at that Season of the year & that therefore if I would keep up the Maryland Forces or as many of them as might be necessary to garrison Fort Cumberland he would engage to pay them & to pay for the Provisions that might be delivered to them while they should continue in the Service as you will see by the inclosed Copy of His Ldp's Letter. In obedience to His Ldp's orders & to the orders of the Generals who succeeded him in the Command of His Majesty's Forces in America our Troops have been kept up till this time, most of them have remained constantly at Fort Cumberland & many of the Rest have been employed in convoying them Provisions, our Assembly have met twice since I received the Earl of Loudoun's Letter but all my Endeavours to prevail with them to grant a Sum of money to pay off the Arrears that were due to our Troops & to Mr Ross for Victualling them proved fruitless. It would be unnecessary to trouble you with a Detail of all that passed between the Assembly & me while they were sitting relative to our Troops but it might not perhaps be amiss to inform you that in an Address which the Lower House of Assembly presented me the 17th of April they spoke of the five Companies which were at that time & are still in Garrison at Fort Cumberland & Fort Frederick as Companies in the Service & Pay of this Province & said that they presumed it was the reasonable Dependance which those Soldiers had that the several Branches of the Legislature

Letter Bk. III

[Sharpe to Blair.]

14th of May 1758.

Sir

Colo. Braxton having intimated to me that he is just about to return to Virg^a I embrace the Opportunity to acknowledge the Receit of the two Letters you were pleased to favour me with the 24th & 25th of March last as well as of that which the Colo presented to me.

Our Assembly broke up yesterday without granting any Supplies for the Support of a Number of Troops to act in Conjunction with those under the immediate Command of Brigadier Forbes or even for the Protection of our Frontier Inhabitants while the Expedition is depending. We have at this time upwards of 300 Men in Garrison at Fort Cumberland & Fort Frederick who have served ever since the 8th of Octob^r last without Pay in Expectation that the Assembly would have now granted a Sum of Money to discharge the Arrears that might be due & to keep them up at least untill the End of the Campaign. As I presume the General would be very unwilling to see those Men who have now served a considerable time disbanded just as he is about to march I shall encourage them to keep together till he & I meet on the Frontiers, unless I find on my Arrival at Fort Frederick where I hope to be the 22^d or 23^d Inst that your Regiments are not likely to be compleated in that Case I shall write to the Commanding Officer at Winchester & make him an offer of such of our Soldiers as are enlisted generally for His Majesty's Service, upon his paying them & the Persons to whom they may be endebted whatever their Arrears of Pay at that time shall amount to, which will not I suppose be so much as the Bounty Money that you allow for Recruits.

I had received a Copy of the Charge agst Capt Pearis before I was favoured with your Lett^r which as I had repeatedly given him peremptory Instructions to concern himself on no account with the Cherokees farther than to interpret between them & the Commanding Officer at Fort Cumberland did not a little surprize me, but the Report of a Court of Enquiry which has been appointed to enquire into the Affair together with M^r Smith's opinion that little Credit ought to be given to the Indian's Information inclines me to think that Capt Pearis has not acted such a Part as he is represented to have done by the Minutes you were pleased to send me, however to remove all occasion for such kind of Complaints for the future I was determined in case our Troops had been still kept up to superseed him & to leave it to the General to do with him afterwards as he should think fit.

I am obliged to you for your Answer to the Request I was importuned by Colonel Cresap to make & will take the Liberty to communicate it to him.

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Sharpe Corres

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[Sharpe to St. Clair.]

Frederick Town. the 1st of Iune 1758.

D. S.

As soon as the Waggons that are gone to Annapolis return hither I shall send some of them to Winchester with 400 of the Musketts & you may expect them there next Sunday or Monday. In the Letter which you sent me from General Forbes & which was dated the 25th of May is the following Paragraph "I am greatly at a Loss & much distressed how to act with regard to the 300 men that you had at Fort Cumberland & Frederick in the Province Pay. As you have said nothing about them I hope they continue as they were untill I have the Pleasure of seeing you; At the same time I should be well pleased that they could be all got together at Fort Cumberland as by that means Part of Colo Washington's Virginia Regiment might march to Fort Frederick in order to join the other Troops at Ray's Town, but as you will see Sr Iohn St Clair I think those Things may be easily settled for the best. Since I left Winchester I have given orders for reducing the Company that was commanded by Capt Pearis & distributing the Men that composed it into the other four which will make them I apprehend about 90 men a Company including Officers; 122 of these are at Fort Frederick & the mouth of Conegochiegh, by a Return which I received yesterday from the Commanding Officer at that Fort I find that 60 of those had the Small Pox many years ago & that 25 of the 60 have been these five Days at Conegochiegh under the Command of Capt Ioshua Beall that in Case you should think proper to send a Party to Fort Cumberland there might not be the least Danger of their carrying any Infection. Capt. A. Beall assures me that none of the men under his Command except two are suffered to go to the House where those that had the Small Pox were & he seems very sanguine in his hopes that he shall be able to hinder the Distemper from Spreading.

[Sharpe to St. Clair.]

14th of Iune 1758. Fort Frederick

Sr

This Day I send off the Camp Kettles &c. for Winchester & Mr Shelby setts off to Morrow in order to reconnoitre & blaze the Road from Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland. Inclosed you have the account of 70 Blanketts sent by my order to Winchester which were delivered to Colo Byrd the 9th of this Inst. With the great Pains that Capt Bosomworth & Capt Pearis have taken 9 Indians out of 14 have been prevailed on to march to Fort Loudoun & continue the Campaign. There are about 20 Indians at Fort Cumberland which I am apprehensive may be for returning back to their own Country unless prevented. I have therefore with the Advice of Capt Bosomworth ordered Capt Pearis to that Fort who is in case they are for returning home to use his best Endeavours to carry them to Fort Loudoun, as this is interfering with Indian Affairs am doubtful how it may be taken a Line of Advice with regard to this matter will much oblige

Sir &c

J. Beall

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Letter Bk. I. to take the matter into Consideration & to prepare such a Bill as they should judge necessary for the purpose they declined however at that time to come into the Scheme which the Virginians had proposed & which is in itself an exceeding good one, & the Answer the Gentlemen of the Lower House gave me together with what many of them dropt in private Conversation gives me great Reason to apprehend that they will never be prevailed on to prepare such a Bill as may be requisite for the Purpose, I shall however recommend it to them again at their next Session & at the same time intimate to them what they may expect in case they should refuse to come into so reasonable a proposal. I observe what you say of Colo Lloyd's having too much Business of his own, to devote so much of his time as might be necessary to the management of His Lordships Affairs, & I believe your Supposition is not without foundation, but at the same time I know that Col° Lloyd will never choose to resign any office of Profit while he can hold it & therefore it signifies nothing to talk of his Resignation. If His Lordship is dissatisfied with Colo Lloyds Conduct & is determined to have another Agent or Agents appointed I will upon His Ldp's signifying his Pleasure for me to do so appoint the Gentlemen you mention or Mr Wm Goldsborough if you please in the stead of Mr Holliday, not p. 349 that I have any objection to the Latter; but I repeat it once more Colo Lloyd never will resign any office that he holds untill he finds that he can keep it no longer & therefore it will be in vain to make any Proposals whatever upon that Supposition. We hear that Admiral Boscawen is at length sailed from Hallifax, & we flatter Ourselves with hopes of receiving e'er long some agreeable Accounts from Louisburg; what General Abercromby is doing I know not, neither can I learn any thing for certain concerning his Motions. I am informed by a Person that is just come hither from Pensilvania that Montgomery's Battalion is at length arrived at Phila but no Accot has been yet received of the Vessel that was expected from Europe with Artillery & Stores for this Southern Expedition. I understand however that Brigadier Forbes has made up a small Train with some Cannon & Mortars that he collected at N. York & Phila but I am afraid the Troops will not be on the Allegany Mountains before the End of Iuly or the Beginning of August. The General seems inclined to take the Maryland Troops (which are now reduced to about 350 Men) into His Majesty's Pay as Rangers during the Campaign & I hope he will be prevailed on likewise to pay them the Arrears that have become due to them since the 8th of Octr last in Expectation that the Assembly will reimburse him at their next Session. Those of the Men that are at Fort

Frederick are to march towards Fort Cumberland about the Letter Bk. I. 16th Inst. & I shall then garrison the former Place with two Companies of Militia which I have ordered out from the interior Part of this County for that Purpose. I find that the Army is to march thro Pensa to Rays Town, & not by Fort Frederick as I expected. Many of the Cherokees that were lately on the Frontiers of these Provinces are returned home p. 350 on various Pretences, & I am much afraid that very few or not more than a hundred of them at most will stay & act in Conjunction with our Forces during the Campaign. &c—

[Col. Bouquet to Sharpe.] Original.

Conigogegh 13th June 1758.

Sir

As it will be of the greatest benefit to His Majesty's Service, to have a road of communication open from Each of the Provinces to Fort Cumberland. I am under the necessity of requesting of you, to have the straightest Road reconnoitred, leading from Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland: Recommanding to those you appoint to mark it out. to report the time that 500 men will take to cut it: any Expence you may be at shall be paid by Sir John St Clair; as he will be the nearest to you, Please to send him the Report of it, that if found practicable, he may send Troops to work at it.

I am with the highest Regard
Sir
Your most obedt
and most humble Servt
Henry Bouquet

To the Honble Govr Sharpe.

an oppressive burthen upon the individuals engaged in Letter Bk. III
and expose the reputation of the publick not only to discr
but reproach.

It is in this light Sir and in order to prevent that wan
Confidence in publick Engagements which delay in t
Extrordinary measure has a tendency to promote, that I
induced to offer every thing that can be done on my part
aid to what the General is heartily disposed to do on his,
the Relief and accomodation of all that may be involved
this occasion in engagements, in Consequence of the Earl
Loudoun's Authority to you to retain these Troops in the S
vice of the Publick and for this purpose I divide the accou
(of which I had sight of the Estimate or Calculation) i
three parts, Vizt the Victualling of the Troops, the offic

J. Beall

Letter Bk. III

k. IV
p. 17

[Sharpe to Baltimore.]

14th of Decemr 1758.

My Ld

It is with great pleasure I inform Your Ldp that Lt C
Dagworthy is just arrived here from the Army commanded

[Sharpe to Capt. Evan Shelby.]

15th of Iune 1758.

As it will be of the greatest Benefit to His Majesty's Service to keep open the Communication between Fort Frederick & Fort Cumberland you are hereby directed to reconnoitre & mark out as strait a Road as the Country will admit from this Place to Fort Cumberland taking particular notice of the several waters that are to be passed, the Soil on each Side of the Fords & where Bridges may be necessary; If any Rocks or marshy Land you are to report the same with the time that 500 men will take to cut the Road.

Original. [St. Clair to Cresap?]

Carlisle June the 16th 1758

Sir

I inclose you the Invoice, of four Waggon Load of things which you are to send immediately to Winchester with what Waggons you can get in your neighbourhood Governor Sharp will pay them, you will forward the Invoice to the Commanding officer at Winchester you are to return me my Waggons & load them with the Chests of the Kings Arms that you have in your Fort

I am
Sir
Your Most Hbl Servt
John St Clair.

The officer commanding at Connocogee

Original. [Gov. Fauquier to Sharpe.]

Wmsburgh Iune 18th 1758

Sr

I did my self the Honour of writing to you by Captn Coolidge of the Wilson on board of whom I took my passage for this Government, and who was to proceed immediately for Patuxsen River; and with my own I committed to his Care a Letter from Dr Gregory Sharpe, wch he charged me with in England.

For fear that should not have come to your Hands I take the opportunity of an Express I am sending to General Abercrombie to notifie to you my arrival here, honoured wth his Majesties Commission of Lieutenant Governor of his Colony and Dominion of Virginia; and to assure that I shall with the greatest pleasure lay hold of every oppertunity of corresponding with you, which his Majesties Service or the Advantage of his American Colonies may require.

I am
Your Excellcys
most Obt
Hble Sevt
Fran: Fauquier

To his Excellcy Horatio Sharpe Esqr

Original. [C. Kilby to Sharpe.]

Philadelphia June 19th 1758

Sir

On my arrival in this Place a few days since General Forbes communicated to me the Calculation and advices he had receiv'd, respecting the pay, Victualling and Contingent Expences attending the Maryland Troops since the 8th of October last, I am in hopes the obstinacy that has hitherto actuated the assembly, will not be persisted in, and that they will be brought into a more reasonable disposition, and that ample Provision will yet be made for the whole or by far the greatest part of this Expence, in the mean time tis a very severe hardship, that the Engagements you were under a necessity of entering into and engaging others in, for the mens pay victualing & Contingent Expences should remain an oppressive burthen upon the individuals engaged in it, and expose the reputation of the publick not only to discredit but reproach.

It is in this light Sir and in order to prevent that want of Confidence in publick Engagements which delay in this Extrordinary measure has a tendency to promote, that I am induced to offer every thing that can be done on my part in aid to what the General is heartily disposed to do on his, for the Relief and accomodation of all that may be involved on this occasion in engagements, in Consequence of the Earl of Loudoun's Authority to you to retain these Troops in the Service of the Publick and for this purpose I divide the accounts (of which I had sight of the Estimate or Calculation) into three parts, Vizt the Victualling of the Troops, the officers

J. Beall

Letter Bk. IV p. 17

[Sharpe to Baltimore.]

14th of Decem^r 1758.

My Ld

It is with great pleasure I inform Your Ldp that L^t Col^o Dagworthy is just arrived here from the Army commanded by General Forbes & brings us the agreeable Account of His Excellencys having on the 25th of last Month taken Possession of Fort Du Quesne which the Enemy had abandoned two Days before. A Virginia Lad who made his Escape from them as they were going off says that about Half the Garrison (which consisted of 500 men commanded by Mons^r Desligneris) went down the Ohio in Battoes carrying the Artillery & all their Stores with them & that the Rest having first set fire to all the Houses in & without the Fort marched towards Venango which is about 60 Miles to the Northwd of Fort Du Quesne & where they have a small Stoccado Fort. They had it seems been some time in great Want of Provisions, (which was probably owing to the Loss they suffered last Summer at Frontenac) their Indians had all left them, they perceived that General Forbes was approaching with upwards of 3000 Men who were within two Days March of the Fort when they abandoned it & happily for us the Weather continued extreemly favourable.

The first Intelligence the General received of the Enemys p. 18 being gone off was from some Friendly Indians who had been on a Scout & returned to his Camp on the Evening of the 24th Orders were immediately issued for L^t. Col^o Dagworthy to march next Morning at Break of Day with a hundred Men to reconnoitre & if the Indian's Intelligence was true to take Possession of the Fort. He had scarcely left the Camp when he met Capt Pearis one of our Officers who had been sent out the Night before with a small Party to make Discoveries & by him he was assured of the Truth of what the Indians had before told the General. The inclosed Plan or Draft which Colo Dagworthy has at my Desire sketch't out from his Memory will shew Your Ldp what Works the French had made & in what Condition they left them. & the other inclosed

Paper will inform Your Ldp how the General has disposed of the Provincial Troops that served on this Expedition. Besides the 200 Provincials who are destined to garrison Fort Du Quesne this winter Col^o Dagworthy left most of the Highlanders & Royal Americans there but he supposes that they are by this time coming in with the General (who was in a very ill State of Health) & that all the Regulars will be sent down among the Inhabitants for Winter Quarters. As soon almost as our Troops arrived at Fort Du Quesne four or five Indians appeared on the other Side of the Ohio & desired to be fetched over & introduced to the General which they were the next Day on the 27th they were dismissed with an Answer to the Message they had brought from their respective Towns & M^r Croghan the Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs with an Interpreter was ordered to accompany them, Col^o Dagworthy does not know what passed between the General & those Indians but he says it was expected that all the Indians on the Ohio will immediately come in & sue for Peace. In my Letter of the 8th Inst I told Your Ldp there was a Report that the French had only retired to another Fort which they had built about 20 miles lower down the Ohio but I learn from Col^o Dagworthy that there is no such Fort & that those of the Enemy that fell down the River were seen more p. 19 than 30 Miles below Fort Du Quesne by the four Indians abovementioned. Your Ldp will perceive by the Orders which the General gave out the 29th of Novem^r that he has sent a hundred of the Maryland Soldiers to Garrison Fort Cumberland expecting I presume that our Assembly will at least agree to support that Number. but if he has proceeded on this Supposition I am much afraid he will be disappointed & that Fort Cumberland will be soon evacuated, for the Gentlemen of the Lower House are still determined to adhere to their Assesment Bill, which I am told will be now offered to the Upper House in two or three Days. The General having thought fit to leave it to me to dispose of the Rest of the Maryland Forces I have ordered them to repair to this Place where they will be ready to be disbanded if no Supplies are granted or to receive their Arrears of Pay & be cloathed if the Assembly shall be prevailed on to raise Money at this time for that purpose.

J. Beall

Letter Bk. III in some Measure perhaps influence their Conduct. As the Officers of the four Maryland Companies found it would be impracticable to keep their Men any longer together without pay & were of Opinion that if they suffered them to desert or disband themselves it would be impossible to collect them again in Case the Assembly should in the Spring agree to pay off all their Arrears & provide for their farther Support the Officers thought it advisable to give Furloughs for two Months or untill they shall by an Advertisement in the Gazette be ordered to repair to a Place of Rendezvous when they are persuaded their Men will join them & that if the Assembly raises the necessary Supplies they shall in a very short time be able to compleat their respective Companies. With regard to what Your Excellency is pleased to recommend to me relative to any Officers that are or may be sent to this Province on the Recruiting Service I beg Leave to assure you that I shall countenance & assist them as far as is in my Power & that it would give me the greatest Pleasure to find myself able on any other occasion to execute Your Excellency's Commands—

[Sharpe to Amherst.]

10th Feb^{y} 1759.

Sir

General Forbes having in a Letter which I lately received from him desired me to send M^{r} Ross (the Person that Victualled the Maryland Troops from the time that our Assembly declined to provide for their Support till they marched last Summer on the Expedition agst Fort Du Quesne) to Phila^{a} in order that the Affair might if Your Excellency shall be pleased to give such Directions be finally settled; & M^{r} Ross having prevailed on a Gent^{n} that lives with me in the Character of my Secretary to accompany him I take the Liberty to ntroduce him to Your Excellency the rather because he is cquainted with all that passed between the Earl of Loudoun en^{l} Stanwix or Gen^{l} Forbes & me about the Maryland roops since His Ldp engaged to support them & will more-ver be able to furnish Your Excellency or Gen^{l} Forbes with opies of any Lett^{rs} or Papers that may shew on what Footing ur Troops served during the last Winter & on the late Expe-ition, & in particular what promises were given both by the arl of Loudoun & Gen^{l} Stanwix that M^{r} Ross should be atisfied If your Excellency has any farther Commands or nstructions for me or shall think fit to favour me with any etters to be laid before our Assembly when they meet I shall e glad to receive them when M^{r} Ridout returns from Phil^{a} &

beg leave to assure you that I shall always use my utmost Endeavours to perform whatever Your Excellency may think fit to require or Command &c. L. Letter Bk. IV

[Sharpe to Calvert.]

Annapolis the 14th of Decem^{r} 1758 & transmitted by Capt M^{c}Taggart.

S^{r}

Since I wrote to you the 10th Inst L^{t} Col^{o} Dagworthy who has had the Command of the Maryland Troops is come hither from the Ohio & brings Us the agreeable Account that His Majesty's Forces under the Command of General Forbes took Possession of Fort Du Quesne the 25th of Novem^{r} two Days after Mons^{r} Delignerís with his Garrison of 500 Men had abandoned it. Before they went off they set fire to all the Barracks in the Fort & Out Works & all the Houses that had been built near it. They likewise demolished a Bastion & Part of two Curtains of the Fort by blowing up their grand Magazine of Powder. An English Boy who had been some p. 20

J. Beall

Letter Bk. III in some Measure perhaps influence their Conduct. As the Officers of the four Maryland Companies found it would be impracticable to keep their Men any longer together without pay & were of Opinion that if they suffered them to desert or disband themselves it would be impossible to collect them again in Case the Assembly should in the Spring agree to pay off all their Arrears & provide for their farther Support the Officers thought it advisable to give Furloughs for two Months or untill they shall by an Advertisement in the Gazette be ordered to repair to a Place of Rendezvous when they are persuaded their Men will join them & that if the Assembly raises the necessary Supplies they shall in a very short time be able to compleat their respective Companies. With regard to what Your Excellency is pleased to recommend to me relative to any Officers that are or may be sent to this Province on the Recruiting Service I beg Leave to assure you that I shall countenance & assist them as far as is in my Power & that it would give me the greatest Pleasure to find myself able on any other occasion to execute Your Excellency's Commands—

[Sharpe to Amherst.]

10th Feby 1759.

Sir

General Forbes having in a Letter which I lately received from him desired me to send Mr Ross (the Person that Victualled the Maryland Troops from the time that our Assembly declined to provide for their Support till they marched last Summer on the Expedition agst Fort Du Quesne) to Phila in order that the Affair might if Your Excellency shall be pleased to give such Directions be finally settled; & Mr Ross having prevailed on a Gentn that lives with me in the Character of my Secretary to accompany him I take the Liberty to introduce him to Your Excellency the rather because he is acquainted with all that passed between the Earl of Loudoun Genl Stanwix or Genl Forbes & me about the Maryland Troops since His Ldp engaged to support them & will moreover be able to furnish Your Excellency or Genl Forbes with Copies of any Letts or Papers that may shew on what Footing our Troops served during the last Winter & on the late Expedition, & in particular what promises were given both by the Earl of Loudoun & Genl Stanwix that Mr Ross should be satisfied If your Excellency has any farther Commands or Instructions for me or shall think fit to favour me with any Letters to be laid before our Assembly when they meet I shall be glad to receive them when Mr Ridout returns from Phila &

beg leave to assure you that I shall always use my utmost Endeavours to perform whatever Your Excellency may think fit to require or Command &c. Letter Bk. III

Copy

Original.

Original

[Amherst to Sharpe.]

New York March 18th 1759.

Sir

It having become Necessary, by the Demise of Brigr Genr Forbes, that an Officer of Rank and Experience shoud without Loss of Time proceed to pensylvania to take on him the Command of his Majestys Regular Troops and those to be raised by the Southern Provinces to Act in conjunction for the Defence and Security of those Provinces, or otherwise as opportunities shall offer, or the Exigences may require I have thought it for the good of his Majestys Service to appoint Brig. Gen. Stanwix to that Command and he does accordingly set out Tomorrow for philadelphia to take upon him the same; I am therefore to request you that during such his Command, you will upon every immergent Occasion, Correspond and co-operate with him in the same manner as you are enjoined by Mr Secretary Pitts Letter to do with me, which must prove of great Benefit to the publick Service, as from my removal from hence into the Back Country, whether I may be called soon, it prove very prejudicial to the safety and security of the southern provinces to wait for the answers to any of the Letters you may have Occasion to write to me in relation thereto and I have accordingly directed Brig. Gen. Stanwix to Correspond and co-operate with you in Like manner.

I am, with great Regard
Sir
Your most Obedient
Humble Servant
Jeff Amherst

[Fauquier to Sharpe.]

Wmsburgh March 19th 1759

Sr

The Expedition which is requisite to be used, in order to raise Men to compleat our Quota of Men to act in conjunction with the rest of his Majesties Forces, has encouraged me to give Leave to some of the Officers to try whether they can enlist any in your Colony where they think they have some Acquaintance and Interest. I therefore beg the Favour of you not only to give them Permission, but to assist them with your Countenance and Protection, for the promoting his Majesties Service at least so as not to interfere with any Levies your Colony is about to raise for the same Purpose. I am

with great Esteem
your Excellency's most Obdt Hum. Servt
Fran: Fauquier

To Governor Sharpe

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Letter Bk. IV time a Prisoner there made his Escape from them after they left the Fort says that about 250 of them fell down the Ohio in Battoes carrying all their Stores & Artillery with them & that the Rest went up the River towards Venango where they have a small Stoccado Fort. He agrees with the Prisoners who were taken the 12th & 14th of Novemr as I mentioned to you in my Letter of the 28th of that Month that the Garrison had for several Weeks been in great want of Provisions & in all Probability it was this Want that occasioned their Departure & perhaps obliged their Indians to leave them sooner than they would otherwise have done. A few Hours after General Forbes had taken Possession of the Fort four of the Ohio Indians came to him with a Message from their respective Tribes & next Day the Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs & an Interpreter were sent off with an answer & it is expected that all the Indians on the Ohio will immediately come in & sue for Peace. The General intends as you will learn from a Copy of the Orders that he gave out the 29th of Novr (& which I have taken the Liberty to inclose for His Ldp) to leave 200 Provincials as a Garrison at Fort Du Quesne during the Winter & before the Summer I hope effectual measures will be taken for its preservation, but I shall be sorry if it is left to the Colonies to provide for the Support of its Garrison.

Letter Bk. III [Sharpe to Pitt.]

Annapolis the 14th of Decemr 1758.

Sir

It is with great pleasure I write by Ship that is just about to sail from this Province to inform you that an Officer of the Maryland Troops arrived here yesterday from the Westward & brought the agreeable News of His Majesty's Troops under the Command of General Forbes having on the 25th of Novemr taken Possession of Fort Du Quesne which the French in Number about 500 had abandoned two Days before. A Virginia Lad that had been a Prisoner there for some time made his Escape from them as they were going off & says that about 250 of the Enemy fell down the River in Battoes carrying the Artillery & Stores with them & that the Rest after they had set fire to all the Barracks & Houses which had been built either in or near the Fort marched northwards but that they took with them having been in great want for some time before. I understand from the Officer that brings me this Account that the General intends to leave 200 Men of the Provincial Troops to garrison the Fort during the winter, 150 more at the Post on Loyalhannon & that all the

Rest are on their march to take up their Winter Quarters either in the Forts on the Frontiers of these Colonies or among the Inhabitants. Letter Bk. III

Letter Bk. IV p. 20 [Sharpe to Baltimore.]

Annapolis the 16th Decemr 1758.

My Ld

Mr Calvert Your Ldps Secretary having intimated to me
some time ago that it had been reported by some Persons in
England who were supposed to have Correspondents here
that Roman Catholicks are too much Countenanced in Your
Ldps Province, that in Consequence thereof their Number
increases & that many of them have lately behaved in such a
manner as to give His Majesty's Protestant Subjects in the p. 21
Province great Offence & Uneasiness, I think it my Duty &
in justice to myself. I can do no less than to assure Your Ldp
that since I have had the honour to bear Your Commission
Nothing has been farther from my Inclination than to counte-
nance or give Encouragement to persons of that Persuasion
nor has there to my knowledge been any given them by
any Persons in Authority under me, but on the Contrary
extraordinary Burthens have been lately laid on them particu-
larly by an Act of Assembly that was made in May 1756
whereby all Landholders of the Romish Faith are obliged to
pay by Way of Land Tax twice as much as the Rest of Your
Ldps Tenants who are Protestants. It might perhaps be
unknown if not to the Authors at least to some of the Propa-
gators of the abovementioned Report that the People who
first settled in this Province were for the most part Roman
Catholicks & that altho every other Sect was tolerated a
Majority of the Inhabitants continued Papists till the Revo-
lution soon after which Event An Act was made here
for the Support of a Clergyman of the Church of England
in every Parish which is still in force & the Papists as well
as Protestants are thereby obliged to pay annually very con-
siderable Sums for that purpose. Other Acts of Assembly
were made afterwards in the Reign of Her Majesty Queen
Ann subjecting all Popish Priests that should be discovered
here to all the Penalties to which such Priests would be lyable
in England but Her Majesty was pleased to disapprove
thereof & to order that no Popish Bishop Priest or Jesuit
should be prosecuted or indicted for exercising his Function
in any private Family within this Province. But notwith-
standing Her Majesty thought fit to allow the Papists in
Maryland the free Exercise of their Religion they were not
permitted to sit in either House of Assembly, to Vote at the

Letter Bk. IV p. 25 Ldp may see if you shall be pleased to peruse the Copy of it which you will herewith receive, but the Gentl^n of the Lower House refused to pass it without many Amendments & these the Upper House would not agree to, being of Opinion that the Bill as it was first drawn was severe enough & sufficient to answer every good End that could be desired by any Protestants who delighted not in Persecution. The Step which the Gent^n of the Upper House had taken in proposing such a Bill, added to the Report which the Iustices had made had this Effect however that it quieted the minds of the People & silenced those who had endeavoured to inflame & terrify them. I have since ordered another Circular Letter to be wrote & sent to the Justices desiring them to enquire again & inform me how the Roman Catholicks in the several Counties have behaved since they the Justices made their last Report, in a Packet marked N^o 2 I shall transmit Your Ldp Copies of all their Answers which will I am apt to think incline Your Ldp to believe that the Roman Catholicks who are among us continue to behave as behoves good Subjects & upon the Whole My Ld I must say that if I was asked whether the Conduct of the Protestants or Papists in this Province hath been most unexceptionable since I have had the honour to serve Your Ldp I should not hesitate to give an Answer in favour of the Latter.

Letter Bk. III

[Sharpe to Forbes.]

Annapolis the 30th of Decem^r 1758.

Sir

Col^o Dagworthy having intimated to me that he intends to repair immediately to Head Quarters to receive Your farther Commands, I embrace the Opportunity to congratulate Your Excellency on the Success of His Majestys Forces under Your Command & to inform you that a few Days before Col^o Dagworthy arrived here with the most agreeable News of your Excellencys having forced the French to abandon Fort Du Quesne & the Ohio Country, our Lower House of Assembly had prepared a Bill for repaying as they said the Money which Your Excellency & M^r Kilby were pleased to advance last Summer on the Credit of the Province for paying off all the Arrears that should be due to the Maryland Troops at the End of the Campaign & for supporting three Companies of them during the winter I am sorry however to inform Your ✓ Excellency that the Gentl^n took Care to frame their Bill in such a manner as they knew would not be agreed to by the Upper House it being almost in every respect the same that had been offered by them three times before & had been as

often rejected, & indeed I am of opinion that Your Excellency Letter Bk. III will not want many Arguments to convince you that the Lower House or the Major part of them (for almost half the House voted against the Bill) did not in fact intend to grant any Supplies when you are informed that notwithstanding they knew Fort Du Quesne was in possession of His Majesty's Troops & there was great reason to think Your Excellency would order some of the Maryland Forces (if the Province should keep them up) to assist in garrisoning that place or some other advanced Post yet they would still insist on their favourite Clause that none of the men in the pay of this Province should be ordered beyond Fort Frederick. It would be unnecessary to trouble Your Excellency with a more particular Account of their Proceedings at this time. I shall only say therefore that their Behaviour at this time, Has not been different from their Conduct in the last Assembly & I dare not hope that they will ever change their measures or that this Province will ever contribute its' Quota towards carrying on the War against His Majesty's Enemies unless the Ministry to whom our Situation & unhappy Disputes are known can take any Steps to compel us. Col^o Dagworthy informs me that before he left the Camp at Loyalhannon he ordered 100 of the best men that were in the Maryland Troops to march & garrison Fort Cumberland till Your Excellency's pleasure should be farther signified, & Capt Beall having brought all the Rest of the Men hither I recommended it to the Officers to give them Furloughs or Leave of Absence untill measures shall be fallen upon to pay off all the Arrears that are due to them & till they shall receive Notice to repair to some place of Rendezvous, with which the Men seem to be pretty well satisfied. I should be obliged to Your Excellency for letting me know whether you would choose that Doctor Ross should wait on M^r Kilby this Winter with his Vouchers & Papers in order to make a final Settlement agreeable to M^r Kilby's method or whether it would be more agreeable to you that the Affair should remain unsettled a few months longer & untill the Assembly shall be tried once more whether they will take it upon themselves to settle the Doctor's Accounts & pay him his Demand or not, Wishing that you may speedily have & long enjoy a better State of Health than has lately fallen to Your Lot, I am &c

30 Dec 1758

[Sharpe to Forbes.]

26th Jan^y 1759.

S^r

Be pleased to accept my hearty Congratulations on the happy Event of Your Expedition ag^t His Majesty's Enemies

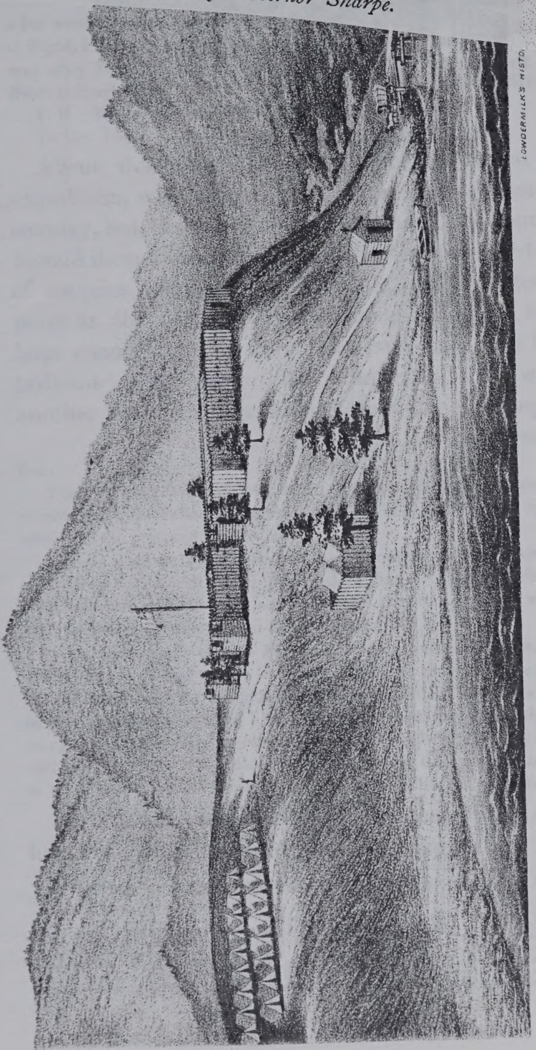
Letter Bk. III on the Ohio & believe that none could rejoice more at Your Excellencys or would be more pleased to hear of Your being perfectly recovered than myself. I presume Col^{o} Dagworthy who came hither from Pittsburg while the Assembly was sitting has waited on Your Excellency since you reached Phil^{a} & informed you that they still adhere to their old Measures & that altho they professed a Willingness to reimburse Your Excellency & M^{r} Kilby what you have been pleased to advance on the Credit of the Province as well as to pay off all the Arrears that are due to our Troops yet that the Majority of them will not raise any Supplies for these or any other purposes otherwise than upon such Terms as cannot be accepted by the other Members of the Legislature Capt Beall arriving here a few Days after the Assembly had broke up with all the Maryland Soldiers except the Hundred which had been ordered to Fort Cumberland Col^{o} Dagworthy & he thought it advisable in order to prevent their Deserting or Disbanding themselves to give the men Furloughs & Leave of Absence untill Money shall be granted to pay off the Arrears that are due to them & till Notice shall be given them by an Advertisement in the Gazette to repair to a Place of Rendezvous. What Col^{o} Dagworthy has done with the Company that marched to Fort Cumberland I dont know having received no Advice from him about them since he left this place, but I presume he has before this time acquainted Your Excellency with his Proceedings & received your final Instructions concerning them. I received a Letter a few Days ago from General Amherst dated at N York the 13th of Dec^{r} wherein he desires that I will not disband our Troops but move the Assembly to continue them in pay during the Winter but if says he it should so happen that before the Receit of this Letter those Troops shall be disbanded in that Case I must desire that you will lose no time in using Your Influence with Your Assembly to move them to order new Levies & to cause these to be provided with the usual necessaries & to be ready by the time the Season will admit their taking the Field. As I conclude from what you tell me in Your Letter of the 20th Inst which I have just received that you have seen General Amherst since you arrived at Phil^{a} or that you will in a very few Days see His Excellency at that place, & as you can & I doubt not will inform him more easily & fully at an Interview than I could well do by a Letter on what Footing & by what means the Maryland Troops have continued & been supported since the 8th of Oct^{r} 1757. I have declined troubling His Excellency with a particular Account of what has passed from time to time between the Earl of Loudoun, Brigadier Stanwix General Abercromby Your Excellency & Myself concerning them but if you have reason to think it would give Letter Bk. III the General any Satisfaction to have Copies of all the Letters that passed between us since the Earl of Loudoun engaged to pay the Maryland Forces in Case the Assembly would not I should be obliged to you for intimating as much to me & I will send him such Transcripts by the first opportunity. I should have been glad to pay my Respects to General Amherst & to have had the Pleasure of seeing Your Excellency this Winter but as that cannot be I have wrote to D^{r} Ross & recommended it to him to proceed to Phil^{a} without Delay & to take with him the Muster Rolls, his Accounts, & every paper which may serve to give Your Excellency & M^{r} Kilby entire Satisfaction.—

[Sharpe to Amherst.]

26th Jan^{y} 1759.

S^{r}

I embrace the earliest opportunity to acknowledge my Receit of the Letter you were pleased to write me the 13th Dec^{r} which came to hand but a few Days ago, I take the Liberty at the same time to congratulate Your Excellency on being appointed Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in N America & to wish you the greatest Success in all your Undertakings. As General Forbes informs me in a Letter which I have just received from Phil^{a} that he expected to have the Satisfaction of seeing Your Excellency the Beginning of this Week I presume he has before this time informed you how averse the Assembly of this Province has been especially for more than 12 months past to supporting any Troops, nor do I doubt but Your Excellency has learnt e'er this from General Forbes on what Footing those that marched hence & served on the late Expedition agst Fort Du Quesne continued & how they have been kept together since the 8th of Oct^{r} 1757 when they received the last of the Money which had been some time before granted for their Support. Within the last Year I met the Assembly of this Province at four several times & used my utmost Endeavours to induce them to comply with the Requisitions of His Majesty's Generals but I am sorry to say that all my Endeavours proved fruitless & that I have little reason to hope the Assembly will be now prevailed on to act a better part. I shall however convene them again as soon as all those of them that are well disposed can conveniently come together by which time it is not I think improbable that I shall be able to communicate to them some Instructions or a Letter from His Majesty's Ministers which together with Your Excellency's might have some Weight &


LOWDERMILK'S HISTO
Lith. by A. Hoen & Co. Balt.

FORT CUMBERLAND 1755.
From foot of Nobley.

28 May 1759

letter came
in Pearis Fmg

CUMBERL
(MARYLAND)

FROM THE TIME OF THE INDIAN TOWN, CAIUCTUCUC.
IN 1728, UP TO THE PRESENT DAY.

EMBRACING AN ACCOUNT OF

Washington's First Campaign,

AND

BATTLE OF FORT NECESSITY.

TOGETHER WITH A

HISTORY OF BRADDOCK'S EXPEDITION,

&c., &c., &c.

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY WILL H. LOWDERMILK.

"Gather up the Fragments that remain."

Baltimore
REGIONAL PUBLISHING COMPANY
1976

J. Beall

a few words to my dear aunt, Employed from Sun to Sun, yet from Light to Night, I am mindful of my dear distant Friends. That you and yours may enjoy Every Blessing that Heaven can bestow, is the tribute of a Heart sincerely yrs ROBT. MUNFORD.

P. S. My love to the Lasses.

To Col. Theo Bland, in Prince George.

About this time Colonel Bouquet proposed an expedition, with a force of regulars, into the enemy's country, but Washington opposed the movement, as he said it could only be made with a cumbersome train of supplies, and must prove futile. He wanted to move at the earliest possible moment, with a force large enough to take Fort Duquesne, and thus by a brilliant stroke close the campaign. He wrote another letter then, as follows, to Colonel Bouquet:

Camp near Fort Cumberland, 19 July, 1758.

Sir:

Your obliging favor of this date I just now had the pleasure of receiving. You flatter me much by coinciding with me in opinion relative to the proposed expedition.

Captain Dagworthy returned hither yesterday in consequence of orders from Sir John St. Clair, forwarded by the commanding officer at Fort Frederick. I will send out a party on Braddock's Road which I shall be able to reinforce when Col. Mercer returns.*

I am exceedingly obliged by the handsome and polite manner in which you are pleased to give me leave to attend the election at Winchester. Although my being there under any other circumstances would be very agreeable to me, yet I can hardly persuade myself to think of being absent from my more immediate duty, even for a few days. I will not, however, come to any absolute determination till I receive answers to some letters on that subject, which I expect this night or to-morrow.†

Just before going to Fort Cumberland, Washington had met, courted, and become engaged to Mrs.

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*Colonel Mercer was then engaged in making the road between Fort Cumberland and Raystown.

†Washington having resolved to quit the army at the close of this campaign, had proposed himself as a candidate for the House of Burgesses, and his friends wanted him to be present at the election, as he had three active competitors, who were at work in person to defeat him. He, however, declined to attend, and remained at Fort Cumberland, where he shortly afterwards received intelligence of his election by a handsome majority. A Virginia election in those days was rather peculiar in some respects, and the participators must have had a "good old time," as Washington was called on to foot a bill of £39 s6. Items: a hogshead and a barrel of punch; 35 gallons of wine, 43 gallons strong beer and cider, and dinner for his friends.

Martha Custis, a charming young widow, and he wrote from this place a volume of ardent love letters to that lady. These, however, have not been made public, and the curiosity of the world as to this love affair must remain ungratified so far as this correspondence is concerned.

On the 21st a letter from Washington to Colonel Bouquet apprised him that Colonel Burd was in want of a supply of vermillion for the Indians, who needed it in putting on the war paint, and preparing for battle. He says:

"The bridge is finished at this place,* and to morrow Major Peachey, with three hundred men, will proceed to open Gen. Braddock's road. I shall direct them to go to George's Creek, ten miles in advance. By that time I may possibly hear from you. If they go farther it may be requisite to reinforce the party. But this matter, I suppose, will be ordered according to the route determined on by the General, for it will be needless to open a road, of which no use will be made afterwards.

"Colonel Stephen gives me some room to apprehend that a body of light troops may soon move on. I pray your interest most sincerely with the General to get my regiment and myself included in the number. If any argument is needed to obtain this favor, I hope without vanity I may be allowed to say, that, from long intimacy with these woods, and frequent scouting in them, my men are at least as well acquainted with all the passes and difficulties as any troops that will be employed."

Washington had supposed that the advance upon Fort Duquesne would be made over the old road which Braddock had used. He was greatly surprised, therefore, to learn that Colonel Bouquet had declared his intention of constructing a new road from Raystown to the Ohio River, and marching a part of his force by that route, the other part to take Braddock's

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*Nowhere has any record been found as to the location of this bridge. Braddock's men had prepared the timbers for a bridge, over Wills' Creek, in 1755, but there is no history of its erection. The probability is that it was found necescary to put up a bridge for use during the spring and fall freshets, as at such times the creek was too much swollen to permit of wagons passing the ford.

J. Beall

Road, and the two bodies to unite on the Monongahela. The accounts which Braddock had given of his road, in his dispatches, were of such a character as to lead the commander of the present expedition to believe the road well nigh impassable, and Bouquet's project of a new road through Pennsylvania was encouraged by interested parties in that State, who assured him it could be easily built, and that the grades would be light. Washington strongly opposed the idea; he assured Colonel Bouquet that it would cost the army a fatal loss of time, and result in a barren victory, at best, in the end. He wrote as follows to Colonel Bouquet:

CAMP NEAR FORT CUMBERLAND, 25 July, 1758.

DEAR SIR:

I do not incline to propose anything that may seem officious, but would it not facilitate the operations of the campaign, if the Virginia troops were ordered to proceed as far as the Great Crossing, and construct forts at the most advantageous situations as they advance, opening the road at the same time? In such a case I should be glad to be joined by that part of my regiment at Raystown. Major Peachy, who commands the working party on Braddock's road, writes me that he finds few repairs wanting. To-night I shall order him to proceed as far as Savage River, and then return, as his party is too weak to adventure further.

We have received advice that our second convoy, of more than seventy wagons, will be at the South Branch to-day, where I expect they will be joined by other wagons with forage. They will all proceed to this place immediately.

I shall most cheerfully work on any road, pursue any route, or enter upon any service that the General or yourself may think me usefully employed in, or qualified for, and shall never have a will of my own, when a duty is required of me. But since you desire me to speak my sentiment freely, permit me to observe, that after having conversed with all the guides, and having been informed by others, who have a knowledge of the country, I am convinced that a road, to be compared with General Braddock's, or, indeed that will be fit for transportation even by pack-horses, cannot be made. I have no predilection for the route you have in contemplation for me, not because difficulties appear therein, but because I doubt whether satisfaction can be given in the execution of the plan. I know not what reports you may have received from your reconnoitering parties, but I have been uniformly told that, if you expect a tolerable road by Raystown you will be disappointed, for no movement can be made that way without destroying our horses.

Bouquet was not convinced by Washington's representations, yet he was desirous of fully consulting with him, and fixing upon a plan which would meet with his approval. He therefore wrote to Washington, saying: "Nothing can exceed your generous dispositions for the service. I see, with the utmost satisfaction, that you are above the influences of prejudice, and ready to go heartily where reason and judgment shall direct. I wish sincerely that we may all entertain one and the same opinion; therefore I desire to have an interview with you at the houses built half way between our camps." Both officers went to the place designated, half way between Fort Cumberland and Raystown, and entered into a discussion of the question at issue. Washington stated that the road taken by Braddock had been laid out by the Ohio Company, aided by traders and Indians, the sole object being to secure the best and most direct route; that the road was in pretty good order, and could be made ready for use with but little labor, and that the building of a new road by another route would consume precious time, and extend the campaign into another year, which would have a demoralizing effect upon the soldiers, as well as upon the colonies. But General Forbes had determined upon the new route through Pennsylvania, and Colonel Bouquet naturally took the same position. Washington succeeded, however,

FROM CARLISLE TO FORT DUQUESNE BY WAY OF RAYSTOWN.

	Miles.
From Carlisle to Shippensburg	21
" Shippensburg to Fort Loudon	24
" Fort Loudon to Fort Littleton	20
" Fort Littleton to Juniatta Crossing	14
" Juniatta Crossing to Raystown	14
	93
" Raystown to Fort Duquesne	100
	193

FROM CARLISLE TO FORT DUQUESNE BY WAY OF FORTS FREDERICK AND CUMBERLAND.

	Miles.
From Carlisle to Shippensburg	21
" Shippensburg to Chambers'	12
" Chambers' to Pacelin's	12
" Pacelin's to Fort Frederick	12
" Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland	40
	97
" Fort Cumberland to Fort Duquesne	115
	212

All that Washington could say, however, was of no avail, and Colonel Bouquet was ordered at once to have his men go to work on the new road.

About one-fifth of the force at Fort Cumberland was taken sick early in August, and no salt provisions of any kind were on hand, nor an ounce of salt, so that all fresh meat had to be barbacued in Indian style, which process caused a loss of at least one-half. There were no pack horses in camp, and in order to equip Captain McKenzie's company for a march of fourteen days, upon which it had been ordered, five horses were pressed from some countrymen who had come to the camp on business. Colonel Burd's men were sick, and all were greatly dispirited. Washington said, "This sickness and depression of spirits cannot arise from the situation of our camp, which is undoubtedly the most healthy of any ground in this vicinity, but is occasioned, I apprehend, by the change in their mode of living, and by the limestone water."

There was a vast amount of impatience exhibited by some of the officers, and this was aggravated by the selfishness and lack of patriotism displayed by those settlers and traders who had influence, and who were more interested in securing the construction of a road at the expense of the government than in the success of the enterprise against Fort Duquesne. The following letter was written by Robert Munford, a Virginian, to his uncle ,Theodoric Bland, Sr., and is found amongst the "Bland Papers:"

CAMP NEAR FORT CUMBERLAND, August 4th, 1758.

HON'D SIR: If 'tis honorable to be in the service of one's country, 'tis a reputation gain'd by the most cruel hardships you can imagine, occasioned more by a real anxiety for its welfare, than by what the poor carcase suffers. Every officer seems discontented in camp, happy on command, so deep is the interest of our country implanted in the minds of all. Sometimes the army wears a gloomy, then a joyous, aspect, just as the news either confirms our stay here, or our departure. The General with the small pox in one, the flux in the other, division of our forces, and no provision ready, are indeed excuses for our being here at present; yet all might have been prevented. A few hearty prayers are every moment offered up for those self-interested Pennsylvanians who endeavor to prevail on our General to cut a road for their convenience, from Raystown to Fort Duquesne, that a trifling good to particulars, should retard what would conduce to the general welfare! 'Tis a set of *dirty Dutchmen*, they say, that keeps us here! It would be impertinent to condemn, yet I must [think] our leaders too deliberate at this important juncture, when all are warm for action, all breathing revenge against an enemy that have even dared to scalp our men before our eyes. The amusement we have in the meantime is only following the brave dogs over the mountains for some miles, and our sole satisfaction sufficient fatigue to make us sleep sound. An old scoundrel has intimated to the General that the Virginians have bribed the guides; for 'tis practicable to go the new road, contrary to their report. We have lost all our Indians by the assistance of a man, the [aforesaid] old dog, who interposed through some dirty views he has of superseding Mr. Atkins. Thus are our officers in a manner ruined by persons whose souls scorn a

thought that tends not immediately to their own advantage. I'm sorry to live upon my country, when I've so small a prospect of repaying her by any service. We shall march to Raystown shortly, thence to the Fort* if permitted. I shall embrace the next opportunity of writing you our transactions, and am as always, dear sir, your most

aff'te nephew, &c

R. MUNFORD.

P. S. By express, we have an acc't that some of the enemy Indians have joined the Pennsylvanians.

On the 17th of August a wagoner was shot, and his horse killed, within three miles of the Fort, and several parties of hostile Indians were seen in the woods. Four days later the following letter was written to Colonel Bouquet, by Washington:

Camp at Fort Cumberland, 21 August, 1758.

Dear Sir:

Twenty-five Catawbas came here this evening, and the convoy may be expected day after to morrow, as it was at Pearsall's last night.

Governor Sharpe may be expected here in a day or two. I am at a loss to know how he ranks and whether he is entitled to the command. In the British army his rank is that of Lieutenant-Colonel only, but what it may be as governor, in his own province, I really do not know, nor whether he has any out of the troops of his own province. I should, therefore, be glad of your advice, being unwilling to dispute the matter with him wrongfully, or to give up the command if I have a right to it.

Governor Sharpe arrived at Fort Cumberland shortly afterwards, but Washington's position as commander-in-chief was not interfered with. Indeed Governor Sharpe was more interested in the successful prosecution of the enterprise against Fort Duquesne than in the matter of personal glory. He gave all the aid and encouragement in his power to the project, and did all that could be expected of him. The delay, however, in the movements of the army had resulted in the greatest depression to the entire command, and in the total annihilation of the

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*Fort Duquesne.

enthusiasm with which they had advanced thus far. Two months of inactivity had filled Washington with disappointment and apprehension, and he addressed the following letter to Speaker Robinson, of the House of Burgesses, than which a more gloomy one he probably never indited:

Camp at Fort Cumberland, 1 September, 1758.

My Dear Sir:

We are still encamped here, very sickly and quite dispirited at the prospect before us.

That appearance of glory which we had once in view, that hope, that laudable ambition of serving our country, and meriting its applause, are now no more; all is dwindled into ease, sloth, and fatal inactivity. In a word all is lost, if the ways of men in power, like certain ways of Providence, are not inscrutable. But we, who view the actions of great men at a distance, can only form conjectures agreeably to a limited perception; and being ignorant of the comprehensive schemes which may be in contemplation, might mistake egregiously in judging of things from appearances, or by the lump. Yet every fool will have his notions—will prattle and talk away; and why may not I? We seem then in my opinion to act under the guidance of an evil genius. The conduct of our leaders, if not actuated by superior orders is tempered with something I do not care to give a name to. Nothing now but a miracle can bring this campaign to a happy issue.

Washington evidently devoted a considerable portion of his time while at Fort Cumberland, on this occasion, to a correspondence of a more tender nature than that given in these pages. There are on record numerous evidences of many hours spent in the contemplation of the graces and perfections of his lady love, whose vision brightened the solitary evenings of camp life, and recently there was sold in New York an autograph letter written by him at this time, to Mrs. Sarah Fairfax, who was formerly a Miss Cary. She had at one time been the object of Washington's affections, and he had made her a

proposal of marriage, which she declined, as she had already given her heart to Mr. George William Fairfax. Until twelve months since this letter was never published, and is now for the first time embraced in the contents of a book. It was found among the papers of Mrs. Fairfax; who died at the age of eighty-one years, in Bath, England, where she had lived widowed, childless and infirm for many years. The letter is as follows:

Camp at Fort Cumberland, 12th September, 1758.

Dear Madam :—

Yesterday I was honored with your short but very agreeable favor of the first inst—how joyfully I catch at the happy occasion of a renewing a correspondence which I feared was disrelished on your part, I leave to time that never failing expositor of all things—and to a monitor equally faithful in my own breast to testify. In silence I now express my joy. Silence, which, in some cases—I wish the present—speaks more intelligently than the sweetest eloquence.

If you allow that any honour can be derived from my opposition to our present system of management you destroy the merit of it entirely in me by attributing my anxiety to the animating prospect of possessing Mrs. Custis—when—I need not name it—guess yourself—Should not my own Honor and country's welfare be the excitement? 'Tis true. I profess myself a votary of Love—I acknowledge that a lady is in the case—and further I confess that this lady is known to you.—Yes, madam, as well as she is to one who is too sensible of her charms to deny the Power whose Influence he feels and must ever submit to. I feel the force of her amiable beauties in the recollection of a thousand tender passages that I could wish to obliterate, till I am bid to revive them,—but experience, alas! sadly reminds me how impossible this is,—and evinces an opinion which I have long entertained, that there is a Destiny, which has the sovereign control of our actions—not to be resisted by the strongest efforts of Human Nature.

You have drawn me, dear madam, or rather I have drawn myself, into an honest confession of a simple Fact—misconstrue not my meaning—doubt it not, nor expose it—The world has no business to know the object of my Love—declared in this manner to you—when I want to conceal it. One thing above all things in this world I wish to know, and only one person of your acquaintance can solve me that or guess my meaning—but adieu to this till happier times, if I ever shall see them. The hours at present are melancholy dull, neither the rugged toils of war, nor the gentler conflict of A—— B——s is in my choice. I dare believe, you are as happy as you say. I wish I was happy also. Mirth, good humor, ease of mind and—what else? cannot fail to render you so and consummate your wishes.

If one agreeable lady could almost wish herself a fine gentleman for the sake of another; I apprehend, that many fine gentlemen will wish themselves finer e'er Mrs. Spotswood is possest. She has already become a reigning toast in this camp; and many there are in it, who intend (fortune favoring) to make honorable scars speak the fullness of their merit and be a messenger of their Love to her.

I cannot easily forgive the unseasonable haste of my last express, if he deprived me thereby of a single word you intended to add,—the time of the present messenger is, as the last might have been, entirely at your disposal. I can't expect to hear from my friends more than this once before the fate of the expedition will some how or other be determined. I therefore beg to know when you set out for Hampton and when you expect to return to Belvoir again—and I should be glad also to hear of your speedy departure as I shall thereby hope for your return before I get down; the disappointment of seeing your family would give me much concern—From anything I can yet see 'tis hardly possible to say when we shall finish. I don't think there is a probability of it till the middle of November. Your letter to Captain Gist I forwarded by a safe hand the moment it came to me. His answer shall be carefully transmitted.

Col. Mercer, to whom I delivered your message and compliments, joins me very heartily in wishing you and the Ladies of Belvoir the perfect enjoyment of every happiness this world affords. Be assured that I am, Dr madam, with the most unfeigned regard, yr most obedient and most oblig'd H'ble serv't,

G. WASHINGTON.

N. B. Many accidents happening (to use a vulgar saying) between the cup and the lip, I choose to make the exchange of carpets myself, since I find you will not do me the honor to accept mine.

On the 16th of September Washington left Fort Cumberland, for Raystown, at which place he arrived on the same day. He had a conference with General Forbes, in which the situation was discussed at length. Major Halket wrote to Governor Sharpe, the same date, as follows:

Camp at Reastown, 16th September, 1758.

Dear Sir : This evening Colonel Washington arrived, who surprises the General extremely by the account that he gives of the great scarcity of provisions at Fort Cumberland, after having wrote to Colonel Boquet so fully upon that subject, however, the General (who is greatly fatigued from the business that his just coming to Reastown has oblidged him to go through) has ordered me to inform you that he will send off a convoy of provisions to morrow, the particulars of which Mr. Sinclair will inform you of, at the same time the bearer carries orders for all the Virginians to be ready to march immediately upon the arrival of Colonel Washington, who sets out for that purpose to morrow morning, which will diminish the consumption of provisions at Fort Cumberland very

considerably, and make it a very easy matter to support you for the future, as your numbers will be so much diminished.

Three days ago commissary clerk wrote to Mr. Rutherford, at Winchester, to supply your people with spirits, and all the other necessarys that you desir'd which letter I hope will be in good time to answer your expectations. I am dear sir, your most obdt humble servant,

To Governor Sharpe. FRANCIS HALKETT.

Upon Washington's departure from Fort Cumberland, Governor Sharpe took command of the post, and had a garrison composed of Maryland troops alone, after the Virginians had left. In the latter part of September, by an unavoidable accident one of the storehouses located on the river bank, and used for the deposit of ammunition was blown up, and most of its contents destroyed. A few days after this occurrence Governor Sharpe received the following letter:

Camp at Reastown, 2d October 1758.

Sir:

About this time we expect their will be a number of the Shannondo Waggons arriving at Fort Cumberland with provisions from Winchester; the General therefore begs that you will be so good as to engage as many of them as possible upon the same terms as the Pennsylvania waggons, to go upon our Expedition, and that you will take the opportunity of their coming here, to send over all the Buck shott at Fort Cumberland, seven Boxes containing two hundred weight each, were lodged in the new store under the hill, which was sent from Fort Frederick along with the shelles. Six hundred weight was likewise lodged in store that was blown up, if any of that remains undistroyed, you will send it also, and provided the carriages can be ready time enough they may take the benefite of the officer and thirty men sent from the Second Virginia Regiment for horses, to escort them—if this party marched before that the waggons can be got Ready they must be escorted by the Recover'd men of the Virginia Regiments.

If their are any spair wheels or carriages for Howitzers be pleased to send them likewise in some of the empty Waggons, Captain Hay having brought no spair ones with the Train, and we may come to have occasion for them. I am, sir

your most obedient humble servt,

To Gov. Sharpe, Fort Cumberland. FRANCIS HALKETT.

In compliance with this letter Governor Sharpe sent forward all the shot and shell remaining at the fort, except a small quantity necessary for the garrison.

The force under General Forbes' command, at Raystown, at this time, was as follows:

Name of Corps.	No. of field Officers.	Company Officers.	Total.	
Division of 1st. Battal. of Royal Americans.	1	12	363	
The Highland or 62d reg't.	3	37	998	1267
Division of ditto.	3	12	269	
1st Virginia Regiment.	3	32	782	1484
2nd Virginia Regiment.	3	35	702	
3 N. Carolina companies.	1	10	141	
4 Maryland companies.	1	15	270	—
1st Battallion Penn'a. Regiment	3	41	755	
2d do	3	40	666	
3d do	3	46	771	
The three lower Counties,			263	
Total,			5980	

Detachments on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and the road of communication.

From the Penn'a. Regiment.	1 Major.	10 Captains.	17 Subalterns.	Total 563
From the North Carolina Regiment	1	3	61	Total 624

Early in September the advance of the army at Raystown had moved forward to Loyal Hanna, near Fort Ligonier, and on the 11th of that month Major Grant, of the Highland Regiment, marched off on a premature movement against Fort Duquesne, taking with him a force of 37 officers and 805 men. On the 14th he reached a point within eleven miles of Fort Duquesne, where he left the baggage, under a guard of 50 men, and moved forward with the rest of the command to the summit of a hill, less than half a mile from the fort, which point he reached about midnight.

"Major Grant sent two officers and fifty men to

the fort, to attack all the Indians, &c., they should find lying out of the fort; they saw none, nor were they challenged by the sentries. As they returned, they set fire to a large store house, which was put out as soon as they left it. At break of day, Major Lewis was sent, with 200 men (loyal Americans and Virginians), to lie in ambush a mile and a half from the main body, on the path on which they left their baggage, imagining the French would send to attack the baggage guard and seize it. Four hundred men were posted along the hill facing the fort, to cover the retreat of Major M'Donald's company, who marched with drums beating toward the fort, in order to draw a party out of the fort, as Major Grant had some reason to believe there were not above 200 men in the fort, including Indians; but as soon as they heard the drums, they sallied out in great numbers, both French and Indians, and fell upon Captain M'Donald, and two columns that were posted lower on the hill to receive them. The Highlanders exposed themselves without any cover, and were shot down in great numbers, and soon forced to retreat. The Carolinians, Marylanders, and Lower Countrymen, concealing themselves behind trees and the brush, made a good defence; but were overpowered by numbers, and not being supported, were obliged to follow the rest. Major Grant exposed himself in the thickest of the fire, and endeavored to rally his men, but all to no purpose, as they were by this time flanked on all sides. Major Lewis and his party came up and engaged, but were soon obliged to give way, the enemy having the hill of him, and flanking him every way. A number were drove into the Ohio, most of whom were drowned. Major Grant retreated to the baggage, where Captain Bullet was posted with fifty men, and again endeavored to rally the flying soldiers, by entreating them in the most pathetic manner to stand by him, but all in vain, as the enemy were close at their heels. As soon as the enemy came up to Captain Bullet, he attacked them very furiously, for some time, but not being supported, and most of his men killed, was obliged to give way. However, his attacking them stopped the pursuit, so as to give many an opportunity of escaping. The enemy followed Major Grant, and at last separated them, and Captain Bullet was obliged to make off. He imagines the Major must be taken, as he was surrounded on all sides, but the enemy would not kill him, and often called to him to surrender. The French gave quarters to all that would accept it."*

The rear division of the British army moved from Raystown for Loyal Hanna on the 14th of October, at which place it lay until the 18th of November, when it marched under General Forbes for Fort Duquesne. On the 25th of November the command arrived at Fort Duquesne, but the French had set fire to the fort, and retreated down the river, so that General Forbes had no difficulty in taking possession of the place.

On approaching the fort it was discovered that a number of the Highlanders who had been taken prisoners in the fight with Major Grant, had been horribly mutilated, their heads having been impaled

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*Pennsylvania Gazette, 1758.

on stakes driven in the ground, and their kilts attached thereto. This act of barbarism thoroughly enraged the Highlanders, who were in an ecstacy of disappointment at not being able to avenge their decapitated comrades.

Governor Sharpe returned to Annapolis in the middle of October, and on the 22d the militia at Fort Cumberland were paid off, but were continued there on garrison duty.

In December the Maryland Assembly took into consideration the condition of the road between Fort Frederick and Fort Cumberland, with a view to securing the construction of a shorter road between these points, the location of which should be entirely in Maryland, thus obviating the necessity of fording the Potomac. A committee, consisting of Messrs. Colonel Thomas Cresap, Crabb, Joseph Chapline, E. Dorsey, Josias Beall and Francis King, members of the Assembly, was appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the convenience of clearing a road from Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland, through Maryland, and to make an estimate of the cost of the same. The committee reported as follows:

> Your committee have made an enquiry into the Situation of the present wagon road from Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland, and are of opinion that the distance by that Road from one Fort to the other is at least Eighty miles, and find that the wagons which go from one Fort to the other are obliged to pass the river Potowmack twice, and that for one third of the year they can't pass without boats to set them over the River.
>
> Your committee have also made an Enquiry into the condition of the Ground where a road may most conveniently be made to go altogether on the north side of the Potowmack which will not exceed the distance of Sixty-two miles at the expense of £250 current money, as may appear from the following Estimate, viz:

AN ESTIMATE OF THE EXPENSE OF CLEARING ROAD FROM FORT FREDERICK TO FORT CUMBERLAND, AND THE SEVERAL DIFFERENT STAGES:

	£	s	d
For clearing a Road from Fort Frederick to Licking creek, 3½ miles	0	0	0
From Licking creek to Prakes's creek, 8½ miles	12	0	0
From Prakes's creek to Sideling Hill creek, 12 miles	16	0	0
For a bridge over Sideling Hill creek	60	0	0
From Sideling Hill creek to Fifteen Mile creek, 4 miles	22	0	0
From Fifteen Mile creek to Town creek, 15 miles	140	0	0
From Town creek to Col. Cresap's, a good road, 4 miles	0	0	0
From Col. Cresap's to Fort Cumberland, wants no clearing, 15 miles	0	0	0
	£250	0	0

> Your committee are of opinion that a Road through Maryland will contribute much to lessen the expense of carrying Provision and warlike stores from Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland, and will induce many people to travel and carry on a trade in and through the Province, to and from the back country.

This road was eventually constructed.

Washington returned to Mount Vernon, from Fort Duquesne, where he was married to Mrs. Custis, and settled down to domestic pursuits.

After the capture of Fort Duquesne, a small force of British troops was returned to Fort Cumberland, and continued there as a garrison, the Maryland Assembly having manifested a decided disinclination to incur the expense of keeping it up. The King's officers did not feel at liberty to abandon it, since it was a King's Fort, and might be useful in preventing Indians from descending upon the settlements in force, without being observed. As a matter of fact, however, the garrison was useless, it being so weak in point of numbers that the men hardly dared go out of sight of the Fort. Hostile savages drove the people from their homes, killing many and destroying their property. Colonel Cresap, whose house

French & Indian War 1755-9 (Maryland Troops - Frederick C (VA?))

(Synopsis)

from

Colonial Soldiers of the South - 1732-1774 by M. J Clark

page Re: George & Capt Richard Pearis

75 French & Indian War Acct Books for Maryland 1762-3

Roster of Capt John Dagworthy's Co Maryland Troops 9 Oct 1757 - 26 Apr 1759

(565 days service -

John Anderson 1 Jan 1758 8 Dec 1758 (190 days) trans / deserted Capt Pearis co

Richard Brown 1 Jan 1758 - 27 Dec 1758 (205 ") " " "

547 18 May 1761 Frederick Co. Election of Burgesses - Richard Pearis voted for Col Geo Washington

554 " ditto (Wm Reynolds & John Griffith for Col Adam Stephen) ✓

✓ 518 { poll 24 July 1758 Robert Pearis ~~[illegible]~~ - same place - (& Wm Reynolds / Van meter & Patterson Jacob Hite, etc

✓ 516 { " " + Edward Griffith Col F.B. Martin's list ✓

429 Letter of Gov Robt Dinwiddie 26 Jan 1757 to George Washington

mentions Captain Pearis et al

425 Letter - same cast - 27 Dec. 1756 ditto

422 " Andrew Lewis to George Washington, Augusta 28 Oct 1758 ditto

✓ list of voters

331 Pol for Colo George Washington - Frederick Co - 11 Dec 1755 incl Robert Pearis, Van Swearingen, etc

90-91 Roster of Captain Richard Pearis' Company of Maryland Troops

9 Oct 1757 to 30 May 1758 (235 days of service - 93 men)

76-77 Roster Capt John Dagworthy's MD troops - continuation of 1st item (above, p 75)

78-9 ditto - including 117 days svc George & Samuel Teeter -

served 31 Dec 1758 - 26 Apr 1759 then trans to Capt A. Beall's Co

80-1 Roster Capt Alexander Beall's Co of MD troops 9 Oct 1757 - 30 Dec 1758 (448 days) - some trans to Capt Pearis

82-3 ditto " also Capt Joshua Beall's Co ditto

84-5 ditto

86-7 Capt Francis Ware ditto - (both same dates)

88-9 ditto

An awful lot of these men were killed. (Also many deserted suddenly after serving quite a while - which seems to have been par for the course, even during Rev War.)

From Robert Pearis Dec 1755 then Capt Richard Pearis Dec 1758

Teter George & Samuel (priority Dec 1758 - Apr 1759 etc) (brothers of Sarah (Teter) Griffith

Marylamd Historical Magazine 5:271-2 et seq. (10 Sep 1910)

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

Roster of Maryland Troops, 1757–1759.

[Calvert Papers.]

That the following roster of Maryland troops in the French and Indian war has been preserved to us is due to the disputes between the two branches of the Assembly and to their differences with Governor Sharpe. The lower house always expressed a willingness to make provision for a small body of provincial troops, but on terms which the upper house consistently refused to accept; or if the two houses by chance agreed on any plan, it was one that the Governor could not accept without yielding some prerogative of the Proprietary. Braddock's defeat aroused the Assembly to action, and at the February session of 1756, after much bickering, the sum of £40,000 was voted for His Majesty's service. At subsequent sessions the Assembly declined to do more than provide for the support of 300 Militia, who could not be sent beyond Fort Frederick nor used as a fixed garrison for Fort Cumberland. Captain Dagworthy was given the command of the Maryland troops sent to the frontiers of Frederick County[1] in 1754, and in 1756 took part in the construction of Fort Frederick. Fort Cumberland, though a Royal Fort, had been built by the Virginians on Maryland soil, which may account for the objection of the Assembly to providing a garrison and for the later dispute as to precedence in command between Colone Washington and Colonel Dagworthy.[1]

The correspondence of Governor Sharpe fully covers thi period. It appears that he at first supported the Maryland troop by advancing money on the supposition that he would be reimbursed;[2] later he maintained them through private subscription; and finally as the ledger shows, from money advanced by General Amherst.

The records from which this roster is compiled, consist of 53 muster rolls and an indexed ledger, which is dated 1762. They show service from October 9th, 1757, up to which time the troops had been paid[4] in one of the ways mentioned above; but it is probable that some of the men had been with Captain Dagworthy as early as 1754. These records were most carefully kept in order to secure payment for the men in spite of the Assembly's refusal to provide for them and final settlement appears to have been made March 16th, 1763. There are twelve rolls each for the companies of Captains John Dagworthy, Alexander Beall, Joshua Beall, Francis Ware, and seven for that of Richard Pearis. As the spelling varies greatly on the different rolls, that of the ledger has been followed throughout, and in addition to the "short" dates, indicating time of service, the "remarks" found in the ledger and index have been inserted.

The Maryland troops were present with Captain Dagworthy at Braddock's defeat; they suffered severely at Major Grant's defeat near Fort DuQuesne, September 14th, 1758; they lost a number of men during the attack on the advanced post at the Loyalhanna, October 12th, 1758; and they were present at the occupation of Fort DuQuesne, November 25th, 1758.

Capt. Pearis' company was disbanded May 31st, 1758 and the men draughted into the other companies; and by order of Governor Sharpe, the companies of Captains A. Beall, J. Beall

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[1] *Archives*, v, 6: 95.

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(10 Sep 1910)

Volume 5

Manor of Kent ffort bounding it as in the Survey is Certified to draw it according to the usual precedent of a Manor for the yearly rent of two barrels of Corne to be paid at Kent Mill.

Jan: 21: 1639.

Came Ralph Beane and assigne over all his right and Interest in fiftie acres of Land . . . lyeing on the North Side of Gerrards Creek and lately in the occupation of John Hillierd and William Broughe unto Thomas Gerrard Gent.

29th January 1639.

Thomas Gerrard Gent demandeth two hundred acres of Land for bringing into the Province two men Servants in the year 1639 that is to Say Christopher Moreland and John Jones.

29th January 1639.

John Wortley demandeth one hundred acres of Land for adventuring himself at his own charge to plant within the Province.

Eod: Set forth for John Wortley one hundred acres of Land lyeing near the head of Wickliff's Creek.

8th ffebr 1639.

John Lewger demandeth two hundred acres of Town Land due to him as assigne of Capt Thomas Cornwaleys Esq, and one hundred acres more by Speciall warrant bearing date 29th August, 1636, and two Manors containing to the quantity of three thousand acres by Vertue of the Same warrant.

12th ffebr 1639.

Mr Lewger

You may Set forth for your Self as assigne of Capt Thomas Cornwaleys one hundred acres of Town Land lyeing about St John's and in your own right . . . one hundred acres more, The Said two hundred acres to begin on the South at a Swamp in the Mill Creek called West's Swamp, . . . to bound with St John's Creek, and to include all the Marsh and low ground on both Sides the Said Creek, Likewise you may Set forth for your Self any two Manors not exceednig three thousand acres In the whole in any part of Patowmeck River between the herring Creek and the Land disposed of to Mr William Britton.

Signed Leonard Calvert.

, JOHN. Sgt.
SON, DANIEL. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co.
Taken away by the Virginians as a deserter from them.
RSON, JOHN. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758;
Capt. Dagworthy's co. Je. 1 to D. 8, 1758. Deserted.
N, WILLIAM. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to S. 14, 1758. Killed.
INSON, CHARLES. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9. 1757 to Ja. 22,
1759. Deserted.
LEY, JOHN. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 26, 1758.
Deserted.
KER, NATHANIEL. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 29, 1758.
Discharged.
RKER, THOMAS. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.
ARKER, THOMAS. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt.
J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.
ARNES, GEORGE. Sgt. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to F. 16, 1758. Dis-
charged.
BARRACKMAN, JOHN. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 10, 1758.
Discharged.
BARRETT, THOMAS. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758;
Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.
BARRIER, GEORGE. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 27, 1758.
Discharged.
BEALL, ALEXANDER. Captain. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.
BEALL, EDWARD. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.
BEALL, JOSHUA. Captain. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.
BEALL, LEVIN. 2d Lieut. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758;
1st. Lieut. Capt. A. Beall's co. N. 9 to D. 30, 1758.
BEALL, REZIN. 2d Lieut. Capt. Ware's co. N. 9 to D. 30, 1758.
BEARD, JAMES. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758; Capt.
Dagworthy's co. D. 31, 1758 to Ja. 27, 1759. Deserted.
BENFIELD, SAMUEL. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758.
Deserted.
BENNET, JOHN. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758. Dis-
charged.
BENNET, JOHN. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt.
J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

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Bird, Benjamin. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758.

Bishop, Henry. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Je. 6, 175

Bishop, Thomas. Drummer. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to 1758.

Black, John. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 29, 1758. charged.

Blake, Philip. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Blois, John. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 26, Deserted.

Bodige, Benjamin. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 2, Died.

Boswell, Edward. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to Jy. 2, 1 Deserted.

Brightwell, John. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758.

Brinkley, James. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 17 Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Broadway, John. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to F. 16, 17 Delivered to the 35th Rgt. as a deserter from it.

Brown, George. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Ca J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Brown, Richard. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 175 Capt. Dagworthy's co. Je. 1 to D. 27, 1758. Deserted.

Brunton, Alexander. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to O. 23, 175 Deserted.

Bryan, William. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Buckingham, Richard. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 8, 175 Discharged.

Bumgardner, Chrisley. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. D. 31, 1758 to Ap. 26, 1759. Discharged. ✓

Burns, Robert. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 8, 1758. Discharged.

Bush, Solomon. Sgt. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Butler, John. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to F. 16, 1758. Discharged. ✓

Campbell, William. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 16, 1759. Deserted.

Caperoon, Richard. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Je. 8, 1758.

Card, Benson. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 7, 1757. Discharged.

Card, Sabriet. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 7, 1758. Discharged.

Carmical, Neal. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. D. 31, 1758 to Ap. 26, 1759. Discharged.

and Francis Ware were disbanded December 30th, 1758 and the best of the men sent to join Captain Dagworthy. Some additional facts connected with the life and services of Captain Dagworthy may be found in the Papers of the *Historical Society of Delaware*, Nos. 10 and 48.

Adgate, Elias. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to O. 23, 1758. Deserted.

Allen, John. Sgt. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Anderson, Daniel. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. My. 9 to Je. 4, 1758. Taken away by the Virginians as a deserter from them.

Anderson, John. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. Je. 1 to D. 8, 1758. Deserted.

Arvin, William. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to S. 14, 1758. Killed.

Atkinson, Charles. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9. 1757 to Ja. 22, 1759. Deserted.

Bailey, John. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 26, 1758. Deserted.

Baker, Nathaniel. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 29, 1758. Discharged.

Barker, Thomas. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Barker, Thomas. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Barnes, George. Sgt. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to F. 16, 1758. Discharged.

Barrackman, John. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 10, 1758. Discharged.

Barrett, Thomas. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Barrier, George. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 27, 1758. Discharged.

Beall, Alexander. Captain. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Beall, Edward. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Beall, Joshua. Captain. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Beall, Levin. 2d Lieut. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758; 1st. Lieut. Capt. A. Beall's co. N. 9 to D. 30, 1758.

Beall, Rezin. 2d Lieut. Capt. Ware's co. N. 9 to D. 30, 1758.

Beard, James. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. D. 31, 1758 to Ja. 27, 1759. Deserted.

Benfield, Samuel. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758. Deserted.

Bennet, John. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758. Discharged.

Bennet, John. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Benyan, Parslow. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to N. 8, 1758.

Binford, Charles. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9 to N. 8, 1758.

Bird, Benjamin. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758.

Bishop, Henry. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Je. 6, 1758.

Bishop, Thomas. Drummer. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758.

Black, John. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 29, 1758. Discharged.

Blake, Philip. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Blois, John. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 26, 1758. Deserted.

Bodige, Benjamin. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 2, 1758. Died.

Boswell, Edward. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to Jy. 2, 1758. Deserted.

Brightwell, John. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758.

Brinkley, James. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Broadway, John. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to F. 16, 1758. Delivered to the 35th Rgt. as a deserter from it.

Brown, George. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Brown, Richard. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. Je. 1 to D. 27, 1758. Deserted.

Brunton, Alexander. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to O. 23, 1758. Deserted.

Bryan, William. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Buckingham, Richard. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 8, 1758. Discharged.

Bumgardner, Chrisley. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. D. 31, 1758 to Ap. 26, 1759. Discharged.

Burns, Robert. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 8, 1758. Discharged.

Bush, Solomon. Sgt. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Butler, John. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to F. 16, 1758. Discharged.

Campbell, William. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 16, 1759. Deserted.

Caperoon, Richard. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Je. 8, 1758.

Card, Benson. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 7, 1757. Discharged.

Card, Sabriet. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 7, 1758. Discharged.

Carmical, Neal. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. D. 31, 1758 to Ap. 26, 1759. Discharged.

Carn, Balsum. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 16, 1759. Made Drummer F. 17, 1758, Reduced Je. 9, and deserted Ap. 16th 1759.

Carr, John. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to S. 14, 1758. Killed.

Carrick, Joseph. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 7, 1758. Discharged.

Carrigen, Hugh. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to S. 14, 1758. Killed.

Cavinaught, William. Sgt. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Charnal, Nicholas. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Je. 1, 1758. Deserted.

Chilton, Robert. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 22, 1759. Deserted.

Clarke, Robert. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 17, 1759. Deserted.

Clegatt, Charles, Sr. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Je. 1, 1758. Discharged.

Clegatt, Charles, Jr. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9 to D. 7, 1757. Deserted.

Clifft, James. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Coe, William. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758. Discharged.

Cole, John. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Collings, William. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Mr. 2, 1759. Died.

Colmure, George. Cpl. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Colville, Joseph. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9 to N. 23, 1757. Deserted.

Connoly, John. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 27, 1758. Deserted.

Connoly, Philip. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. S. 20 to N. 26, 1757. Deserted. Returned from desertion.

Cooke, Nathaniel. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 25, 1758. Deserted.

Courtney, William. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to F. 16, 1758. Discharged.

Craig, George. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758.

Crampton, John. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758.

Crawford, Charles. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. D. 27, 1757 to F. 28, 1759. Deserted.

Cray, William. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 8, 1758.

Creswell, Joseph. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 8, 1758. Deserted.

Crossly, Philip. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to F. 9, 1759. Died.

Current, James. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 29, 1758. Discharged.

Current, Mathew. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9 to D. 13, 1757. Discharged.

Dagworthy, John. Captain. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 26, 1759.

Davis, David. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Davis, Even. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. Je. 1 to D. 9, 1758. Deserted.

Davis, Honical. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 9, 1758.

Day, John. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to O. 12, 1758. Promoted to Cpl. Ja. 9, 1758. Killed O. 12, 1758.

Day, Leonard. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Je. 22, 1759. Deserted.

Dean, Samuel. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Dennis, John. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9 to N. 23, 1757. Deserted.

Dodd, Morris. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 8, 1758.

Dogan, William. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to S. 14, 1758. Killed.

Dorret, Garnet William. Drummer. Capt. A. Beall's co, O. 9, 1757 to O. 17, 1758. Deserted.

Dorret, John. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to F. 16, 1758. Discharged.

Doyle, John. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9 to O. 25, 1757. Dicharged.

Dugmore, Edward. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to S. 14, 1758. Killed.

Duke, Basil. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9 to D. 7, 1757. Discharged.

Duncan, John. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to S. 14, 1758. Killed.

Dunstill, Charles. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 11, 1758.

Eades, Samuel. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Eagenton, Sabriet. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758.

Eagleston, Abram. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. Je. 1 to S. 14, 1758. Killed.

Earley, Francis. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758. Made Cpl. O. 13, 1758.

Eatry, Jacob. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to F. 14, 1758. Discharged.

Edwards, William. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Je. 12, 1758. Died.

Enniss, Wallis. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758.

Evens, Even. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Evens, Thomas. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758. Made Cpl. F. 18, 1758. Reduced again S. 2, 1758.

Evens, William. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to Jy. 4, 1758. Deserted.

Fahee, Thomas. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Farrell, Thomas. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Faulkener, John. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758.

Fell, John. Sgt. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 22, 1759. Deserted.

Fielding, John. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Fields, Henry. Sgt. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Fields Mathew. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. Je. 1 to D. 28, 1758. Deserted.

Findly, Patrick. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 16, 1759. Deserted.

Fitzgerald, John. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Jy. 8, 1758.

Fitzgerald, Morriss. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Fitzpatrick, Thomas. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Fitzwater, Levin. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to S. 14, 1758. Killed.

Flannegan, Richard. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to Je. 14, 1758. Killed.

Floyd, James. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9 to D. 7, 1757. Discharged.

Ford, Edward. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, to Ap. 2, 1758. Deserted.

Ford, Joseph. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to O. 18, 1758. Deserted.

Foster, Adam. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 21, 1758. Died.

Francis, Joseph. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758. Deserted D. 3, 1757. Returned again D. 28, 1757.

Frazier, Peter. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9 to D. 7, 1757. Discharged.

Freeman, Aaron. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to O. 16, 1758. Discharged.

Freeman, Benjamin. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. D. 31, 1758 to Ap. 26, 1759.

Freeman, Benjamin. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to O. 12, 1758. Killed.

Freeman, Esias. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Freeman, Nathaniel. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758. Wounded O. 12, 1758.

Freeman, Richard. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. Je. 1 to D. 26, 1758. Deserted.

Freeman, Samuel. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. D. 31, 1758 to Ap. 18, 1759. Deserted.

Freeman, Thomas. Sgt. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 26, 1759.

Fryer, William. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. Ware's co. Je. 1 to N. 8, 1758.

Games, Francis. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9 to D. 7, 1757. Discharged.

Garrett, John. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758. Deserted.

Garrett, Richard. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Genater, John. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je 1 to S. 14, 1758. Killed.

Gelstrap, William. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to Je. 16, 1758. Died.

Glazier, Frederick. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Mr. 16, 1759. Mustered as a private Centinel from N. 9, 1758 to Mr. 16, 1759 and then deserted.

Glibra, John. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Godson, James. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. Je. 1 to Jy. 28, 1758. Deserted. Say discharged.

Goodwin, Mathew. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. Je. 1, 1758 to Ja. 2, 1759. Deserted.

Gorman, John. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 26, 1759.

Gorrell, James. Ensign. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Je. 28, 1758; Ens. Capt. Dagworthy's co. Je. 29, 1758 to N. 8, 1758; 2d Lieut. N. 9, 1758 to Ap. 26, 1759.

Grahame, Robert. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 8, 1758.

Graves, James. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. D. 31, 1758 to Ap. 16, 1759. Deserted.

Grey, James. Pr. Capt. Pearce's co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758.

Grey, Sabriet. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Griffen, Benjamin. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 26, 1759.

Grimes, Hugh. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Gundy, Robert. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 26, 1759.

Gutridge, James. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758. Discharged.

Hack, John. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Hamilton, James. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Hamilton, John. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Hamilton, William. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 12, 1758. Discharged.

Harbin, Anthony. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758.

Hardiker, Richard. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Harrison, Burr. Ensign. Capt. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 9, 1758; 2d Lieut. N. 9 to D. 30, 1758.

Harriss, Joseph. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Harriss, Michael. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. Ware's co. Je. 1 to N. 8, 1758.

Harwood, John. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 8, 1758. Discharged.

Harwood, Richard. Pr. Capt. Pearce's co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30 1758. He is called Howard.

Harwood, Samuel. Cpl. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Harwood, Thomas. Cpl. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758. Made Cpl. N. 9, 1757.

Hasty, Peter. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to O. 12, 1758. Killed.

Havens, Farewell. Drummer. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Hawkins, Edward. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. D. 31, 1758 to Ap. 16, 1759. Deserted.

Hays, Charles. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Hazard, Michael. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758.

Heinzman, Henry. Surgeon. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758. Promoted and taken to the king's hospital, Jy. 29, 1758.

Henderson, Daniel. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 8, 1758.

Henderson, William. Cpl. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758. Made Sgt. F. 17, 1758.

Hendley, John. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Hewman, Benjamin. Pr. Capt. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758.

Higgs, John. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758.

Hill, Henry. Drummer. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to F. 16, 1758. Discharged.

Hill, James. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to S. 14, 1758. Killed.

Hill, Jonathan. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758.

Hill, Silvester. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to N. 8, 1758. Deserted.

Hillen, David. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9 to D. 7, 1757. Discharged.

Hillen, Jacob. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je 1 to N. 8, 1758.

Hillen, John. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 29, 1758. Discharged.

Hillen, Thomas. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. D. 31, 1758 to Ap. 26, 1759.

Hope, Henry. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Hobson, Thomas. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 4, 1758. Deserted.

Hodges, John. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 16, 1759. Deserted.

Hodgins, Robert. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. Ware's co. Je. 1 to N. 8, 1758.

Holt, Philip. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 13, 1758. Discharged.

Horner, James. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758. Deserted.

Hozier, Joshua. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 26, 1759.

Hudson, Jeremiah. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9 to N. 2, 1757. Died.

Hughs, Thomas. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to O. 17, 1758. Deserted.

Hunt, John. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 27, 1758. Deserted.

Hunter, William. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9 to D. 7, 1757.

Hurley, Edmond. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Mr. 10, 1758. Discharged.

Hurst, Jacob. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Hutchinson, William. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to O. 23, 1758. Deserted.

Hyde, Philip. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 26, 1758. Deserted.

Ives, William. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Jy. 11, 1758. Deserted.

Jacobs, Samuel. Cpl. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Jacobs, Thomas. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 16, 1759. Deserted.

Jefferson, John. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 13, 1757. Discharged.

Jennings, William. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758.

Johnson, Duncan. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. D. 31, 1758 to F. 22, 1759. Deserted.

Johnston, Arthur. Sgt. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 26, 1759.

Johnstoun, Andrew. Cpl. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 26, 1758. Reduced N. 18 and deserted on 26th.

Jones, John. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758.

Jones, Joseph. Drummer. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. Je. 1, 1758 to Ap. 16, 1759. Deserted.

Jones, Nehemiah. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758.

Jones, Thomas. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Jones, William. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. Je. 4 to Je. 8, 1758. Returned from desertion.

Jordon, William. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. S. 20, 1757 to My. 31, 1758. Deserted.

Justice, William. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 20, 1758. Died.

Keech, John. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758. Made Cpl. O. 13, 1758.

Kempton, Thomas. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 1, 1758. Deserted.

Ketcherside, James. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Kidd, John. Ensign. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Je. 29, 1758. Resigned.

King, Francis. Cpl. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Je. 28, 1759. Mustered as Sgt. from N. 9, 1758. Died.

King, Robert. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9 to D. 24, 1757. Discharged.

King, William. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Labrouse, Benjamin. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Je. 8, 1758.

Lamaster, Jacob. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Lawson, John. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Leason, Samuel. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9 to D. 7, 1757. Discharged.

Lee, Daniel. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 16, 1758.

Lee, John. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to S. 14, 1758.

Lee, Thomas. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. N. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758.

Lego, Charles. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to N. 1, 1758. Deserted.

Leonard, Robert. Sgt. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to F. 16, 1758. Discharged.

Letroe, John. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Levar, John. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 24, 1758. Died.

Linch, Thomas. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9 to Ap. 26, 1757.

Linn, William. 1st Lieut. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 26, 1759.

Linton, James. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Linton, John. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 26, 1758. Deserted.

Locker, Thomas. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 4, 1758. Deserted.

Lofflin, Joseph. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Long, Baker. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 17, 1758. Discharged.

Love, Aaron. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Love, Philip. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758; Entered a cadet F. 9, 1758; Ensign, Capt. Dagworthy's co. N. 9, 1758 to Ap. 26, 1759.

Lucas, Barton. Cadet. Capt. J. Beall's co. N. 11, 1757 to N. 9, 1758; Ensign. Capt. A. Beall's co. N. 9 to D. 30, 1758.

Lyon, James. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Je. 9, 1758. Not found on later rolls.

McCoombs, Patrick. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 10, 1758. Deserted.

McCoy, James. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to S. 14, 1758. Killed.

McCubbins, William. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758.

McDonald, Jonathan. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 8, 1758.

McGafferty, Cornelius. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758. Deserted.

McGill, Rowland. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

McGinta, John. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

McGowen, James. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

McKey, George. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 16, 1759. Deserted.

McKinniss, John. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 13, 1758. Discharged.

McKinny, John. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

McLaland, James. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Macmannon, Hugh. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 2, 1758. Deserted.

McNeal, James. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

McRae, Duncan. 1st. Lieut. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to S. 14, 1758. Killed.

McSwain, George. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 14, 1757 to Je. 17, 1758. Killed.

Madding, Francis. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Madding, Mordecai. Cpl. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Maken, John. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. Je. 1, 1758 to Ap. 26, 1759.

Manery, Samuel. Sgt. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9 to N. 3, 1757. Died.

Marshall, James. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Marshall, Thomas. Pr. Capt. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to O. 10, 1758. Deserted.

Martin, Thomas. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 25, 1758. Died.

Mason, Edward. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to N. 8, 1758. Removed from Capt. Pearis' co.

Mason, Edward. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758.

Mason, William. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. Je. 1 to Je. 14, 1758. Discharged.

Mass, John Baptist. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Masterson, Hugh. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 9, 1758. Joined the Royal Americans.

Mathews, William. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Mathews, Thomas. 2d. Lieut. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to O. 12, 1758. Killed.

Maxwell, John. Cpl. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758. Reduced to private O. 14, 1757.

May, Edward. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to O. 24, 1758.

Mearns, Samuel. Surgeon. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 26, 1758.

Meeks, William. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. F. 17 to N. 8, 1758.

Metre, Nicholas. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Je. 1, 1758. Discharged.

Miller, John. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9 to N. 18, 1757. Deserted.

Miller, William. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 12, 1758. Died.

Mills, William. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. Ware's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Monroe, Alexander. Sgt. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Monroe, Robert. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to S. 14, 1758. Killed.

Moodie, Hugh. Cpl. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to N. 8, 1758.

Mozeley, Charles. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Mudd, George. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 8, 1758.

Murdock, William. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 26, 1759. Mustered as Cpl. from N. 9, 1758.

Murphew, William. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. D. 2, 1757 to Ap. 26, 1759.

Murphew, William. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to O. 12, 1758. Killed.

Musgrove, Benjamin. Cpl. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to O. 12, 1758; Made Sgt. N. 4, 1757. Killed.

Naylor, Benjamin. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. Je. 1 to Je. 12, 1758. Died.

Naylor, George. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758; Made Cpl. S. 3, 1758.

Naylor, Joshua. Sgt. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Nash, Thomas. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 26, 1759.

Neal, James. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Neall, William. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 8, 1758. Discharged.

Neilson, William. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Nevo, John. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Jy. 4, 1758. Deserted.

Nicholls, Henry. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 6, 1757. Died.

Night, George. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Night, Samuel. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 12, 1759. Deserted.

Norriss, John. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Nowell, James. Cpl. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 16, 1759. Deserted.

Noyer, Thomas. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Ogelby, John. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758. Died Ja. 28, 1759.

Owings, John. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Pack, Simon. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to S. 14, 1758. Killed.

Page, Thomas. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 18, 1758. Died.

Paulin, Robert. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. Je. 1, 1758 to Ja. 22, 1759. Deserted.

Pearis, Richard. Captain. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758.

Pearson, Thomas. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Peddicort, William. Cpl. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758. Made Sgt. F. 9, 1758.

Peirce, Peter. Sgt. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Pemberton, Richard. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 8, 1758. Deserted.

Perkins, John. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to N. 8, 1758.

Perkins, Thomas. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758. Discharged.

Perkins, William. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Pettit, Lewis. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to N. 8, 1758.

Phipps, John. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758. Discharged.

Pickerell, Samuel. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to N. 8, 1758.

Pindle, Philip. Sgt. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Pingrave, Francis. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 25, 1759. Died.

Plummer, George. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758.

Plunket, Robert. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Porter, John. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to Jy. 2, 1758. Deserted.

Poulter, Hugh. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. D. 31, 1758 to Ja. 22, 1759. Deserted.

Powell, John. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Powell, Samuel. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758. Discharged.

Powell, Thomas. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 29, 1758. Discharged.

Prather, Henry. 2d Lieut. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758.

Prather, Thomas. 2d. Lieut. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; 1st. Lieut. Capt. Ware's co. Je. 1 to O. 12, 1758. Killed.

Prees, Henry. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758.

Pudiver, Thomas. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Je. 8, 1758.

Queen, Richard. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 4, 1758. Deserted.

Ragan, John. Cpl. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 16, 1759. Deserted.

Rally, Isaac. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to O. 12, 1758. Killed.

Ramsey, John. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to Je. 8, 1758.

Rathell, Aaron. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to F. 16, 1758. Discharged.

Redburn, Samuel. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to O. 23, 1758. Deserted.

Reymour, Joseph. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Reymour, William. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. Je. 1, 1758 to Ap. 16, 1759. Deserted.

Reynolds, George. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 26, 1758. Deserted.

Reynolds, James. Sgt. Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758. Reduced to a private Ag. 14, 1758; Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. D. 31, 1758 to F. 28, 1759. Deserted.

Rhodes, Thomas. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to N. 8, 1758.

Riley, James. 1st. Lieut. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Roberts, Isaac. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. Ware's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Roberts, John. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Robinson, Charles. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. Je. 1 to Ag. 8, 1758.

Robinson, Charles. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 4, 1758. Deserted.

Rowles, Thomas. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to S. 14, 1758. Killed.

Ross, George. Commissary.

Rowles, Francis. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Rowles, John. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758.

Ruff, Sabriet. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Ruffneck, William. Cpl. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758. Promoted.

Russell, John. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Russell, Thomas. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Sadler, William. Pr. Capt. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758.

Sapp, Robert. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to O. 12, 1758. Killed.

Sasser, Benjamin. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 23, 1758. Deserted.

Saunders, George. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758.

Saunders, John. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 7, 1758. Discharged.

Scaggs, Isaac. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 26, 1758. Deserted.

Scaggs, James. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 22, 1759. Deserted.

Scaggs, Richard. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 26, 1758. Deserted.

Scott, Zachariah. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758. Made Cpl. O. 13, 1758.

Sharpe, John. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to O. 18, 1758. Deserted.

Shaw, Robert. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 30, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Shelby, Evan. 1st. Lieut. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 28, 1758. Promoted.

Short, Hugh. Cpl. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1758 to O. 12, 1758. Killed.

Simpson, Anthony. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to N. 8, 1758.

Simpson, James. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to F. 8, 1758. Died.

Simpson, John. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to F. 16, 1758. Discharged.

Simpson, Thomas. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758; Made Cpl. F. 17, 1758. Made Sgt. O. 13, 1758.

Sims, James. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9 to O. 23, 1757. Died.

Skinner, Henry. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Cadet. Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1, 1758; Ensign. Je. 29 to D. 30, 1758.

Slater, Isaac. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9 to O. 25, 1757. Discharged.

Slater, John. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ag. 8, 1758.

Smith, Daniel. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 17, 1759. Died.

Smith, James. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Je. 28, 1758. Discharged.

Smith, Michael Luke. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758. Deserted.

Smith, McCarthy. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758.

Smith, Thomas. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. D. 31, 1758 to Ja. 22, 1759. Deserted.

Smith, Thomas. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. My. 9, 1758 to Ap. 26, 1759. Mustered as Cpl. from N. 9, 1758.

Smith, William. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Smith, William. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 26, 1759.

Southerland, James. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. Mr. 10 to N. 8, 1758.

Southerland, John. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Je. 12, 1758. Died.

Spencer, Francis. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 29, 1758. Discharged.

Spikernal, Robert. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9 to O. 22, 1757. Died.

Spring, Douglas. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Steel, John. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Stevens, Solomon. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758.

Stillwell, Nathaniel. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 16, 1759. Deserted.

Stillworth, John. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 4, 1758. Deserted.

Stoddart, Thomas. 1st. Lieut. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758. Resigned.

Stokes, Peter. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758; Dagworthy's co. D. 31, 1758 to Ja. 24, 1759. Died.

Stokes, Thomas. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 29, 1758. Discharged.

Suitor, Charles. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

Summer, John. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to Je. 8, 1758.

Summersfield, John. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 16, 1759. Deserted.

Summervell, Alexander. 2d. Lieut. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. N. 9 to D. 30, 1758.

Surratt, Joseph. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. D. 31, 1758 to F. 27, 1759. Deserted.

Tandy, Richard. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Tarvin, Richard. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to O. 18, 1758. Deserted.

Tate, James. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Tayler, James. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to F. 22, 1759. Deserted.

✓ Teater, George. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 31, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. D. 31, 1758 to Ap. 26, 1759.

✓ Teater, Samuel. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9 to D. 30, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. D. 31, 1758 to Ap. 26, 1759.

Terrell, John. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to S. 14, 1758. Killed.

Thomas, Richard. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Thompson, Collin. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to Je. 4, 1758. Delivered to the Virginians as a deserter from them.

Thompson, James. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to O. 11, 1758. Killed.

Thompson, John. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 16, 1759. Deserted.

Thompson, William. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Threasher, John. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to O. 23, 1758. Deserted.

Tomlinson, Richard. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758. Deserted.

Tracey, Peirce. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 16, 1759. Deserted.

Tremble, Moses. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 16, 1759. Deserted.

Truman, Richard. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

Tucker, John. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 8, 1758. Discharged.

Tucker, James. Cpl. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758. Made Sgt. Ag. 15, 1758.

TUCKER, JOHN. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to O. 16, 1758. Discharged.

TUCKER, LITTLETON. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to S. 14, 1758. Killed.

TUCKER, STEPHEN. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

TURNEY, CHARLES. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. D. 31, 1758 to Ap. 16, 1759.

TYCER, JOHN. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to S. 14, 1758. Killed.

VAUGHAN, WILLIAM. Sgt. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. A. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. D. 31, 1758 to F. 28, 1759. Deserted.

WALKER, NATHAN. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 26, 1759.

WARD, SAMUEL. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9 to D. 7, 1757. Discharged.

WARE, FRANCIS. Captain. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

WATERS, JAMES. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to O. 10, 1758.

WATSON, WALTER. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to S. 14, 1758. Killed.

WATTS, HENRY. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 9, 1758.

WATTS, SAMUEL. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758.

WATTSON, HENRY. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 26, 1759.

WEBB, JAMES. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

WEST, WILLIAM. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to O. 23, 1758. Deserted.

WHEELER, CHARLES. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ja. 28, 1759. Deserted.

WHETHERFORD, THOMAS. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 26, 1759.

WHITE, EDWARD. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to Je. 8, 1758.

WHITE, JOHN. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to F. 16, 1758. Made Cpl. N. 5, 1757. Discharged.

WHITMAN, JOHN. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Ap. 8, 1758; deserted D. 3, 1757; retaken and mustered from D. 9, 1757 to Ap. 8, 1758, then discharged.

WHITTINGTON, WILLIAM. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9 to N. 29, 1757. Discharged.

WILKINSON, ALEXANDER. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

WILLIAMS, DUNBAR. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9 to N. 29, 1757. Discharged.

WILLIAMS, JOHN. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to D. 30, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. D. 31, 1758 to Ja. 22, 1759. Deserted.

WILLIAMS, JOSEPH. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

WILLIAMS, THOMAS. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758.

WILLIS, JOHN. Cpl. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. Je. 1 to D. 26, 1758. Deserted.

WILLSON, JOHN. Cpl. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758; reduced O. 14, 1757; Made Cpl. again O. 13, 1758.

WILLSON, PETER. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 26, 1758. Deserted.

WILLSON, THOMAS. SR. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 8, 1758. Deserted.

WILLSON, THOMAS, JR. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. Je. 1, 1758 to Ap. 16, 1759. Deserted.

WINGFIELD, THOMAS. Pr. Capt. A. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to D. 30, 1758; Capt. Dagworthy's co. D. 31, 1758 to Ja. 22, 1759. Deserted.

WOGAN, HENRY. Cpl. Capt. J. Bealls' co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758.

WOOD, SABRIET. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758. Deserted.

WOOD, WILLIAM. Pr. Capt. Dagworthy's co. O. 9, 1757 to Jy. 11, 1758.

WOOLDRIDGE, ROGER. Pr. Capt. Pearis' co. O. 9, 1757 to My. 31, 1758; Capt. J. Beall's co. Je. 1 to N. 1, 1758. Deserted.

WRIGHT, GEORGE. Pr. Capt. Ware's co. O. 9, 1757 to N. 8, 1758.

YOUNGER, GILBERT. Pr. Capt. J. Beall's co. O. 9, 1757 to S. 14, 1758. Killed.

EARLY MARYLAND CLERGY.

[CONTRIBUTED BY MR. HENRY F. THOMPSON.]

Henry Compton, Bishop of London, 1675–1713, induced Charles II to allow to each Minister or School master that should go to the Colonies, the sum of £20 for his passage.

29 8bris 1689.

Rec^{d} then of William Jephson esq^{r} By mee John Lillingston Clerke the summe of Twenty pounds aś of his Ma^{ties} free guift and royall bounty y^{e} same being intended for and towards the defraying the charges of my Transportation to Mary Land whither I am going Chaplaine—I say recd by mee.

JOHN LILLINGSTON.

[Rawl. MSS. A, 306, fol. 62.]

— Murtie June Clark - GPC (1983) MPL R929.3C593C

A List of Soldiers under the Command of Lieutenant Tristrim Thomas, Talbot County, Maryland, undated (Cont'd)

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
83	Soldier	Bozman, John	

[MHR, Box 1:26]

A List of Soldiers under the Command of Captain Adam Spence, Worcester County, Maryland, undated

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Captain	Spence, Adam	
2	Lieutenant	Nelson, William	
3	Serjeant	Willet, William	
4	"	Bishop, Joseph	
5	"	Willit, Thomas	
6	"	Hall, Stephen	
7	"	Nelson, Robert	
8	Clerk	Scarbrough, John	
1	Soldier	Evens, John	
2	"	Oatten, John	
3	"	Slinger, John	
4	"	Bishop, William	
5	"	Patrick, Roger	
6	"	Patrick, Daniel	
7	"	Houlston, John	
8	"	Blizard, John	
9	"	Machenny, Walter	
10	"	Walton, John	
11	"	Price, John	
12	"	Jones, Giles	
13	"	Hencock, Daniel	
14	"	Allan, John	
15	"	Gar, Michall, Jun:r	
16	"	Brittingham, Thomas	
17	"	Willet, John	
18	"	Jones, John, Jun:r	
19	"	Pruitt, William	
20	"	Scott, Adam	
21	"	Richardson, John	
22	"	Puddrie, Joseph	
23	"	Lensey, James	
24	"	Read, Walter	
25	"	Porter, John	
26	"	Gar, John	
27	"	Gar, Elisha	
28	"	Gar, Eli	
29	"	Sturgis, Stephen	
30	"	Beachboro, Levi	
31	"	Machenry, Watson	
32	"	Nelson, Samuel	
33	"	Guttrey, Joshua	
34	"	Guttrey, Elijah	
35	"	Guttrey, Philip	
36	"	Guttrey, Moses	
37	"	Claywell, William	
38	"	Gar, John, Jun:r	
39	"	Robinson, William	
40	"	Richardson, William	
41	"	Pain, Isaac	

[MHR, Box 1:28]

French and Indian War Account Books for Maryland, 1762-1763

Roster of Captain John Dagworthy's Company of Maryland Troops, Oct 9, 1757 to Apr 26, 1759, 565 days service

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
1	Captain	Dagworthy, John	
2	1st/Lieut	Linn, W:m	
3	2d/Lieut	Beall, Leven	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1757/396 days, transf/Capt A. Beall's Co.
4	Ensign	Kidd, John	Oct 9, 1757/Jun 29, 1758/264 days, resigned
5	Ensign	Garrett, James	Jun 29, 1758/Nov 8, 1758/133 days, transf/Capt J. Beall's Co.
6	2d/Lieut	Garrett, James	Nov 9, 1758/Apr 26, 1759, 169 days, promoted
7	Ensign	Love, Philip	Nov 9, 1758/Apr 26, 1758, 169 days
1	Private	Atkinson, Charles	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 22, 1759, 470 days, deserted
2	"	Anderson, John	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 8, 1758, 190 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co., deserted
3	"	Anderson, Daniel	May 9, 1758/Jun 4, 1758, 26 days, deserter from Virginia Rgt
4	"	Bailey, John	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 26, 1758, 442 days, deserted
5	"	Blois, John	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 27, 1758, 443 days, deserted
6	"	Bodige, Benjamin	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 2, 1758, 419 days, died Dec 2, 1758
7	"	Brown, Richard	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 27, 1758, 209 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co., deserted
8	"	Benford, Charles	Oct 9, 1758/Nov 8, 1758, 31 days
9	"	Bomgardner, Chrisley	Dec 31, 1758/Apr 26, 1759, 117 days, transf/Capt J. Beall's Co., discharged
10	"	Beard, James	Dec 31, 1758/Jan 27, 1759, 27 days, transf/Capt J. Beall's Co., deserted
11	"	Charnal, Nicholas	Oct 9, 1757/Jun 1, 1758, 236 days, deserted
12	"	Connoly, John	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 27, 1758, 443 days, deserted
13	"	Chellon, Robert	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 22, 1759, 470 days, deserted
14	"	Campbell, William	Oct 9, 1737/Apr 16, 1759, 552 days, deserted
15	"	Collings, William	Oct 9, 1757/Mar 2, 1759, 509 days, died Mar 2, 1759
16	"	Crossly, Philip	Oct 9, 1757/Feb 9, 1759, 488 days, died Feb 9, 1759
17	"	Clarke, Robert	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 17, 1759, 555 days, deserted Apr 17, 1759
18	"	Cleagatt, Charles, Jun.	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 7, 1757, 60 days, discharged
19	"	Cleagatt, Charles, Sen.	Oct 9, 1757/Jun 1, 1758, 236 days, discharged
20	Drummer	Carnes, Balsum	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 16, 1759, 552 days, promoted/drummer Feb 17, 1758, reduced Jun 9, 1758, deserted
21	Private	Crawford, Charles	Dec 27, 1757/Feb 29, 1759, 428 days, deserted

Roster of Captain John Dagworthy's Company of Maryland Troops,
Oct 9, 1757 to Apr 26, 1759, 565 days service (Cont'd)

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
22	Private	Carmical, Neal	Dec 31, 1758/Apr 26, 1759, 117 days, transf/Capt Ware's Co., discharged
23	"	Day, Leonard	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 22, 1759, 470 days, deserted
24	"	Davis, Owen	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 9, 1758, 191 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓ deserted
25	"	Edwards, William	Oct 9, 1757/Jun 12, 1758, 246 days, died Jun 12, 1759
26	"	Egleston, Abram	Jun 1, 1758/Sept 14, 1758, 105 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓ killed Sept 14, 1738
27	"	Freeman, Samuel	Dec 31, 1758/Apr 18, 1759, 108 days, transf/Capt A. Beall's Co., deserted
28	Serjeant	Freeman, Thomas	
29	"	Fell, John	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 22, 1759, 470 days, deserted
30	Private	Foster, Adam	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 21, 1758, 341 days, died Apr 21, 1758
31	"	Fitzwater, Levin	Oct 9, 1757/Sept 14, 1758, 341 days, killed Sept 14, 1758
32	"	Findly, Patrick	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 16, 1759, 554 days, deserted
33	"	Field, Mathew	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 28, 1758, 210 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓ deserted
34	"	Freeman, Richard	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 26, 1758, 208 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓ deserted
35	"	Freeman, Benjamin	Dec 31, 1758/Apr 26, 1759, 117 days, transf/Capt Ware's Co.
36	Corporal	Glazier, Frederick	Oct 9, 1757/Mar 16, 1759, demoted Nov 9, 1758, deserted
37	Private	Gorman, John	
38	"	Griffin, Benjamin	
39	"	Gundy, Robert	
40	"	Godson, James	Jun 1, 1758/Jul 28, 1758, 58 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓ deserted, discharged
41	"	Goodwin, Mathew	Jun 1, 1758/Jan 2, 1759, 215 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓ deserted
42	"	Graves, James	Dec 31, 1758/Apr 16, 1759, 106 days, transf/Capt J. Beall's Co., deserted
43	Drummer	Hill, Henry	Oct 9, 1757/Feb 16, 1758, 131 days, discharged
44	Private	Hunt, John	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 27, 1758, 444 days, deserted
45	"	Hodges, John	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 16, 1759, 554 days, deserted
46	"	Henderson, Daniel	Oct 9, 1757/May 8, 1758, 212 days
47	"	Holt, Philip	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 13, 1758, 97 days, discharged
48	"	Hozier, Joshua	
49	"	Hillen, Thomas	Dec 31, 1758/Apr 26, 1759, 117 days, transf/Capt Ware's Co.
50	"	Hyde, Philip	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 26, 1758, 443 days, deserted

Roster of Captain John Dagworthy's Company of Maryland Troops,
Oct 9, 1757 to Apr 26, 1759, 565 days service (Cont'd)

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
51	Private	Hawkins, Edward	Dec 31, 1758/Apr 16, 1759, 106 days, transf/Capt A. Beall's Co., deserted
52	Serjeant	Johnstown, Arthur	
53	Private	Jacobs, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 16, 1759, 554 days, deserted
54	"	Ives, William	Oct 9, 1757/Jul 11, 1758, 275 days, deserted
55	Drummer	Jones, Joseph	Jun 1, 1758/Apr 16, 1759, Drummer, Jun 9, 1758, deserted
56	Private	Johnson, Duncan	Dec 31, 1758/Feb 22, 1759, 53 days, transf/Capt A. Beall's Co., deserted
57	Corporal	King, Francis	Oct 9, 1757/Jun 28, 1759, promoted Nov 9, 1758, died
58	Private	King, Robert	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 24, 1757, 77 days, discharged
59	"	Linch, Thomas	
60	"	Linton, John	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 26, 1758, 443 days, deserted
61	Doctor	Mearns, Samuel	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 26, 1758
62	Private	Mitre, Nicholas	Oct 9, 1757/Jun 1, 1758, 236 days, discharged
63	"	Monroe, Robert	Oct 9, 1757/Sept 14, 1758, 340 days, killed
64	"	Miller, W:m	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 12, 1758, 399 days, died
65	"	McCoombs, Patrick	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 10, 1758, 427 days, deserted
66	Corporal	Murdock, William	promoted Nov 9, 1758
67	Private	McKey, George	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 16, 1759, 554 days, deserted
68	"	Murphee, William	Dec 2, 1757/Apr 26, 1759, 511 days
69	"	Mason, William	Jun 1, 1758/Jun 14, 1758, 14 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓ discharged
70	"	Maken, John	Jun 1, 1758/Apr 26, 1759, 330 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓
71	Corporal	Nowell, James	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 16, 1759, 554 days, deserted
72	Private	Neall, William	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 8, 1758, 182 days, discharged
73	"	Nash, Thomas	
74	"	Night, Samuel	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 12, 1759, 460 days, deserted
75	"	Nayler, Benjamin	Jun 1, 1758/Jun 12, 1758, 10 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓ died
76	"	Pingrave, Francis	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 25, 1759, 473 days, died
77	"	Pemberton, Richard	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 8, 2758, 425 days, deserted
78	"	Paulen, Robert	Jun 1, 1758/Jan 22, 1759, 235 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓ deserted
79	"	Polter, Hugh	Dec 31, 1758/Jan 22, 1759, 22 days, transf/Capt J. Beall's Co., deserted
80	Corporal	Ragan, John	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 16, 1759, 554 days, deserted
81	Private	Rathell, Aaron	Oct 9, 1757/Feb 16, 1758, 131 days, discharged

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Pearis

Beale-Hite Line

Jacob, the father of Bettie, the wife of Tavener Beale, was the second son of Yost Hite. He was a man of great energy and aided his father in colonizing the Valley of Virginia, making several voyages to Ireland to secure emigrants. On one of these voyages he met and married Catherine O'Bannon. He built his home in what is now Jefferson County, where he was very prominent. He was dissatisfied with the location of the county seat; he contended for Leetown, but Martinsburg was chosen and he was so incensed over this that he deeded his home to his children and left for South Carolina, where he bought land from an Englishman named Pearis, who had a grant of ten thousand acres. Part of the Pearis grant of land included the present site of Greenville, South Carolina. Here Pearis lived in the midst of Indians, with whom he was on the best of terms, and over whom he had great influence. Hite settled near here about 1773, and he too won the friendship of the Indians.

When the Revolution broke out Hite sided with the colonies, while the Indians, incited by the British agents sent among them, went with the British. Jacob Hite, hearing of the work of these agents, sent his son, Jacob O'Bannon Hite, with presents to the Indian towns, hoping to defeat the efforts of the English. This son had made himself very popular with the Indians, and he and his father were confident of success—too confident, as events proved, for on his way to the Indian towns Jacob O'Bannon Hite met a large party of Indians on the war-path and was instantly murdered.

The murdered man was engaged to the daughter of Pearis, the Englishman. When she heard of his death, and of the Indians' bloody intentions toward the other Hites, braving all dangers, she hurried through the forests to warn her dead lover's people. She reached them in time to warn them to escape to a place of safety, but they were still too confident of the friendship of the Indians. They delayed leaving and the Indians fell upon them and killed Jacob Hite with fiendish tortures. At this time Jacob Hite's sons, John, Thomas and George, were in Virginia. The most plausible tradition among their relatives concerning the fate of the rest of Jacob Hite's family is that they were all murdered with Jacob, except one daughter, Eleanor, and some slaves. On hearing of the massacre, George Hite hurried at once to South Carolina. He found that his sister, Eleanor, had been ransomed by an English officer, who took her to Pensacola, intending to marry her; but the horrors of the massacre were too much for her and she died soon after reaching Florida. George Hite returned to Virginia with one of the slaves that had been captured by the Indians. She had been married to a chief's son and gave birth to a daughter after her return. Besides Eleanor, Mrs. Hite and Frances had totally disappeared. After the Revolution, Colonel Tavener Beale went to South Carolina and engaged Pearis to visit the Indians and ransom the supposed captives, but it is believed that this mission resulted in failure.

(not possible Pearis was in exile then!

The murder of Jacob Hite took place in 1778. George Hite was attending William and Mary College at this time. He served in the latter years of the Revolutionary War in the cavalry and is believed to have been a captain. He married Deborah Rutherford and was the first county clerk of Jefferson County when it was formed from Berkeley. He died in 1817.

The Mrs. Hite of the Indian massacre was the second wife of Jacob Hite. She was Mrs. Frances Madison Beale, widow of Colonel Tavener Beale, Senior. She was born in 1726, the daughter of Ambrose Madison and Frances Taylor, and was descended from Captain Isaac Madison, of Jamestown, 1609, member of the first council in 1624. Frances Taylor, her mother, was the daughter of James Taylor, of Orange County, a Knight of the Golden Horseshoe. James Taylor was the ancestor of five Presidents of the United States: Madison, Taylor, William Henry Harrison, Benjamin Harrison and Tyler. His wife, Martha Thompson, daughter of Colonel William Thompson, of Blackwell's Neck, Hanover County, was a descendant of the Fleming and Douglass families and so came down from Margaret Stuart, and her ancestor, Robert Bruce, King of Scotland.

Pearis

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Roster of Captain John Dagworthy's Company of Maryland Troops, Oct 9, 1757 to Apr 26, 1759, 565 days service (Cont'd)

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
82	Private	Reynolds, George	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 26, 1758, 443 days, deserted
83	"	Raymen, William	Jun 1, 1758/Apr 16, 1759, 319 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. deserted
84	"	Robinson, Charles	Jun 1, 1758/Aug 8, 1758, 69 days
85	"	Reynolds, James	Dec 31, 1758/Feb 28, 1759, 59 days, transf/Capt J. Beall's Co., deserted
86	"	Smith, William	
87	"	Scaggs, Richard	Oct 9, 1737/Dec 26, 1758, 443 days, deserted
88	"	Scaggs, Isaac	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 26, 1758, 443 days, deserted
89	"	Surratt, Joseph	Dec 31, 1758/Feb 27, 1759, 58 days, transf/Capt J. Beall's Co., deserted
90	"	Smith, Daniel	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 17, 1759, 465 days, died
91	"	Scaggs, James	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 22, 1759, 470 days, deserted
92	"	Stillwell, Nathaniel	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 16, 1759, 554 days, deserted
93	"	Summersfield, John	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 16, 1759, 554 days, deserted
94	"	Slater, John	Oct 9, 1757/Aug 8, 1758, 304 days
95	Corporal	Smith, Thomas	May 9, 1758/Apr 26, 1759, promoted Nov 9, 1758
96	Private	Smith, Thomas (2)	Dec 31, 1758/Jan 22, 1759, 22 days, transf/Capt J. Beall's Co., deserted
97	"	Stokes, Peter	Dec 31, 1758/Jan 24, 1759, 25 days, transf/Capt J. Beall's Co., died
98	"	Tracy, Pierce	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 16, 1759, 554 days, deserted
99	"	Tucker, John	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 8, 1758, 182 days, discharged
100	"	Thompson, James	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 11, 1758, 367 days, killed
101	"	Thompson, John	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 16, 1759, 554 days, deserted
102	"	Tremble, Moses	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 16, 1759, 554 days, deserted
103	"	Tayler, James	Oct 9, 1757/Feb 22, 1759, 501 days, deserted
104	"	Teater, George	Dec 31, 1758/Apr 26, 1759, 117 days, transf/Capt A. Beall's Co.
105	"	Teater, Samuel	Dec 31, 1758/Apr 26, 1759, 117 days, transf/Capt A. Beall's Co.
106	"	Turney, Charles	Dec 31, 1758/Apr 16, 1759, 106 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. deserted
107	"	Vaughan, William	Dec 31, 1758/Feb 28, 1759, 59 days, transf/Capt A. Beall's Co., deserted
108	"	Wheeler, Charles	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 28, 1759, 476 days, deserted

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Roster of Captain John Dagworthy's Company of Maryland Troops, Oct 9, 1757 to Apr 26, 1759, 565 days service (Cont'd)

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
109	Private	Whetherford, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 26, 1759, 565 days
110	"	Wattson, Henry	
111	"	Walker, Nathan	
112	"	Wood, William	Oct 9, 1757/Jul 11, 1758, 276 days
113	"	Whitman, John	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 8, 1758, 176 days, deserted Dec 3, 1757, retaken Dec 9, 1757, discharged
114	"	Willson, Peter	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 26, 1758, 443 days, deserted
115	"	Watts, Henry	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 9, 1758, 396 days
116	"	Willson, Thomas, Sen.	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 18, 1758, 425 days, deserted
117	"	Willson, Thomas, Jun.	Jun 1, 1758/Apr 16, 1759, 319 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co., deserted
118	"	Willis, John	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 26, 1758, 208 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co., deserted
119	"	Wingfield, Thomas	Dec 31, 1758/Jan 22, 1759, 22 days, transf/Capt A. Beall's Co., deserted
120	"	Williams, John	Dec 31, 1758/Jan 22, 1759, 22 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co., deserted

Roster of Captain Alexander Beall's Company of Maryland Troops, Oct 9, 1757 to Dec 30, 1758, 448 days service

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
1	Captain	Beall, Alexander	
2	1st/Lieut	Shelby, Evan	Oct 9, 1757/May 28, 1758, promoted
3	1st/Lieut	Prather, Thomas Clagett	Oct 9, 1757/May 31, 1758, transf/to Capt Ware's Co., killed Oct 12, 1758
4	Ensign	Harrison, Ben:	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 9, 1758, 396 days
5	Surgeon	Hunzman, Henry	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 30, 1758, 448 days, promoted, taken to King's Hospital, Jul 29, 1758, cont'd on rolls
6	1st/Lieut	McRae, Duncan	Jun 1, 1758/Sept 14, 1758, 105 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co., killed
7	2d/Lieut	Matthews, Thomas	Jun 1, 1758/Oct 12, 1758, 133 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co., killed
8	1st/Lieut	Beall, Leven	Nov 9, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 52 days, transf/Capt Dagworthy's Co.
9	2d/Lieut	Harrison, Ben:	Nov 9, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 52 days
10	Ensign	Lucas, Barton	Nov 9, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 52 days
1	Private	Adgate, Elias	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 23, 1758, 379 days, deserted

Roster of Captain Alexander Beall's Company of Maryland Troops, Oct 9, 1757 to Dec 30, 1758, 448 days service (Cont'd)

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
2	Private	Bennet, John	Oct 9, 1757/May 31, 1758, 235 days, discharged
3	"	Barrackman, John	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 10, 1758/ 94 days, discharged
4	"	Banier, George	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 27, 1758, 111 days, discharged
5	"	Barker, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 30, 1758, 448 days, rec'd bounty
6	"	Beall, Edward	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 30, 1758, 448 days, rec'd bounty
7	"	Broadway, John	Oct 9, 1757/Feb 16, 1758, 130 days, ret'd to 35th Rgt as a deserter from it
8	"	Brunton, Alex:r	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 23, 1758, 379 days, deserted
9	"	Brinkly, James	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓
10	"	Carregin, Hugh	Oct 9, 1757/Sept 14, 1758, 340 days, killed
11	"	Courtney, William	Oct 9, 1757/Feb 16, 1758, 131 days, discharged
12	Corporal	Colmine, George	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓
13	Drummer	Dosset, W:m Garnet	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 18, 1757, 374 days, deserted
14	Private	Dogan, William	Oct 9, 1757/Sept 14, 1758, 340 days, killed
15	"	Davis, Honical	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 9, 1758, 396 days
16	"	Dodd, Morris	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 8, 1758, 182 days
17	"	Enniss, Walter	Oct 9, 1757, Nov 8, 1758, 396 days
18	"	Eddes, Samuel	
19	Serjeant	Fields, Henry	
20	Private	Fitzgerald, Morris	
21	"	Freeman, Samuel	transf/to Capt Dagworthy's Co.
22	"	Ford, Joseph	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 18, 1758, 374 days, deserted
23	"	Fitzgerald, John	Oct 9, 1757/Jul 8, 1758, 273 days
24	"	Fitzpatrick, Thomas	Jun 11, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓
25	"	Gutridge, James	Oct 9, 1757/May 31, 1758, 235 days, discharged
26	"	Grimes, Hugh	
27	"	Graham, Robert	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 8, 1758, 182 days
28	"	Genates, John	Jun 1, 1758/Sept 14, 1758, 105 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co., killed ✓
29	Corporal	Harwood, Samuel	
30	"	Harwood, Thomas	promoted Nov 9, 1757
31	Private	Hill, Jonathan	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 396 days
32	"	Hurley, Edmond	Oct 9, 1757/Mar 10, 1758, 153 days, discharged
33	"	Hutchenson, W:m	Oct 9, 1737/Oct 23, 1758, 379 days, deserted

Roster of Captain Alexander Beall's Company of Maryland Troops, Oct 9, 1757 to Dec 30, 1758, 448 days service (Cont'd)

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
34	Private	Hawkins, Edward	
35	"	Hurst, Jacob	Oct 9, 1757/ Nov 8, 1758, 396 days
36	"	Hinman, Benjamin	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 396 days
37	"	Hill, Silvester	Jun 1, 1758/Sept 26, 1758, 117 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co., deserted ✓
38	"	Hope, Henry	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓
39	"	Harwood, Rich:d	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. (he is called Howard) ✓
40	"	Johnson, Duncan	
41	"	Jennings, William	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 396 days
42	"	Ketcherside, James	
43	"	King, William	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓
44	Serjeant	Leonard, Rob:t	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 131 days, discharged
45	"	Love, Philip	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, entered as a cadet, Feb 9, 1758
46	Private	Letro, John	
47	"	Lemaster, Jacob	
48	"	Lawson, John	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓
49	"	Love, Aaron	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days
50	Serjeant	Monroe, Alex:r	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓
51	Corporal	Madding, Mordeica	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 30, 1758, 184 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓
52	"	Maxwell, John	reduced to a private man, Oct 14, 1757
53	Private	Macmannan, Hugh	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 2, 1758, deserted
54	"	McCoy, James	Oct 9, 1757/Sept 14, 1758, 340 days, killed
55	Corporal	Musgrove, Benj:	promoted in Capt Ware's Co., to Serjeant, Nov 4, 1757, killed Oct 12, 1758
56	Private	Masterson, Hugh	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 9, 1758, 93 days, joined the Royal Amns
57	"	McGafferty, Cornelius	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 395 days, deserted
58	"	Mathews, W:m	
59	"	Mudd, George	Oct 9, 1757/May 8, 1758
60	"	McGowen, James	
61	"	Meeks, William	Feb 17, 1758/Nov 8, 1758, 265 days
62	"	Moodie, Henry Hugh	Jun 1, 1758/Nov 7, 1758, 161 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓
63	"	Mason, Edward	Jun 1, 1758/Nov 8, 1758, 161 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co ✓
64	"	Nebb, John	Oct 9, 1757/Jul 4, 1758, 268 days, deserted
65	"	Neal, James	
66	"	Ogleby, John	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 28, 1758, 111 days, died

Roster of Captain Alexander Beall's Company of Maryland Troops, Oct 9, 1757 to Dec 30, 1758, 448 days service (Cont'd)

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
67	Serjeant	Pendell, Philip	
68	Corporal	Peddecoat, William	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 30, 1758, promoted Feb 9, 1758
69	Private	Phips, John	Oct 9, 1757/May 31, 1758, 235 days, discharged
70	"	Pack, Simon	Oct 9, 1757/Sept 14, 1758, 340 days, killed
71	"	Plunket, Robert	
72	"	Plummer, George	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 396 days
73	"	Prees, Henry	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 396 days
74	"	Pickerel, Samuel	Jun 1, 1758/Nov 8, 1758, 161 days, transf/Capt Pearis'✓ Co.
75	"	Redburn, Samuel	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 23, 1758, 379 days, deserted
76	"	Rhodes, Thomas	Jun 1, 1758/Nov 8, 1758, 161 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co✓
77	"	Roberts, John	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co✓
78	"	Reymour, Joseph	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co✓
79	"	Rally, Israel	Jun 1, 1758/Oct 12, 1758, 368 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co.✓ killed
80	"	Saunders, George	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 396 days
81	"	Southerland, John	Oct 9, 1757/Jun 12, 1758, 396 days, died
82	"	Smith, McCarthy	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 396 days
83	"	Spring, Douglas	
84	"	Sharpe, John	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 18, 1758, 374 days, deserted
85	"	Southerland, James	Mar 21, 1758/Nov 8, 1758
86	"	Sapp, Robert	Jun 1, 1758/Oct 12, 1758, 133 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co.✓ killed
87	"	Sueter, Charles	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co✓
88	"	Shaw, Robert	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/ Capt Pearis' Co✓
89	"	Simpson, Anthony	Jun 1, 1758/Nov 8, 1758, 161 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co✓
90	"	Threasher, John	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 23, 1758, 379 days, deserted
91	"	Thompson, William	
92	"	Terrell, John	Oct 9, 1757/Sept 14, 1758, 340 days, killed
93	"	Tarven, Richard	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 18, 1758, 374 days, deserted
✓ (94	"	Tealer, Geo:	
95	"	Turney, Charles	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days
96	"	Vaughan, W:m	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co✓
97	"	West, William	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 23, 1758, 379 days, deserted
98	"	Webb, James	
99	"	Wingfield, Thomas	

Roster of Captain Joshua Beall's Company of Maryland Troops, Oct 9, 1757 to Dec 30, 1758, 448 days service

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
1	Captain	Beall, Joshua	
2	1st/Lieut	Riley, James	
3	2d/Lieut	Prather, Henry	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 396 days, transf/to Capt Ware's Co.
4	Ensign	Garrett, James	Oct 9, 1757/Jun 28, 1758, 263 days, transf/to Capt Dagworthy's Co.
5	Cadet	Skinner, Henry	May 31, 1758/Jun 28, 1758, 28 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co.✓ promoted, Jun 1/Dec 30, 1758
6	2d/Lieut	Summervill, Alex	Nov 9, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 52 days, transf/Capt Ware's Co.
1	Serjeant	Allen, John	
2	Private	Baker, Nathaniel	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 29, 1758, 113 days, discharged
3	"	Barslew, Benjamin	Jun 1, 1758/Nov 8, 1758, 161 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co✓
4	Serjeant	Bush, Solomon	
5	Private	Buller, John	Oct 9, 1757/Feb 16, 1758, discharged Feb 16, 1758
6	Drummer	Bishop, Thomas	Oct 29, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 396 days
7	Private	Beard, James	
8	"	Bishop, Henry	Oct 9, 1757/Jun 8, 1758, 243 days
9	"	Black, John	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 29, 1758, 113 days, discharged
10	"	Bomgardner, Chesley	
11	"	Benfield, Samuel	Oct 9, 1757/May 31, 1758, 234 days, deserted
12	"	Broun, James	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis'✓ Co.
13	"	Barrett, Thomas	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co✓
14	"	Bennet, John, Jun.	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co✓
15	"	Barker, Thomas	June 1, 1758/Nov 8, 1758, 161 days
16	"	Card, Gabriel	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 7, 1757, 60 days, discharged
17	"	Caproon, Richard	Oct 9, 1757/Jun 8, 1758, 243 days
18	"	Crey, William	Oct 9, 1757/May 8, 1758, 212 days
19	"	Coe, William	Oct 9, 1757/May 31, 1758, 235 days, discharged
20	"	Current, Mathew	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 13, 1757, 66 days, discharged
21	"	Current, James	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 29, 1758, 113 days, discharged
22	"	Card, Benson	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 7, 1757, 60 days, discharged
23	"	Carrick, Joseph	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 7, 1758, 181 days, discharged
24	"	Connoly, Philip	Sept 10, 1757/Nov 26, 1757, 67 days, deserted
25	Corporal	Day, John	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 12, 1758, promoted Jan 29, 1758, killed
26	Private	Duncan, John	Oct 9, 1757/Sept 14, 1758, 340 days, killed

Roster of Captain Joshua Beall's Company of Maryland Troops,
Oct 9, 1757 to Dec 30, 1758, 448 days service (Cont'd)

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
27	Private	Dunstill, Charles	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 11, 1758, 396 days
28	"	Duke, Basil	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 7, 1757, 60 days, discharged
29	"	Doyle, John	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 25, 1757, 17 days, discharged
30	"	Davis, David	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' ✓ Co.
31	Corporal	Early, Francis	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 30, 1758, promoted Oct 13, 1758
32	Private	Eatry, Jacob	Oct 9, 1757/Feb 14, 1758, 129 days, discharged
33	"	Evens, William	Jun 1, 1758/Jul 4, 1758, 33 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓ deserted
34	"	Freeman, Aron	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 16, 1758, 373 days, discharged
35	"	Floyd, James	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 7, 1757, 60 days, discharged
36	"	Fielding, John	
37	"	Folkner, John	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 396 days
38	"	Frazier, Peter	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 7, 1757, 60 days, discharged
39	"	Garner, Francis	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 7, 1757, 60 days, discharged
40	"	Graves, James	
41	"	Gelstrap, William	Jun 1, 1758/Jun 16, 1758, 15 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓ di died
42	"	Hardiker, Richard	
43	"	Horner, James	Oct 9, 1757/May 31, 1758, 234, deserted
44	"	Hunter, William	Oct 7, 1757/Dec 7, 1757
45	"	Hays, Charles	
46	"	Hillen, David	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 7, 1757, 60 days, discharged
47	"	Hillen, John	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 29, 1758, 113 days, discharged
48	"	Hamilton, W:m	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 12, 1758, 96 days, discharged
49	"	Hillen, Jacob	Jun 1, 1758/Nov 8, 1758, 161 days, transf/Capt Pearis' ✓ Co.
50	"	Hamilton, James	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' ✓ Co.
51	"	Hamilton, John	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' ✓ Co.
52	"	Jefferson, John	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 13, 1757, 66 days, discharged
53	"	Jordon, William	Sept 20, 1757/May 31, 1758 253 days, deserted
54	"	Kempton, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 1, 1758, 388 days, deserted
55	"	Lyon, James	Oct 9, 1757/Jun 8, 1780, 243 days
56	"	Leason, Samuel	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 7, 1757, 60 days

Roster of Captain Joshua Beall's Company of Maryland Troops,
Oct 9, 1757 to Dec 30, 1758, 448 days service (Cont'd)

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
57	Private	Long, Baker	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 17, 1757, 50 days, discharged
58	"	Labrouse, Benjamin	Oct 9, 1757/Jun 8, 1758, 243 days
59	Cadet	Lucas, Barton	Nov 17, 1757/Nov 9, 1758, promoted to Ensign, Nov 10, 1758
60	Private	Lee, John	Jun 1, 1758/Sept 14, 1758, 105 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓ k killed Sept 14, 1758
61	"	Leego, Charles	Jun 1, 1758/Nov 1, 1758, 153 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓ -d deserted
62	"	McGill, Rowland	
63	"	McLatano, James	
64	"	McKenness, John	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 13, 1758, 97 days, discharged
65	"	Marshall, Thomas	Oct 19, 1757/Oct 10, 1758, 366, deserted
66	"	McDonald, Jonathan	Oct 9, 1757/May 8, 1758, 212 days
67	"	McSwain, George	Oct 14, 1757/Jun 17, 1758, 246 days, killed
68	"	Mass, John Baptist	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓
69	"	May, Edward	Jun 1, 1758/Oct 24, 1758, 145 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓
70	Serjeant	Naylor, Joshua	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓
71	Private	Noyer, Thomas	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓
72	"	Owens, John	
73	"	Puddesen, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/Jun 8, 1758, 243 days
74	"	Powell, John	
75	"	Page, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 18, 1758, 101 days, died Jan 17, 1758
76	"	Person, Thomas	
77	"	Powell, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 29, 1758, 113 days, discharged
78	"	Perkins, William	
79	"	Perkins, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/May 31, 1758, 235 days, discharged
80	"	Pellet, Lewis	Jun 1, 1758/Nov 8, 1758, 161 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓
81	"	Perkins, John	Jun 1, 1758/Nov 8, 1758, 161 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓
82	"	Poulter, Hugh	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓
83	Serjeant	Reynolds, James	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 30, 1758, reduced to private Aug 14, 1758
84	Corporal	Ruffneck, W:m	Oct 9, 1757/May 8, 1758, promoted Jan 9, 1758
85	Private	Ruff, Sabriet	
86	"	Rowles, Thomas	Jun 1, 1758/Sept 14, 1758, 105 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓ k killed Sept 14, 1758
87	"	Stokes, Peter	
88	"	Smith, James	Oct 9, 1757/Jun 28, 1758, 263, discharged
89	"	Spencer, Francis	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 29, 1758, 113 days, discharged
90	"	Smith, William	

Roster of Captain Joshua Beall's Company of Maryland Troops, Oct 9, 1757 to Dec 30, 1758, 448 days service (Cont'd)

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
91	Corporal	Short, Hugh	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 12, 1758, 368 days, killed
92	Private	Smith, Thomas	
93	"	Saddler, William	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 396 days
94	"	Steel, John	
95	"	Saunders, John	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 7, 1758, 60 days, discharged
96	"	Sumner, John	Oct 9, 1757/Jun 8, 1758, 243 days
97	"	Stokes, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 29, 1758, 113 days, discharged
98	"	Slater, Isaac	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 25, 1757, 17 days, discharged
99	"	Smith, Luke Michael	Oct 9, 1757/May 31, 1758, 234 days, deserted
100	"	Suratt, Joseph	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, ✓ transf/Capt Pearis' Co.
101	Corporal	Tucker, James	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 30, 1758, promoted to Serjeant Aug 15, 1758
102	Private	Tucker, Littleton	Oct 9, 1757/Sept 14, 1758, 340 days, killed
✓ 103	"	Teater, Samuel	
104	"	Tucker, John	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 16, 1758, 373 days, discharged
105	"	Tate, James	
106	"	Tyres, John	Jun 1, 1758/Sept 14, 1758, 105 days, transf/Capt Pearis' ✓ k Co., killed
107	Corporal	Willson, John	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 30, 1758, reduced Oct 14, 1757, promoted again Oct 14, 1757
108	"	Wogan, Henry	Oct 14, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 391 days
109	"	Wood, Gabriel	Oct 9, 1757/May 31, 1758, 234 days, deserted
110	Private	William, Joseph	
111	"	Whittington, W:m	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 29, 1757, 52 days, discharged
112	"	Williams Dunbarr	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 29, 1757, 52 days, discharged
113	"	Ward, Samuel	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 7, 1757, 60 days, discharged
114	"	Wattson, Walter	Jun 1, 1758/Sept 14, 1758, 105 days, transf/ Capt Pearis' ✓ k Co., killed
115	"	Watts, Samuel	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' ✓ Co.
116	"	Williams, John	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' ✓ Co.
117	"	Wooldridge, Roger	Jun 1, 1758/Nov 1, 1758, 153 days, transf/Capt Pearis' ✓ d Co., deserted
118	"	Waters, James, Jun.	Jun 1, 1758/Oct 10, 1758, 131 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co. ✓
119	"	Younger, Gilbert	Oct 9, 1757/Sept 14, 1758, k killed

Roster of Captain Francis Ware's Company of Maryland Troops, Oct 9, 1757 to Dec 30, 1758, 448 days service

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
1	Captain	Ware, Francis	
2	1st/Lieut	Stoddart, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/May 31, 1758, resigned
3	2d/Lieut	Summervill, Alex:r	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 396 days, transf/Capt J. Beall's Co.
4	Ensign	Beall, Rezin	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 396 days
5	1st/Lieut	Prather, Thomas	Jun 1, 1758/Oct 12, 1758, transf/Capt A. Beall's Co., killed
6	1st/Lieut	Prather, Henry	Nov 9, 1758/Dec 31, 1758, 52 days, transf/Capt J. Beall's Co.
7	2d/Lieut	Beall, Rezin (2)	Nov 9, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 52 days
1	Private	Arven, William	Oct 9, 1757/Sept 14, 1758, 340 days, killed
2	Serjeant	Barnes, George	Oct 9, 1757/Feb 16, 1758, 131 days, discharged
3	Private	Boswell, Edward	Oct 9, 1757/Jul 2, 1758, 266 days, deserted
4	"	Brightwell, John	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 396 days
5	"	Buckingham, Rich:d	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 8, 1758, 182 days, discharged
6	"	Burnes, Robert	Oct 9, 1757/Sept 3, 1758, 330 days, discharged
7	"	Blake, Philip	
8	"	Bryan, William	
9	"	Bird, Benjamin	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 396 days
10	Serjeant	Cavinaught, W:m	
11	Private	Cole, John	
12	"	Clifft, James	
13	"	Carr, John	Oct 9, 1757/Sept 14, 1758, 340 days, killed
14	"	Cooke, Nathaniel	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 25, 1757, 77 days, deserted
15	"	Crampton, John	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 396 days
16	"	Carmical, Neal	
17	"	Dean, Samuel	
18	"	Dorrett, John	Oct 9, 1757/Feb 16, 1758, 131 days, discharged
19	"	Dugmore, Edw:d	Oct 9, 1757/Sept 14, 1758, 340 days, killed
20	Corporal	Evens, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, promoted Feb 18, 1758, reduced again Sept 2, 1758
21	Private	Eagerton, Gabriel	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 396 days
22	"	Evens, Even	
23	"	Freeman, Benjamin	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 12, 1758, 96 days, killed
24	"	Ford, Edward	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 2, 1758, 175 days, deserted
25	"	Francis, Joseph	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 30, 1758, 423 days, deserted Dec 3, 1757, returned, deserted again Dec 28, 1757
26	"	Freeman, Esias	
27	"	Fahee, Thomas	

Roster of Captain Francis Ware's Company of Maryland Troops,
Oct 9, 1757 to Dec 30, 1758, 448 days service (Cont'd)

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
28	Private	Flannegen, Rich:d	Oct 9, 1757/Jun 14, 1758, 248 days, killed
29	"	Freeman, Nathaniel	wounded Oct 12, 1758
30	"	Farrell, Thomas	
31	"	Fryer, William	Jun 1, 1758/Nov 7, 1758, 396 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co.
32	"	Glebra, John	
33	"	Grey, Gabriel	
34	"	Gasset, John	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 395 days, deserted
35	"	Garret, Richard	
36	Corporal	Henderson, W:m	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 30, 1758, promoted to Serjeant Feb 17, 1758
37	Drummer	Havens, Farwell	
38	Private	Hudson, Jeremiah	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 2, 1757, 24 days, died Nov 2, 1757
39	"	Harwood, John	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 8, 1758, 182 days, discharged
40	"	Hasty, Peter	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 12, 1758, 368 days, killed
41	"	Harriss, Joseph	
42	"	Hill, James	Oct 9, 1757/Sept 14, 1758, 340 days, killed
43	"	Hendley, John	deserted Oct 17, 1758
44	"	Hughes, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 17, 1758, deserted
45	"	Hellen, Thomas	
46	"	Hack, John	
47	"	Harriss, Michael	Jun 1, 1758/Nov 7, 1758, 161 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co.
48	"	Hodgens, Robert	Jun 1, 1758/Nov 8, 1758, 161 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co.
49	Corporal	Jacobs, Samuel	
50	Private	Justice, William	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 20, 1758, 193 days, died
51	"	Jones, John	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 396 days
52	"	Jones, Thomas	
53	"	Jones, William	Jun 4, 1758/Jun 8, 1758, 5 days
54	Corporal	Keech, John	promoted Oct 13, 1758
55	Private	Lofflin, Joseph	
56	"	Linton, James	
57	"	Levar, John	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 24, 1757, died Dec 24, 1757
58	"	Lee, Daniel	Oct 9, 1757/Jan 16, 1758, 100 days
59	Corporal	Musgrove, Benjamin	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 12, 1758, promoted to Serjeant Nov 4, 1757, killed
60	Private	Murphie, William	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 12, 1758, 368 days, killed
61	"	McKenney, John	
62	"	Miller, John	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 18, 1757, 40 days, deserted
63	"	McGinto, John	
64	"	Moseley, Charles	
65	"	Marshall, James	
66	"	Madding, Francis	
67	"	McNiel, James	

Roster of Captain Francis Ware's Company of Maryland Troops,
Oct 9, 1757 to Dec 30, 1758, 448 days service (Cont'd)

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
68	Serjeant	Manery, Sam:l	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 3, 1757, 25 days, died
69	Private	Mills, William	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co.
70	"	Neilson, William	
71	"	Nicholls, Henry	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 6, 1757, 28 days, died
72	"	Norriss, John	
73	"	Night, George	
74	Corporal	Naylor, George	Oct 9, 1757/Dec 30, 1758, promoted Sept 3, 1758
75	Serjeant	Pierce, Peter	
76	Private	Powell, Samuel	Oct 9, 1757/May 31, 1758, 235 days, discharged
77	"	Porter, John	Oct 9, 1757/Jul 2, 1758, 266 days, deserted
78	"	Russell, Thomas	
79	"	Rowles, John	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 396 days
80	"	Russell, John	
81	"	Ramsey, John	Oct 9, 1757/Jun 8, 1758, 243 days
82	"	Rowles, Francis	
83	"	Robert, Isaac	Jun 1, 1758/Dec 30, 1758, 213 days, transf/Capt Pearis' Co.
84	Corporal	Scott, Zachariah	Oct 9, 1737/Dec 30, 1758, promoted to corporal Oct 13, 1758
85	"	Simpson, Thomas	Oct 23, 1757/Dec 30, 1758, promoted to corporal Feb 17, 1758, " " serjeant Oct 13, 1758
86	"	Simpson, John	Oct 9, 1757/Feb 16, 1758, 131, discharged
87	"	Sims, James	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 23, 1757, 14 days, died
88	"	Simpson, James	Oct 9, 1757/Feb 8, 1758, 122 days, died
89	"	Truman, Richard	
90	"	Thompson, Collin	Oct 9, 1757/Jun 4, 1758, 239 days, transf/to Virginians Jun 4, 1758, as a deserter
91	"	Tandy, Richard	
92	"	Thomas, Richard	
93	"	Tucker, Stephen	
94	"	Tomlenson, Rich:d	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 395 days, deserted
95	Corporal	White, John	Oct 9, 1757/Feb 16, 1758, promoted to corporal Nov 4, 1757, discharged
96	Private	Wilkenson, Alex:	
97	"	Williams, Thomas	
98	"	White, Edward	Oct 9, 1757/Jun 8, 1758, 243 days
99	"	Wright, George	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 8, 1758, 396 days

Roster of Captain Richard Pearis' Company of Maryland Troops,
Oct 9, 1757 to May 31, 1758, 235 days service

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
1	Captain	Pearis, Richard	
2	1st/Lieut	McRae, Duncan	
3	2d/Lieut	McArthur, Thomas	
4	Ensign	Skinner, Henry	
1	Private	Anderson, John	
2	"	Benyan, Parslew	
3	"	Brinkley, James	
4	"	Brown, George	
5	"	Brown, James	
6	"	Brown, Richard	
7	"	Bennet, John	
8	"	Barrett, Thomas	
9	"	Barker, Thomas	
10	Corporal	Colmore, Geo:	
11	Private	Craig, Geo:	Oct 24, 1757/May 31, 1758, 220 days
12	"	Colvill, Joseph	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 23, 1757, 45 days, deserted
13	"	Creswell, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/May 8, 1758, 211 days, deserted
14	"	Dennis, John	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 23, 1757, 45 days, deserted
15	"	Davis, Even	
16	"	Davis, David	
17	"	Evens, William	
18	"	Egleston, Abram	
19	"	Fryer, William	
20	"	Freeman, Richard	
21	"	Field, Mathew	
22	"	Fitzpatrick, Thomas	
23	"	Genaler, John	
24	"	Grey, James	
25	"	Godson, James	
26	"	Gelstrap, William	
27	"	Goodwin, Mathew	
28	"	Hamilton, John	
29	"	Hillen, Jacob	
30	"	Hazard, Michael	
31	"	Hobson, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 4, 1758, 177 days, deserted
32	"	Hamilton, James	
33	"	Hill, Silvester	
34	"	Harben, Anthony	
35	"	Howard, Richard	
36	"	Hodgins, Robert	
37	"	Hope, Henry	
38	"	Higgs, John	
39	"	Jones, Nehemiah	
40	Corporal	Johnson, Andrew	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 26, 1757, reduced Nov 18, 1757, deserted
41	Drummer	Jones, Joseph	
42	Private	King, William	
43	"	Love, Aaron	
44	"	Locker, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 4, 1758, 177 days, deserted
45	"	Lego, Charles	
46	"	Lawson, John	
47	"	Lee, John	
48	Serjeant	Monroe, Alex:	
49	Corporal	Moodie, Hugh	
50	Private	Martin, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 25, 1758, died

Roster of Captain Richard Pearis' Company of Maryland Troops,
Oct 9, 1757 to May 31, 1758, 235 days service (Cont'd)

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
51	Private	Mass, John Baptist	
52	"	Mason, William	
53	"	Mills, William	
54	"	Maken, John	
55	"	McCubin, W:m	
56	"	Mason, Edward	
57	"	May, Edward	
58	Serjeant	Naylor, Joshua	
59	Private	Naylor, Benjamin	
60	"	Noyer, Thomas	
61	"	Pettit, Lewis	
62	"	Perkins, John	
63	"	Porter, Hugh	
64	"	Peckerel, Samuel	
65	"	Paulin, Robert	
66	"	Queen, Richard	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 4, 1758, 177 days, deserted
67	"	Reymour, William	
68	"	Robert, Isaac	
69	"	Robinson, Charles	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 4, 1758, 177 days, deserted
70	"	Rowles, Thomas	
71	"	Rally, Isaac	
72	"	Robert, John	
73	"	Reymour, Joseph	
74	"	Rhodes, Thomas	
75	"	Spekernel, Robert	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 22, 1757, 13 days, died
76	"	Stillworth, John	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 4, 1758, 177 days, deserted
77	"	Shaw, Robert	
78	"	Sasser, Benjamin	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 23, 1757, 45 days, deserted
79	"	Suelor, Charles	
80	"	Simpson, Anthony	
81	"	Surratt, Joseph	
82	"	Stephens, Solomon	
83	Corporal	Sapp, Robert	promoted Nov 19, 1758
84	Private	Tycer, John	
85	"	Turney, Charles	
86	Serjeant	Vaughan, W:m	
87	Private	Williams, John	
88	"	Wattson, Walter	
89	"	Willson, Thomas, Jun.	Oct 26, 1757/May 31, 1758
90	"	Waters, James	
91	"	Woolridge, Roger	
92	"	Watts, Samuel	
93	Corporal	Willis, John	

Attest: David Ross

[MHS:375]

POLL FOR FREDERICK COUNTY, Dec 11, 1755, LIST OF VOTERS (Cont'd)

FOR MR. HUGH WEST:
Lemen, Robert
Bethel, William
Oglesby, Alexander
Foster, Peter
Roberts, William, Junr.
Etruk, David
Haddle, John
Huddle, Charles
Beeler, Christopher
Funkhouser, John
Snaff, John
Van meeter, Abraham
Paul, Robert
Glass, Phillip
Edwards, Robert
Sibert, Bernard
Lewis, David
Froman, Paul
Woolfe, Peter
Burn, William
Houghman, Peter
Heth, William
Holman, Daniel
Thornburry, Benjamin
McMacken, Richard
Mason, Thomas
Fulsom, Robert
Fry, Abraham
Moore, William
Melon, David
Smith, Jeremiah
Loyd, Henry
Pemberton, George
Ashby, Robert
Baldwin, William
Ross, George
Chinnouth, William
Hiat, John
Rufner, Peter
Houghman, Christian
Noff, John
Paul, Andrew
Thorburry, Thomas
Evans, Isaac
Jenkins, Aaron
Vance, Samuel
Vance, Andrew
Parrel, Joseph
Sewell, John
Small, John
Russel, William
Ruddle, Isaac
Teague, Edward
Borden, John
Hall, William
Broobaker, Abraham
Littler, Samuel
Miller, John
Baker, Charles
Spurgen, William
Hiat, John, Junr.

FOR MR. HUGH WEST:
Turner, Anthony
Turner, Anthony, Junr.
Keys, Gersham
Gordon, John (Rev'd)
Vestal, John
Pemberton, Isaac
Maney, Robert
Patten, Samuel
Calvin, James
Evans, William
Handshire, Nicholas
Rice, Patrick
Isaacs, Samuel
Hampton, George
Calvin, Joseph
Mendinghall, John
Butler, Thomas
Ballenger, Josiah
Moon, Jacob
Henry, George
Pearson, Samuel
Wood, James (Colonel)
Frost, William
Piper, Harry
Kockenall, Henry
Christman, Jacob
Sillar, George
Vindle, Christopher
Funk, Adam
Stephen, Henry
Gibson, Jacob
Glass, Joseph
Stoner, Ulrick
Briscoe, John
Timbark, John
Lupton, Joseph
Stephens, Peter
Purnal, Jacob
Huddle, George
Milbourn, John
Reece, Jacob
Grabil, Christian
Lonacre, Andrew
Faucet, Richard
Fewgate, Martin
Bodgins, Reynals
Smalthouser, Lewis
Lilbourn, Francis
Dunkam, Joseph
Peters, Otho
Dunkam, Patrick
Grabel, John
Blank, John
Dougherty, William
Stroud, Jeremiah
Thomas, John
Vindle, Valentine
Baker, Michael
Becket, John
Nisewanger, John
Rogers, Owen

POLL FOR FREDERICK COUNTY, Dec 11, 1755, LIST OF VOTERS (Cont'd)

FOR MR. HUGH WEST:
Moore, Henry
Siber, Lewis
Peugh, Jesse
Hurt, William
Porter, William
Fry, Joseph
Withers, Ralph
Grider, Martin
Roberts, Joseph
Wadlington, Thomas
Sniggars, Edward
Dougherty, Jarvice
Funk, Matthias
Baldwin, Francis
Skeen, John
Beeson, Isaac
Lindsey, Thomas
Davis, John
Borden, Joseph
Marr, Christopher
Stockdon, Robert.
Reed, John
Right, David
Reuben Paxton
Babb, Phillip
Morgan, Morgan
Heth, Henry
Dillon, William
Low, Thomas
Cartmell, Nathaniel

FOR COLO: GEO: WASHINGTON:
Burn, James
Princeleer, Nicholas
Hunter, Adam
Moor, Ryley
Rutherford, Robert
Tate, Magnes
Crawford, Valentine
Patchett, Reuben
Stevenson, Richard
McCormick, John
Mathews, Alexander
Bethel, William
McKee, William
Cochran, William
Calmees, William
Calvey, John
Stribling, Tallifereo
Pearis, Robert
Vance, Alexander
Swearengen, Van
Briscoe, Robin
Ashby, Robert
Parkins, Elisha
Wood, James (Colonel)
Lemen, James
Russel, William
Borden, Joseph
Worthington, Robert, Junr.
Heth, Henry

FOR COLO: GEO: WASHINGTON:
Crawford, William
Perry, Thomas
Moore, Henry
Potter, William
Cordry, Edward
Wadlington, Thomas
Brinker, Henry
Sniggars, Edward
Vandle, Augustine
Helm, Meredith
Helm, Thomas

FOR CAPT THOMAS SWEARENGEN:
Parkins, Isaac
Stephens, Lawrence
Hampton, Thomas
White, John
Evans, John
Gaddes, William
Moore, Ryley
Caldwell, Andrew
Jones, John
Jolliff, William
Halfpenny, Robert
Osborn, David
Mercer, Richard
Tate, Magnes
Nealy, William
Crawford, Valentine
Davis, William
Vance, David
Rayborn, Robert
Cartmel, Edward
Matthews, Alexander
Longdon, Joseph
Shearer, John
Vanmeeter, Henry
Doster, Thomas
Horner, Joseph
Stroud, Samuel
Chinnoeth, John
Calvey, John
Parks, Samuel
Pearis, Robert
Hoge, James
Hestant, Henry
Helm, Leonard
McGill, James
Hollingsworth, Zebulon
Babb, Thomas
Shephard, David
Glass, Robert
Vance, Alex:r
Lemen, Nicholas
Swearengen, Van
Cloud, Jeremiah
Blackburn, Samuel
Lyle, Hugh
Blackburn, Benjamin
Dodd, Edward
Cromley, James

1755

Pay Roll for the Detachment of Captain Peter Hog's Company at Fort Dinwiddie, July and August 1762

Signed by Tho:s Bullitt

Weekly Return of the Troop of Light Horse, Maidstone, Oct 21, 1756

Signed by Robert Stewart, John Campbell, Henry Russell

Letter, from Robert Dinwiddie to Colonel George Washington, Williamsburg, Oct 26, 1756

Speech, to the Catawba Indians from George Washington, Oct 28, 1756

Letter, Andrew Lewis, to George Washington, Augusta, Oct 28, 1756

Mentions Captain Pearis, Serjeant McCully

Letter, Captain John McNeill to [George Washington], Staunton, Oct 31, 1756

Mentions Mr. McClanachan, Colonel Stewart, Capt Brackanridge, the Governor [Dinwiddie]

Pay Roll of Captain George Mercer's Company, Oct 1756

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Private	Strain, Will:m	
2	"	Seaton, George	
3	"	Stribling, James	
4	"	Rieves, John	
5	"	Scully, Christopher	
6	"	Fischer, John	
7	"	Nevil, H.	
8	"	McGennit, David	
9	"	Summerwell, Jam:s	
10	"	Orem, Henry	
11	"	Nevil, Tho:s	
12	"	Snipes, Tho:s	
13	"	Willcocks, John	
14	"	Williams, Joseph	
15	"	Simmons, Peter	
16	"	Sutton, Edw:d	
17	"	Barret, Benj:n	
18	"	French, Sam:l	
19	"	Adams, John	
20	"	Nealy, Mathew	
21	"	Kenins, Andrew	
22	"	Pope, Tho:s	
23	"	Thomas, Samuel	
24	"	Lockard, Archebald	
25	"	Panour, Will:m	
26	"	Murry, Duncan	
27	"	Combs, Tho:s	
28	"	Gaile, John	
29	"	Hartley, Tho:s	

Pay Roll of Captain George Mercer's Company, Oct 1756

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
30	Private	Lowry, Jam:s	
31	"	Bedient, Will:m	
32	"	Komp, George	
33	"	Harriss, Will:m	
34	"	Gill, Edward	
35	"	Morris, Joseph	
36	"	Hadgman, John	
37	"	Evens, Edward	
38	"	Brumbly, Will:m	
39	"	Fling, Mathew	
40	"	Brown, Isaac	
41	"	Jones, John	
42	"	Field, George	
43	"	Askins, John	
44	"	Askins, Philip	
45	"	Organ, John	
46	"	Burton, Samuel	
47	"	Grinnan, John	
48	"	Mathews, John	
49	"	Barret, Nath:l	
50	"	McDonald, Angus	
51	"	Coon, James	
52	"	Tate, Larence	
53	"	Handcock, Joseph	
54	"	McCormack, John	
55	"	Bryan, William	
56	"	Blunkall, William	
57	"	Bivens, Daniel	
58	"	Mingees, Daniel	
59	"	Coleston, W:m	
60	"	Lattin, Thomas	

Certificates of Impressment of Mare from James Smith and John Park, Nov 2, 1756 and Apr 29 1756

Signed by Henry Harris and Tho: Swearingen

Letter, Robert Stewart, et al, to [George Washington], Camp at Maidstone, Nov 5, 1756

Mentions Ensign McCarty, Mr. Speake, Signed by Robert Stewart, Christ:r Gist, John Campbell, Henry Russell, W:m Crawford

Letter, Officer of the Virginia Regiment to Colonel George Washington, Nov 12, 1756

Mentions Lieut Colonel [Adam] Stephen, Lord Loudoun, Signed by Will: Peachy, Peter Steenbergen, Austin Brockenbrough, Mord: Buckner, W:m Daingerfield, Ja:s Baker, W:m Bronaugh, H. Woodward, C. Lewis, H. Harrison, Ed:d Hubbard, John Dean, Nath:l Thompson, Griffin Pert, John Lawson, Tho:s Cocke, Tho:s Waggener, Rob:t Spotswood, Robert McKensie, John Lomax, Leon:d Price, Hancock Eustace, George Weedon, Walter Steward, Ja:s Dunncaston, John King, Jethro Somner, Cha:s Smith, Nath:l Milner, John McNeil, John Blagg, John Williams, James Roy, Bryan Fairfax

Council Minutes, Virginia, Nov 15, 1756

Mentions John Blair, William Nelson, Thomas Nelson, Philip Grymes, Peter Randolph, Philip Ludwell, William Byrd, Colonel Washington, Nath:l Walthoe

Return of the Military Stores in Winchester belonging to the Virginia Regiment, Nov 15, 1756

Letter, Governor Robert Dinwiddie to [George Washington], Williamsburg, Nov 16, 1756

Mentions Major Andrew Lewis, Lord Loudoun, Capt Spotswood, Mr. Walker, Mr. Rutherford, Captain Mercer

Letter, John Robinson to [George Washington], Williamsburg, Nov 16, 1756

Mentions Lord Loudoun, Mr. Mercer

Inventory of Indian Goods by Serjeant John Nash, Nov 22, 1756

Pay Roll, Captain Robert Stewart's Company, Nov 1756

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Serjeant	Hughes, W:	
2	"	Broughton, W:	
1	Private	Buchannon, Jam:s	
2	"	Craig, Jn:o	
3	"	Keating, John	
4	"	Sulivent, Timothy	
5	"	Shepperd, Thomas	
6	"	Thomson, Tho:s	
7	"	Burns, John	
8	"	Cornelius, Robert	
9	"	Huff, John	
10	"	Boxer, Sam:l	
11	"	Clancey, George	
12	"	McKay, Finlay	
13	"	Brown, John	
14	"	Tarbegell, John	
15	"	Skelton, John	
16	"	Gallaway, Patrick	
17	"	Cullangan, John	
18	"	Walker, William	
19	"	Speake, Geo:	
20	"	Linn, William	
21	"	Tunstall, Robert	(rec'd by Serjeant Hughes)

Test: John Campbell

Letter, John Carlyle to [George Washington], Alexandria, Dec 2, 1756

Mentions Captain Thompson, S:r John St Clair, Captain Copethon, Captain Mercer, Mr. Kirkpatrick, Mr. McCarty

Letter, Captain Peter Hog to [George Washington], Staunton, Dec 6, 1756

Mentions Lieut Bullet

Minutes of the Virginia Council, Dec 9, 1756

Mentions Colonel Washington, Earl of Loudoun, Colonel Stanwix, Captain Waggoner

Letter, Governor Rob:t Dinwiddie to Colonel Geo: Washington, Williamsburg, Dec 10, 1756

Mentions Jenkins, Captain Mercer, the two Mr. Nelsons, the Speaker, Lord Loudoun, Colonel Washington, Mr. Walker, Mr. Rutherford, Major Lewis, Lieut McNeil, McCarty, Colonel Fairfax

Letter, Governor Rob:t Dinwiddie to Colonel Geo: Washington, Williamsburg, Dec 15, 1756

Mentions Captain Mercer, Messrs Carlyle and Ramsay, Mr. Walker, Mr. Rutherford, McCarty

Letter, from John Robinson to [George Washington], Williamsburg, Dec 17, 1756

Mentions Mr. Ramsey, Mr. Carlyle, Mr. Walker

Stores of the Virginia Regiment, under the command of Colonel George Washington, Dec 19, 1756

An Exact Return of Indian Goods at Fort Cumberland, Dec 24, 1756

Letter, Governor Rob:t Dinwiddie to [George Washington] Williamsburg, Dec 27, 1756

Mentions Jenkins, Captain Mercer, Mr. Walker, Colonel Stephens, Colonel Innes, Capt McNeill, Captain Pearis, Lord Loudoun, Lieut Baker, Lieut Lowry, Colonel Carlyle, Mr. Charles Steuart

Bill from Peter Hog to Virginia Colony, Staunton, Augusta, 29 Dec 1756

Mentions Lieut McNeil, Colonel Washington, Gab:l Jones

Letter, from John Robinson to [George Washington], Dec 31, 1756

Mentions Lord Loudoun, Captain Mercer

Fragment of a Speech to the Catawba Indians from George Washington, Dec 1756

Letter from Horatio Sharpe to Cherokee Indians, [1756]

Mentions Mr. Ross, Mr. Wolstenholme, Mr. Ridout, King George, Captain Beall

Audited Account of Captain Peter Hog, Jan 1757

Signed by And:w Lewis, Mentions Mr. Jones, Colonel Washington, Lieut Bullet, Ensign Fleming, Dan:l Connah

A Return of the Strength and Disposition of the Virginia Regiment, commanded by Geo: Washington, Jan 1, 1757

Companies returned: Colonel Geo: Washington (Fort Loudoun), Lieut Colonel Adam Stephen (Fort Cumberland), Captain Hog (Fort Dinwiddie), Captain Mercer (Fort Loudoun), Capt Waggener (Fort Pleasant, South Branch), Captain Stewart (Maidstone), Captain Cocke (Fort Cumberland), Captain Bronaugh (Fort Cumberland), Captain Josha Lewis (Fort Cumberland), Captain Woodward (Fort Cumberland), Captain Spotswood (Fort Stephen), Captain Cha:s Lewis (Fort Cumberland), Capt Peachy (Fort Cumberland), Capt Bell (Fort Washington), Captain McKenzie (Pearsall's), Captain Harrison (Fort Cumberland), Captain Gist (Maidstone) Mentions Major Andrew Lewis (in Augusta), Captain Stewart (Williamsburg), Captain Charles Lewis (Fredericksburg), Captain Spotswood (detailed to Indians), Lieut Williams (Richmond), Lieut Lowry (resigned), Lieut Baker (on detail), Lieut Fairfax (resigned)

A Return of the Sundry Working Tools at Fort Cumberland, Jan 6, 1751, by John Nash, Qtr-Mstr-Serjeant

Letter, from John Stanwix to [George Washington], Lancaster, Jan 13, 1757

Mentions Captain Stewart

Letter, from Alexander Lunan to [George Washington], Philadelphia, 14 Jan 1757

Mentions Colonel John Carlyle, John Spore, Mr. Carlyle

Bill from John Blagg to George Washington, Jan 15, 1757

A Return of Provisions at Fort Cumberland, Belonging to the Virginia Regiment, by David Kennedy, Asst Commissary, Jan 16, 1757

Letter from Colonel John Carlyle to [George Washington], Alexandria, Jan 22, 1757

Mentions Captain Mercer, John Washington, Mr. Bowden, Captain John Johnston, Capt Josh: Lewis

Letter from Colonel William Fairfax to [George Washington], Belvoir, 22 Jan 1757

Mentions Bryan Fairfax, Miss T-ville, Lord Loudoun, Captain John Clarke, Colonel Carlyle, D. of Newc____, Lord An___, Mr. Kirkpatrick, G. Fairfax, Captain Robert Lee, Mr. Commissary Walker, Denis McCarty, Tho:s Campbell, Colonel P:h Lee, Mrs. Fairfax, Miss Hannah

Letter, from Governor Robert Dinwiddie to [George Washington], Jan 26, 1757

Mentions Mr. Walker, Mr. Rutherfurd, Captain McNeill, Mr. Mercer, Jenkins, Captain Pearis, Major Lewis

Indian Goods, John Nash, Jan 1757

Next day

Expense Account, Captain Peter Hog, [Jan 1757]

Letter, Governor Robert Dinwiddie to [George Washington], Williamsburg, Feb 2, 1757

Receipt of Mr. William Fleming for Captain Peter Hog's Accounts, fr Thomas Walker, Feb 6, 1757

Letter from Fielding Lewis to [George Washington], Feb 7, 1757

Mentions Mr. Buchanan, Mrs. Buckner's carpenter, Lieut Williams

Letter from Captain Robert McKenzie to [George Washington], Pearsalls, Feb 18, 1757

Letter from Thomas Bullitt to [George Washington], Feb 19, 1757

Mentions Serjeant Wilper, Morgan, Capt McNeal, Capt Hog

Monthly Return of the Virginia Regiment of Foot, Commanded by Geo: Washington, Cumberland Fort, Feb 28, 1757

Companies returned: Colonel Geo: Washington, Lieut Colonel Adam Stephen, Major Andrew Lewis, Captain Hogg, Captain Mercer, Captain Waggoner, Captain Stewart, Captain Cocke, Captain Bronaugh, Captain Jos: Lewis, Captain Woodward, Captain Spotswood, Captain Charles Lewis, Captain Peachy, Captain Bell, Captain McKenzie, Captain Harrison, Captain Gist; officers on command: Major Andrew Lewis, Captain Stewart, Captain Spotswood, Captain Bell, Lieut Blagg, Lieut Stewart, Lieut Buckner, Lieut King, Lieut Brokenbrough, Lieut Williams, Lieut Baker, Ens Smith, Ens Millner, Ens Price

Poll taken in Frederick County, Jul 24, 1758
[Alphabetical List] (Cont'd)

Colonel F. B. Martin:
Catlet, Ja:s
Conrad, Fred:k
Combs, Jo:s
Chambers, W:m
Carter, Ja:s
Chaplin, W:m
Caton, Tho:s
Colston, Tho:s
Cromley, James
Calmer, W:m
Dick, Ch:s
Dyer, Jn:o
Dedrick
Dow, Jn:o
Duncan, Pat:k
Duckworth, W:m
Evans, W:m
Edwards, Jos:h, Jun.
Ewings, W:m
Easton, Henry
Ellis, Tho:s
Fairfax, Thomas Lord
Frouman, Paul
Foley, Rich:d
Fry, Ab:m
Fry, Jacob
Fry, Joseph
Fry, Benj:n
Funk, Henry
Funk, Martin
Fossett, Joseph
Fry, Sam:l
Funk, Jos:
Funkhauser, Jn:o
Fosset, Rich:d
Funk, Matthias
Farrer, George
Fairfax, G: W:m (Colonel)
Fossett, Jn:o
Funk, Jn:o (Captain)
Fife, John
Funk, Martin
Glass, David
Grinnan, James
Glover, W:m
Glass, Jos:h
Grinnan, Jn:o
Grable, Char:n
Glass, Philip
Griffith, Edw:d
Gibson, Jacob
Hunter, Adam
Hampton, Noah
Harbinger, Jn:o
Hoge, Jn:o (Reverend)
Hardin, George
Housman, Jn:o
Henry, George
Huddle, George
Hope, Jn:o
Jordan, Peter

Johnston, Rob:t (Gentleman)
Jones, Gab:l (Gentleman)
Keller, George
Knight, James
Lewis, Field:g, Esq.
Lemon, Tho:s
Longacre, And:w
Langdon, Jos:
Lockmiller, Geo:
Laren, Isaac
Lemon, Jn:o
Leith, Jn:o
Lemon, Nich:s
Loyd, Henry
Lindsey, Jn:o
Meldrum, W:m (Reverend)
Marney, Rob:t
McDowell, Jo:s
McCoy, Rob:t
Maddin, Jn:o
McCarmick, Jn:o
Moore, Hen: (Gentleman)
McCarty, Darby
Miller, W:m
Murphey, Darby
McDaniel, Pat:k
Moore, Lewis
Mercer, Rich:d
Madden, Mayberry
Morgan, M. (Colonel)
Morgan, Rich:d
Miller, Jacob
Mercer, Edw:d, Jun.
Nevil, Geo:
Nisenanger, Jn:o
Oole, Sam:l
Ogleby, Alex:r
Princeller, Rich:d
Poker, Mich:l
Pence, Law:e
Postgate, Tho:s
Perry, Peter
Poker, Phil
Perry, Tho:s
Painter, Jn:o
Pearis, Rob:t — bro. (5
Pugh, Tho:s
Pritchard, Sam:l
Russell, W:m
Road, Jn:o
Rutherford, _____ (Captain)
Riddell, Isaac
Roberts, W:m, Jun.
Roberts, Jos:
Rogers, Edward
Ruddell, Cor:s
Smith, Jn:o
Stephens, Peter
Snap, Jn:o
Snap, Jn:o, Jun.
Stover, Dan:l

Poll taken in Frederick County, Jul 24, 1758
[Alphabetical List] (Cont'd)

Colonel F. B. Martin:
Stephens, Henry
Strickler, Jacob
Strickler, Benj:n
Smalsolfer, Law:ce
Stoner, Ulrich
Strickley, Jn:o
Strickler, Jos:
Stephens, Lewis
Stover, Jacob
Stephenson, Rich:d
Snickers, Edw:d
Snapp, Law:ce
Shade, Geo:
Stephens, Law:ce
Sharp, Tho:s
Smith, Jere:h
Stover, Peter
Stevenson, W:m
Scene, Jn:o
Thomas, Jn:o
Thomas, Ellis
Taylor, Harrison
Tharp, Zebulan
Taylor, Simon
Vance, Ja:s
Vance, Sam:l
Vance, And:w
Vance, Jn:o
Vanfagan, Jn:o Fred:k
Vance, David
Vance, Jos:
Vance, W:m
Woolf, Peter
White, Isaac
Whitzel, Geo:
Wilson, Rob:t
Wright, Geo:
Wright, Jacob
Wright, David
Wendall, Chr:r
Wendall, Aug:e
Wilson, James
Wilson, Rob:t, Jun.
Wilson, Tho:s
Wendall, Vall:
Waters, Tho:s
Withers, Ralph
Wright, Jn:o
Wilson, W:m
Worth, Rob:t
Young, Jn:o

Total 239

Mr. Hugh West:
Armstrong, Jn:o
Arnold, John
Anderson, John
Beiler, Christopher
Ballenger, James
Babb, Thomas
Babb, Philip
Baldwin, William
Burden, Joseph
Blair, James
Barret, James
Barret, W:m
Babb, Thomas
Bruce, George
Bowen, Henry
Babb, Tho:s, Jun.
Babb, Peter
Babb, Joseph
Barret, Jacob
Baker, Joshua
Burk, Tobias
Bentley, John
Bowman, Geo:
Baldwin, Sam:l
Blackburn, Benj:n
Becket, Jn:o
Buck, Ch:rs
Ballenger, Josiah
Buckles, Rob:t
Calvin, And:w
Cromley, W:m
Cunningham, Rob:t
Cromley, Jn:o
Calvin, Jos:
Carney, Tho:s
Crawford, Valentine
Colston, Jn:o
Chinoweth, Jn:o
Coil, W:m
Cartmell, Ja:s, Jun.
Carrel, W:m
Cartmell, Nath:l
Carter, Ja:s
Chaplin, W:m
Caton, Tho:s
Colston, Tho:s
Cromley, James
Calmes, W:m
Cordery, Tho:s
Dodd, Edward
Doster, Tho:s
Duckworth, W:m
Eeuston, Henry
Ellis, Tho:s
Frost, Will:m
Foster, Isaac
Fife, Jn:o
Funk, Martin
Gaddis, W:m
Glass, Rob:t
Griffith, Edw:d

Poll taken in Frederick County, Jul 24, 1758
[Alphabetical List] (Cont'd)

Mr. Hugh West:
Jacob Gibson
Hoge, James, Jun.
Heth, Henry
Hanshan, Nich:s
Hart, Tho:s
Harper, Rob:t
Handley, Murtle
Harrom, Jn:o
Hite, Jacob
Hotzenbell, Stephen
Humbert, Godfrey
Hampton, Tho:s
Hoge, James
Helms, Tho:s
Helms, W:m
Highland, Richard
Hampton, George
Hyat, Simeon
Hornet, Joseph
Hedge, Jonus
House, Jn:o
Johnston, Dan:l
Johnston, Stephen
Jones, Jos:h
Jones, Jn:o
Jolliffe, W:m, Jun.
Isaacs, Sam:l
Keywood, Jn:o
Lupton, Joseph
Lupton, William
Littler, Sam:l
Louenger, G. M.
Lilburn, Fran:s
Lemon, Rob:t
Lemon, Jn:o
Leith, Jn:o
Lemon, Nich:
Loyd, Henry
Lindsay, Jn:o
Lindsay, James
Loudon, Tho:s
Lindsay, Edmond
Morgan, David
McMahan, W:m
McMahan, Rich:d
Milburn, Jn:o
McGill, Ja:s
Morgan, Jacob
Madden, Laugh:n
McCarmick, Jos:
McCarmick, Ja:s
Milburn, Rob:t
Monger, W:m
Mason, Tho:s
Mercer, Rich:d
Maddin, May:
Morgan, M. (Colonel)
Morgan, Rich:d
Miller, Jacob
Mercer, Edward, Jun.
Mendenhall, Jn:o
Morgan, Morgan, Jun.
Moon, Jacob
Nisenanger, Jn:o
Perkins, Isaac
Perkins, Cha:s
Pickering, W:m
Pearson, Sam:l
Pugh, Job
Pugh, Jesse
Pemberton, Jos:
Parrell, ______
Parrell, Jn:o
Pugh, Azariah
Perkins, Jon:
Pearis, Rob:t
Pugh, Tho:s
Pritehard, Sam:l
Pemberton, George
Reece, Tho:s
Reece, Jacob
Rinker, Henry
Ross, Geo:
Rice, Patrick
Rice, Ed:wd
Rice, Geo:
Reynalds, W:m
Reece, Henry
Reid, Jn:o
Rubble, Ulrich
Roberts, Jos:
Rogers, Ed:wd
Smith, Cha:s (Lieutenant)
Schrack, Nich:s
Stewart, Rob:t
Sowers, Jacob
Sebert, Jacob
Shepherd, David
Small, Jn:o
Shepherd, Tho:s
Springer, Dennis
Stewart, Rob:t
Stephens, Dan:l
Speake, Tho:s
Stephens, Law:ce
Sharp, Tho:s
Smith, Jerem:h
Stover, Peter
Stevenson, W:m
Scene, Jn:o
Stroud, Jn:o
Thompson, Jos:
Thomas, Evan
Taylor, Sam:l
Turner, Auth:
Turner, Anth:y, Jun.
Thomas, Ed:wd
Tharp, Zebulan
Taylor, Simon
Thomas, Owen
Taylor, Jn:o
Tate, Magnus

Poll taken in Frederick County, Jul 24, 1758
[Alphabetical List] (Cont'd)

Mr. Hugh West:
Vestal, Jn:o
Vanmeter, Jacob
Vanmeter, Henry
Vance, David
Vance, Jos:
Vance, W:m
Wood, Jas: (Colonel)
Woodrow, Alex:r
Wright, Jas:
Wilkinson, Jos:
Worthington, Rob:t
Wilson, Jn:o
White, W:m
Warth, Rob:t
Total 199

Captain Thomas Swearington:
Anderson, John
Burden, Jn:o
Ballinger, Josiah
Buckler, Rob:t
Cordery, Tho:s
Evans, Isaac
Glenn, John
Halpenny, Rob:t
Haines, Rob:t
Hampton, George
Hyatt, Simeon
Horner, Jos:
Hedge, Jonus
House, Jn:o
Jenkins, Aaron
Isaacs, Sam:l
Keywood, Jn:o
Lucas, Edward
Lindsay, James
Loudon, Tho:s
Lindsay, Ed:wd
McGee, W:m
Miller, David
Mendenhall, Jn:o
Morgan, M. Jun.
Moon, Jacob
Ogleby, Alex:r
Patterson, W:m
Paul, Geo:
Pearson, Sam:l
Pugh, Job:
Painter, Jn:o
Pemberton, Geo:
Snodgrass, David
Snodgrass, Jn:o
Seaman, Jon:n
Sewell, Jn:o
Stroud, Jn:o
Thomas, Owen
Taylor, Jn:o
Tate, Magnus
Vance, Alex:r
Vanmeter, Jn:o
Vanmeter, Ab:m
Wilson, W:m
Total 45

Poll taken at the Election of Burgesses, Frederick County, May 18, 1761

COLONEL GEO: WASHINGTON:
Washington, John
Washington, Sam:l
Ross, George
Hite, Isaac
Mercer, James
Wood, James
Lewis, Fielding
Hedge, Jona:n
Rutherford, Benj:n
Pierce, John
Fletcher, Peter
Davis, William
Fletcher, Rich:d
Wilson, Robert
Snap, John
Hope, John
Miller, John
Glass, Phillip
Swearingen, Tho:s
Hogeland, Rich:d
Tate, Magnes
Snap, John, Jun:r
Boshier, Joseph
Miller, Jacob
Moyer, Henry
Pugh, Thomas
Madden, Mayberry
Craik, James
Ender, Earnest
Maurer, Geo:
Davis, Edward
Syber, Barnard
Washington, Charles
Branson, Tho:s
Fryer, Alex:r
Baker, Nich:s
Pearce, Lewis Pearis Son?
White, Will:m, Jun:r
Rankins, Hugh
Hood, Tunis
Barrat, Benj:n
Roberts, Owen
Russell, William
Harrison, Burr
Langdon, Joseph
Rutherford, Tho:s
Hoge, George, Jun.
Hobson, William
White, Joseph
Fife, John
Langdon, Jonath:n
Woolf, Mich:l
Fry, Benj:n
Fry, Samuel
Deviney, George
Moore, Reuben
Woolf, Jacob
Pemberton, Geo:
Loyd, James
Keaner, Ulrich
Strode, Jeremiah

Horner, Joseph
Littler, John
Sterly, Jacob
Robinson, Edward
Beller, Jacob
Magill, James
Laren, Isaac
Isaacs, Elisha
Ballenger, Josiah
Stevenson, Rich:d
Glass, David
Merchant, William
Wilson, James
Wright, Jacob
Haines, Hugh
Reece, David
McDowel, Joseph
Edwards, Jos:, Jun.
Thomas, Edward
McKenny, George
Hampton, Thomas
Baldwin, Leonard
Poker, Mich:l
Hanger, Peter
Cristman, Jacob
Smith, John
Philips, Will:m
Thompson, Joseph
Osbourne, David
Rankin, Will:m
Abril, John
Berry, Thomas
Rankin, David
Littleton, Charles
Hogg, Will:m
Colson, John
Hill, Joseph
Ogleby, Alex:r
Shirley, Walter
Miller, Jacob, ye elder
Hampton, George
Bruce, George
Pitman, Anthony
Allan, Thomas
Shiebly, Fred:k
Taylor, John
Barber, James
Baker, Henry
Winkfield, Owen
Shoemaker, George
Clark, William
Chester, Thomas
Rogers, William
Ackline, Sam:l
Hockman, Christ:r
Glenn, James
Hardin, George
Fosset, Rich:d
Glenn, John
Daste, Abra:
Cocknover, Jacob

Poll taken at the Election of Burgesses, Frederick County, May 18, 1761 (Cont'd)

1761

COLONEL GEO: WASHINGTON
Park, John
Fonkhouser, Jn:o
Trable, Henry
Seller, George
Newal, Sam:l
Pennywit, John
Snodgrass, Jn:o
Plank, John
Bull, Rob:t
Perry, Tho:s
Fry, Abra:
Bailey, Sam:l
Evans, Isaac
Grable, John
Bowman, Jacob
Lupton, John
Sawyer, Jam:s
McClellan, Isaac
Martin, Tho: Bry:n
Ruble, Peter
Wright, Tho:s
Hoge, Rev:d Jn:o
Rice, Edmund
Ruble, David
Pearis, Rich:d
Dodd, Edward
McCarty, Darby
Brounfield, Charles
Handley, Sichman
Keller, George
Pugh, Job
Swangen, Vern
Linder, Law:ce
Lowe, Tho:s
Babb, Joseph
Follis, George
Hite, John
Bowman, Jacob, ye elder
Ogle, George
Parrel, John
Fonkhauser, Jacob
Baldwin, Reynold
Seltzer, Matth:w
Easter, Henry
Kennedy, Tho:s
Holler, Peter
Ruddle, Cornelius
Thomas, John
Pike, Henry
Hiat, William
Longacre, Andrew
Chinoweth, John
Houghacker, Geo:
Windle, Christ:r
Black, Martin
Beeler, Fred:k
Henry, George
Evans, John
Paxson, Reuben
Parrel, Joseph
Conrade, Henry

Harwich, Nich:s
Ramey, Will:m
Vanmetre, Henry
Jenkins, George
Newman, Walter
Rice, Patrick
Vanmetre, Jacob
Few, Paulso
Wilson, John
McKey, Will:m
Vantreas, Jacob
Piper, Nich:s
Weaver, George
Trinkle, Stephen
Eagle, Levolt
Denton, Abra:
Sample, Sam:l
Stroupe, Will:m
Giger, Jacob
Allan, John
Crawford, Walt:
Glass, Robert
Vance, Andrew
Vance, Sam:l
Jordan, Peter
Allan, Jackson
McIntire, Nich:
Ballenger, Jam:s
Anderson, John
Wilson, Rob:t, Jun.
Thomas, Owen
Wilson, Rob:t
Boye, Emanuel
Handshaw, Nich:s
Brown, John
March, Mich:l
Stephens, Lewis
Brubecker, Abra:
Blackburn, Benj:n
Ruddle, George
Vance, Sam:l
Poker, Geo:
Tharp, Zebulon
Reece, Morrice
Linder, Geo:
Hedge, Joshua
Bridger, John
Lupton, Joseph
Dougherty, Jarvis
Dougherty, Will:m
Leman, Robert
Wright, Will:m
Thornberry, Benj:n
Hollingsworth, Geo:
Lyle, Hugh
Worthington, Rob:t
Crawford, Will:m
McCormack, Jam:s
Knight, Jam:
Newkirk, Barnard
Coil, William

Poll taken at the Election of Burgesses, Frederick County, May 18, 1761 (Cont'd)

COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN:
Bull, Rob:t
Funk, John
Funk, Joseph
Evans, Isaac
Lupton, Jn:o
Martin, Tho:s Bry:
Rowler, Mar:
Hoge, Rev:d Jn:o
Pearis, Rich:d
Dodd, Edward
McCarty, Darby
Hart, Stephen
Watson, John
Kellar, Geo:
Shearer, John
Elphinston, Phil:
Carson, Simon
Ross, Alex:r
Lewis, David
Seltzer, Matt:
Kennady, Tho:s
Holler, Peter
Ruddle, Corn:s
Heat, Will:m
Mercersmith, Hen:
Chenoweth, John
Stephens, Law:ce
McDonald, Alex:r
Black, Martin
Heth, Henry
Nealy, John
Henry, Geo:
Evans, John
Paxson, Reuben
Croomley, W:m, Jun.
Passan, Tebalt
Conrade, Hen:
Newman, Walter
Vanmetre, Jacob
Babb, Mercer
Wilson, John
McKey, Will:m
Stephens, Henry
Denton, Abra:
Sample, Sam:l
Stroupe, W:m
Allan, John
Crawford, Val:
Woolfe, Peter
Glass, Rob:t
Vance, And:w
Stephens, Peter
Vance, Sam:l
Jordon, Peter
McEntire, Nich:
Wilson, Rob:t, Jun.
Thomas, Owen
Stephens, Lewis
Brubecker, Abra:
Blackburn, Benj:
Hinson, William

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Ruddle, Geo:
Blackburn, Sam:l
Vance, Sam:l
Tharp, Zeb:n
Reece, Mor:h
Linder, George
Lupton, Joseph
Moore, James
Dougherty, Jarvis
Dougherty, Will:m
Taylor, Abra:
Lemon, Rob:t
Wright, Will:m
Thornberry, Benj:
Hollingsworth, Geo:
Lyle, Hugh
Worthington, Rob:t
Crawford, Will:m
McCarmack, Jam:
Knight, James
Seamon, Jonas
Allan, David
Coil, Will:m
Calvert, Rich:d
Patterson, Will:m
Wright, Geo:
Barber, Rich:d
Stroud, John
Vance, David
Vanmetre, John
Stroud, Jam:s
Morris, Jam:
Beason, Edw:d
Handly, Murty
Wilson, Tho:s
Evans, Will:m
Strickler, Jacob
Strickler, Jos:
Rhodes, Jn:o
Wilson, Edw:d
Burner, Jacob
Miller, David
Brown, Jam:s
Thomas, Enos
Lucas, Rob:t
White, Will:m
McMachen, Will:m
Oranamus, Conrad
Thomas, Jn:o
Borwn, Sam:l
Campbell, Doug:s
Rush, Will:m
Snodgrass, John
Foster, Will:m
Teawood, John
Lucas, Edw:d
Briscoe, John
Ruddle, Arch:d
Vance, John
Crider, Martin
Wright, David

Poll taken at the Election of Burgesses, Frederick County, May 18, 1761 (Cont'd)

COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN:
Shull, Peter
Newman, Sam:l
Newman, Sam:l, Jun.
Logey, Tho:s
Linder, Simon
Carlet, John
McCarmack, John
Glass, Joseph
Bays, Hugh
Vance, William
Snodgrass, Dav:d
Blackburn, And:w
Vance, Jam:
Cromley, Jn:o
Read, Edw:d
Mercer, Edw:d
Griffith, Jn:o
Paul, Rob:t
Smith, Dan:l
Baker, Joshua
Bradford, Char:
Gaddes, Will:m
Barns, Char:
Vance, Sam:l
Taylor, Tho:s
White, Isaac
Prince, John
Brooks, David
Hogdon, Rob:t
Becket, John
Hoff, Law:ce
Stricker, Moses
Halfpenny, Rob:t
Loyd, Henry
Martin, Tho:s
Findley, Jam:
Worthington, Sam:l
McNeal, Arch:d
Reece, Jacob
Dunkin, Matt:w
Bole, James
Greenfield, Jn:o
Long, Will:m
Grogan, Tho:
Roberts, W:m
Shephard, Tho:s
Lupton, W:m
Cuningham, Rob:t
Holladay, Jam:s
Lilburn, Fran:
Reynolds, W:m
Mercer, Moses
Alford, Will:m
Bruce, Jam:
Funk, Martin
Cochran, Will:m
Bordon, John
Nicholas, Geo:
White, Rob:t
Chambers, Will:m
Walton, Moses

Miles, Geo:
Beeler, Jos:
Glenn, Will:m
Leman, John
Carter, Tho:s
Shirley, Jarvis
Taylor, Harrison
Reece, Tho:s, Jun.
Painter, John
Reece, Tho:s
Ewing, Will:m
Jones, Will:m
Wilson, Jn:o
McMachen, Rich:d
Denton, Jn:o, Captain
Butler, Tho:s
Carr, Nath:l
Reynolds, Jos:
Corder, Edw:d
Lockmiller, Geo:
Harden, John
Blair, James
Pearson, Sam:l
Smith, Jere:
Ridgway, Josiah
Vestal, John
Earnest, Henry
Davidson, Walter
Chester, David
Grinnan, Jam:
Wright, John
Mercer, Edw:d, Jun.
Hiat, George
Morgan, Morg:n, Colonel
Reece, Hen.
Allan, Robert
Morgan, David
Fosset, Jos:
Carney, Tho:s
Bruin, Bryan
Murphey, Darby
Cooper, Leo:
Earle, Sam:l
Sowers, Jacob
Dedrick, David
Glover, Will:m
Taylor, Simon
Buck, Charles
Morgan, Zach:y
Troutwine, Geo: Jac:
Aldrige, Rob:t

FOR ROBERT RUTHERFORD:
Lambert, Moses

FOR COLONEL JOHN HITE:
James Hoge, Junr.

FOR HEN: BRINKER:
Everhart Daring

Then the Court Martial Adjourned until tomorrow Morning 8 o Clock
Fairfax

At Court Martial held for Frederick County on Wednesday the 3rd day of September 1755 -

Present

The Right Hon.ble The Lord Fairfax - County Lieutenant
George William Fairfax - Colonel
Thomas Bryan Martin - Lieutenant Colonel

Captains:
John Hardin
William Vance
William Bethel
Cornelious Ruddell
John Funk jun.
Samuel Odell

On the Motion of Richard Marly a foot Soldier in the Company Commanded by Capt. Cornelious Ruddell - Ordered that he be Discharged from doing duty ...

On the Motion of Jacob Gimblet a foot Soldier in the Company Commanded by Capt. William Bethel - Ordered that he be Discharged from doing Duty ...

Captain Isaac Parkin is appointed Treasurer of the Court Martial

Ordered that the Clerk Deliver the Levis to the Sheriff in order to Collect according to Law and pay the same to the Treasurer & that the Treasurer account for the same at the next Court Martial ...

Ordered that the Treasurer pay to the Clerk of the Court Martial the sum of Five pounds out of the said Fines as his Sallary ...

Ordered that the Clerk provide proper Record Book & that the Treasurer pay the said Clerk for same out of the Fines ...
Fairfax

The 11th April 1756
Present
The Right Hon.ble the Lord Fairfax - County Lieutenant
John Hite - Major

Captains
John Lindsey
Richard Morgan
Edward Rodgers
Thomas Caton
Isaac Parkin
Samuel Odell
Jeremiah Smith
Paul Long

Proposals having been sent to the several Captains of the Militia signed by the Commanding Officer of the said Militia & dated 7th April 1756 ...
... and the said Captains finding the Number of Men insufficient to go out against the Enemy ... its Confident that the Men be Discharged being only Fifteen.

At a Court Martial held for Frederick County on Fryday the 27th October 1758 ... 1758

Present
The Right Hon.ble Lord Fairfax - County Lieut.
Thomas Bryan Martin - Lieut. Colonel
John Hite - Lieut. Colonel
William Vance - Gentleman Major

1756

Captains
John Funk
John Hardin
Thomas Speak
Henry Spears
Isaac Parkins
Robert Pearis
Thomas Swearingen Jun.
Marquis Calemus

Ordered that Robert Rutherford be appointed Clerk of the Court Martial and took the oath proscribed by Law ...

Ordered that Henry Hains of the Company Commanded by Capt. Marquis Calemus be fined Forty Shillings for absenting himself from Three private & one general Musters within twelve months last past ...

Ordered that George Rought of the Company Commanded by Capt. Marquis Calemus be fined Forty Shillings for absenting himself from Three Private and one General Musters within twelve months last past ...

Ordered that Dennis Bow of the Company Commanded by Capt. Marquis Calemus be fined Twenty Shillings for absenting himself from Two private Musters within twelve months last past ...

Ordered that David Lindsey of the Company Commanded by Capt. Marquis Calemus be fined Thirty Shillings for absenting himself from Two private and one General Musters within twelve months last past ...

Similar entries on other Pages re Robt. P's Co

Ordered that Richard Sturman of Capt. Robert Pearis's Company is fined three Shillings for appearing at the last General Muster without a Gun ...

Ordered that David Forbes of Capt. Robert Pearis Company on motion of the sd Capt. be discharged of further Duty at Muster ...

Ordered that William Cockron of Capt. John Greenfields Company on his Motion be discharged of further Duty at Musters ...

Ordered that John Collins of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined Ten Shillings for absenting two private Musters within Twelve months last past ...

Ordered that Phillip Buck of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined Twenty Shillings for absenting two private Musters within twelve months last past ...

Ordered that Joshua Baker of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined Ten Shillings for absenting one private Muster within twelve months last past ...

Ordered that Benjamin Grubb of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined for appearing at one private and for absenting one private and one General Musters within Twelve months last past ... (?)

Ordered that George Martin of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined Ten Shillings for absenting one private Muster within twelve months last past ...

Ordered that Daniel Bush of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined Twenty Shillings for absenting two private Musters within twelve months last past ...

Ordered that Jacob Castleman of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined Ten Shillings for absenting one private Muster within Twelve months last past ...

Ordered that Peter Foreman of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined Twenty Shillings for absenting two private Musters within Twelve months last past.

Ordered that John Quirk of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined Ten Shillings for absenting one private Muster within Twelve months last past ...

Ordered that David Reece of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined Ten Shillings for absenting one private Muster within Twelve months last past ...

Ordered that John McKenne of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined Ten Shillings for absenting one private Muster within Twelve months last past ...

Ordered that Andrew Fridley of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined Ten

Shillings for absented one Private Muster within Twelve months last past ...

Ordered that John Hooper of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined Ten Shillings for absenting one private Muster within Twelve months last past ...

Ordered that Christopher Aldred of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined Ten Shillings for absenting one private Muster within Twelve months last past ...

Ordered that Michael Aldred of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined Ten Shillings for absenting one private Muster within twelve months last past ...

Ordered that John Skelding of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined Ten Shillings for absenting one private Muster within Twelve months last past ...

Ordered that Robert Cragan of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined Ten Shillings for absenting one private Muster within Twelve months last past ...

Ordered that William Laughery of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined Ten Shillings for absenting one private Muster within Twelve months last past ...

Ordered that Patrick Cunningham of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined Ten Shillings for absenting one private Muster within Twelve months last past ...

Ordered that Samuel Maryfield of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined Ten Shillings for absenting one private Muster within Twelve months last past ...

Ordered that John Humphreys of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined Ten Shillings for absenting himself one Private Muster within Twelve months last past ...

Ordered that John Nash of Capt. John Greenfields Company be discharged of further Duty at Musters ...

Ordered that David Primpain of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined Ten Shillings for absenting one private Muster within twelve months last past ...

Ordered that Phillip Babb of Capt. John Greenfields Company on his Motion be discharged of further duty at Musters ...

Ordered that Godfrey Humbart of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined Ten Shillings for absenting one private Muster within Twelve months last past ...

Ordered that Leonard Extine of Capt. John Greenfields Company is fined Ten Shillings for absenting one private Muster within Twelve months last past ...

PEARIS FAMILY

SHOULD SUBMIT TO BE ROBBED BY A FEW In

Cpt John Dagworthy Co. Md Troops 9 Oct 1757 – 16 Apr 1759 365 days Most men deserted unless killed or taken.

Pvt ~~Anderson~~ John Andrews – to 8 Dec 1758 – to Cap Pearis – deserted
Richard Brown to 27 Dec " "
Owen Davis 9 Dec " "
Mathew Fell 28 Dec " "
Richard Freeman 28 Dec " "
James Gobson 58 days to 28 July – to RP – deserted / disch
Mathew Goodwin 2 Jan 1759 " "
14 Dec 1 May 1758 – 14 Jan trans to RP – disch
Wm Mason discharged
John Maken to 24 Apr 1759 – trans RP deserted
Robt Paulen 22 Jan 1759 " "
Wm Rayman 16 Apr 1759
Chas Turney 16 Apr 1759 " "
Thos Willson " " "
John Willis 24 Dec 1758 " "
John Williams 22 Jan 1759 " "

Abram Eglestone – to 8/14/58 to RP + Killed Sandy should submit to be robbed by a few Indians." He sends his thanks to a certain Chickasaw warrior for "resenting the murder of one of our people." "Let the Chickasaw know that I greatly approve of his conduct, and have a real esteem for him." He wishes to know whether "the Emperor," or "Old Hop" is the head man of the Cherokees. He exhorts Pearis to stir up the Indians to prevent the building of forts by the French."

~~[illegible] history [illegible] but some [illegible] condition [illegible] [illegible] insp[illegible]~~

His actual words are, "I always (till now) understood the Emperor was their Chief Man. If Old Hop is a greater man I shall hereafter notice him as such."

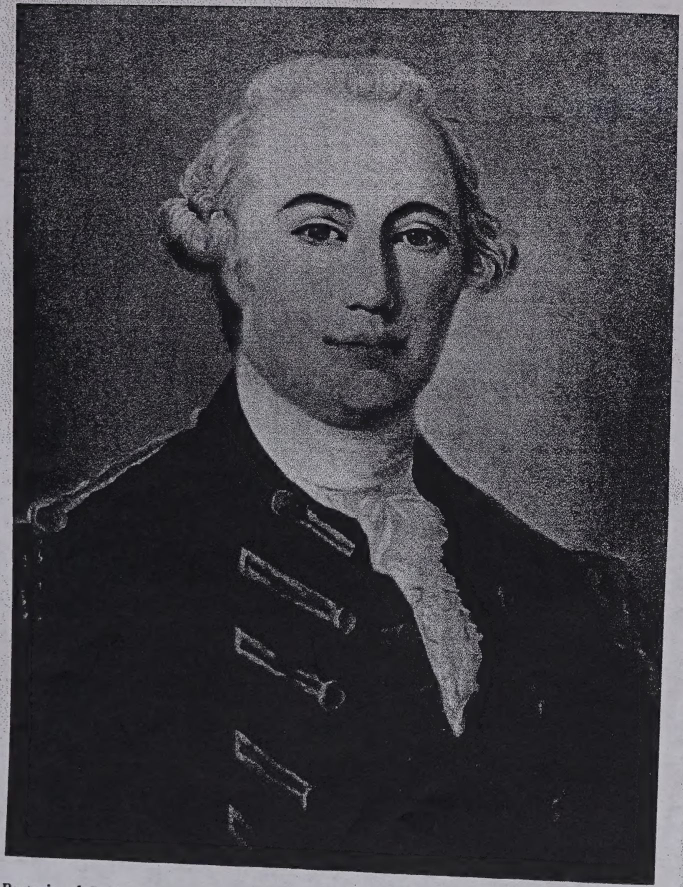
(insert 1)

Despite the effort to enlist Cherokees and Catawbas for Braddocks' Army, only a handful of lukewarm warriors could be enticed. ~~who~~ ~~they~~ Before long ~~Reeventually~~ dropped out ~~as well~~. ~~Considering that~~ Braddock had such a low esteem of Indians in general, that maybe ~~that~~ it was for the best. Some Delawares who had been used as scouts said ~~that~~, "He was a bad man. He never seemed satisfied with us." and deserted just when, had they still been scouting, they could have warned the army of the ambush on the Monongahela. Braddock did not ~~even~~ consider even the Colonists as very worthy individuals.

~~As we have seen in the previous~~ Chapter II tells about brother George Jr. on the Forks of the Roanoke and how the time of Braddock's defeat coincided with the infamous Drapers Meadows massacre not far from his ~~George's~~ home. On 8 July 1755 the northern Indians killed Colonel James Patton and several others. Mrs. William Ingles, her two children, and others were captured and taken across the Ohio. Ingles did all he could to secure her return-- ~~even, it is believed~~, some say even ~~going~~ taking a trip to Williamsburg, ~~to enlist help of officialdom.~~ ~~Meanwhile~~ Soon, Cherokee trader Samuel Stalnacker was captured by northern Indians in another raid, his wife and son Adam slain. History does not tell us of ~~communications~~ messages between George and Richard, but they probably were sent. ~~we can well imagine they probably occurred. It was at this point that~~ We can well, Richard began to get really serious about doing what he could to help, and it was also at this juncture that Dinwiddie (in spite of Washington's misgivings that it might backfire) conceived the notion of sending an expedition including Cherokees down the Sandy River (now the boundary with Kentucky) to attack the Shawnees on the Scioto River, on the opposite bank of the Ohio River.

(Insert 2)

The plan looked fine on paper. The actual distance to be covered was just about what he estimated, but they failed to take into consideration the rugged terrair and sheer untoubhed wildness of the river with its steep banks, treacherous sandbars, fallen timber, and the inaccessibility of game to be hunted for food in case of emergency. The men were inadequately provisioned and, worst of all, they set out in February 1756 when the river was swollen from the late winter thaw and the waters swift and uncontrollable.



Portrait of Brigadier General John Forbes presented to the Royal Greys Regiment by Colonel T. S. G. H. Robertson-Aikman, a collateral descendant. Reproduced through the courtesy of Mr. Henry King Siebeneck.

WRITINGS
of
GENERAL JOHN FORBES

Relating to his Service in North America

Compiled and Edited by
ALFRED PROCTER JAMES, Ph.D.
Professor of History, University of Pittsburgh

for

THE ALLEGHENY COUNTY COMMITTEE
of
THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY
of the
COLONIAL DAMES
of America

THE COLLEGIATE PRESS · MENASHA, WISCONSIN
MDCCCCXXXVIII

the road with 100 good men. I hope wee shall be able to keep those, as I shall not now give them time to weary—

I am glad to see you have gott over most of your difficultys, and that you will be so soon a float. I wish you most heartily a good voyage and a good and fortunate landing.

I have just now a letter[87] from Col^o^ Bouquet acquainting me that 50 of the above 100 Indians, being Catawbas had left him so I do not believe that we shall have any left to cross the Allegany mountains with us. I wish you heartily Health and all manner of Success and am with Sincere Regard

S^ir^ y^r^ most ob^t^ hum^le^ Serv^t^

Jo ffordes.

Camp at Carlisle July 10th

Gen^ll^ Abercromby

[*Endorsed:*] Brig^r^. Gen^l^. Forbes Carlisle July 9^th^ 1758 R the 22^d^ by the post Ans the 23^d^

* * * * *

*Forbes to William Pitt**

[P.R.O. C.O. 5:50, (L.C. trans.) pp. 583-587.]

Carlisle Camp west of Susquehannah, July 10^th^. 1758.

Sir

I did myself the honour of writing to you from Philadelphia the 17th of June,[88] when I acquainted you of the Situation of the Troops under my Command. So soon as I gott the Artillery and Stores landed from on board the transports from England, and putt in some Order which was not till the 30^th^ of June, I sett out from Philadelphia with the Highland Battal^n^. of Montgomery and the train of Artillery which marches into the Camp here this day, all well and in order, altho the March was long being 120 miles in excessive hot weather, and having two great Rivers the Skulkill and Susquehannah to pass, upon Rafts and Flatts, and the last river being 1900 yards over. I halt tomorrow and shall then proceed 100 miles further to Raestown, where I have now 1500 of the Provincialls, who are building some Storehouses and stockading a piece of Ground for our Ammunition and provisions. For in Raestown there is not one single house; The place

having its name from one Rae, who designed to have made a plantation there several years ago, nor indeed is there either Inhabitants or houses from this to the Ohio (except at Forts Loudoun and Lyttelton which are only two or three houses each, inclosed with a Stockade of 100 feet square) the whole being an immense Forest of 240 miles of Extent, intersected by several ranges of Mountains, impenetrable almost to any thing humane save the Indians, (if they be allowed the Appellation) who have foot paths, or tracts through those desarts, by the help of which, we make our roads.

I am in hopes of finding a better way over the Alleganey Mountains, than that from Fort Cumberland which Gen^ll^. Braddock took, if so I shall shorten both my March, and my labour of cutting the road about 40 miles, which is a great consideration. For were I to pursue M^r^. Braddocks route, I should save but little labour, as that road is now a brushwood, by the sprouts from the old stumps, which must be cut down and made proper for Carriages, as well as any other Passage that we must attempt.

The Cherokee Indians being but bad Judges of time, came too early in the year to our Assistance, and therefore had not patience to wait our time, so that from the fickleness of their temper the greatest part of them—went home three weeks ago. You may believe, Sir, that no method was left untryed to detain them, but they are like Sheep. Where one leaps, all the rest follow.

We have still near 200 that remain, and are so much attached to us that they have given the little nothing they have into our Stores as a pledge of their Services to us during the Campaign.

This is owing in a great degree to Mr. Byrd of Virginia to whom I should do a great injustice if I was silent upon the Occasion—As he has a very large and opulent fortune in Virginia he joined the Earl of Loudoun early after his Arrival in America, Accompany'd the Army to Halifax last year, and sett a noble example to all the Gentlemen of the Continent, who had either Inclination or Abilities to serve the King and their Country.

He in the Month of February last offered his Services to the Earl of Loudoun, and embarked at New York for South Carolina, went from thence some hundreds of Miles up into the Cherokees Country, assembled their Chiefs, and by a march of near a thousand Miles conducted some of the best warriors of that Nation through both the Carolina and Virginia into this Country, and luckily arrived in time at the Army (then in Embryo) where by his Interest and the sight of His followers, their Countrymen, and Chief Sachems; The number I now have the honor to acquaint you off, remains steady to His Majesty's Service, and are now the advanced Guard of the troops under my Command: The Virginia Assembly have named him to the Command of their new raised regim^t^, which he accepted off with pleas-

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[87] Not found.

* Printed, Kimball, *Correspondence of William Pitt*, I, 294, and Stewart, *Letters of General John Forbes*, p. 24.

[88] *Ante*, p. 116.

desiring leave to retire. I can say no more upon this subject unless acknowledging that your Complyance will very much oblige me.—

one of the Officers kill'd is Lieut Evans[2] of the Royall Americans, So as two are Vacant I beg to recommend most ardently Mr MacDougall,[3] a Cousin of Col: Mac Dougalls[4] for ane Ensigncy, he carries arms now in Col: Montgomerys Battalion.

I just hear of another Officer of the provincials with four private being cutt off, but those things will happen—

I beg Cap^{t} Steuart[5] of the Light horse may be remember'd I will write in two days a much longer and more circumstantial letter about many things. In the mean time I beg to be believed D^{r} Sir

Y^{r} most ob^{t} & most
humb^{le} Serv^{t}
Jo fforbes

Loyall Hanning Novem^{r} 17
[*Endorsed:*] Brigad^{r} General Forbes
Loyall Hannon Nov^{r} 7th
Rec^{d} Decem^{r} the 6th

* * * * *

*Forbes to Burd**

[H.S.P. MSS. Papers of the Shippen Family, Vol. 3, p. 219, A.L.S.]

New Camp, 20 miles west of Loyal Hannan,
November 19th, 1758

Sir:—

[mutilated] astonished and amazed upon [mutilated]
[mutilated] and villainous desertion of [mutilated]
[mutilated] of the methods he had used [mutilated]
[mutilated] from our assistance at so very critical a time

He has often told us in public that his nation were going to make war against the virginians & His Majesty's Subjects. I therefore thought him a good pledge in our hands to prevent that, and consequently the whole of them

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[2] Lieutenant John Evans of the 60th regiment.

[3] John MacDougal of the 77th regiment.

[4] Colonel MacDougal was not in service in America.

[5] Captain Robert Stewart, of Virginia.

* Printed Balch, Letters and Papers, p. 148; *Pa. Mag.* XXXIII, 95; and Stewart, *Letters of General John Forbes*, p. 66.

were indulged in every extravagant, avaricious demand they made; but seeing that those who have thus deserted, and abandoned us, with all the aggravating circumstances attending their desertion, now preludes to what we may expect from them, I therefore desire, that upon receipt of this, you will instantly dispatch an express to the commanding officer at Rays town, who is to send one to Winchester & Fort Cumberland, in case that he, the Carpenter & his Followers, should have already past Raystown, and notice ought to be sent to fort Loudoun likewise with my orders, which are that having under the Cloak of Friendship robbed us these several months, but that now having discovered themselves our private Ennemies, and having turned the Arms, put in their hands by us, against His Majesty's Subjects, which the Former parties have already done, That, therefore prudence and self preservation obliged us, to require of them the returning of their Arms & ammunition directly, as likewise the horses that were furnished to them to accompany us to war; that as their Blankets, shirts, silver truck, &c., are not of that consequence, therefore the peremptory stripping them need not be [mutilated] upon, But I insist upon the inhabitants [mutilated]
chester making them d [mutilated]
and horses, which is but [mutilated]
fellow subjects of the parts of Virginia [mutilated]
borough, where no doubt they would commit all sorts of outrage, so that it will be necessary to send a Sufficient escort along with them, allowing of them a Sufficiency of provisions and no more, so that the Cherokee nation may see plainly they will have nothing to complain off but the baseness and perfidy of those, whom they have sent amongst us as friends for these seven months past.

The Garrison of Fort Cumberland is strong enough to compel them to deliver up their Arms, so let a Copy of this my letter be sent to the Commanding officer, who is to make use of all the fair means in his power before He takes their Arms from them,

At Raystown they are to do the same.

But as the garrison of Fort Loudoun is perhaps too weak either to refuse them their presents, or make them deliver up their Arms, I desire, therefore, that in case they take that way, that Major Wells marches directly himself with a Sufficient force from Raystown to Fort Loudoun to execute this, which you and all Concerned, are always first to try by gentle methods, before that rougher ones be made use off; As it is impossible any of your Garrison can overtake them before they reach Rays town, I therefore desire no time may lost in sending copies of my letter and directions to Rays town, to be forthwith transmitted by express to Fort Loudon, Cumberland and Winchester by expresses [mutilated] they take [mutilated] at Fort Loudon

was [mutilated] Campaign Mr. Smith the interpreter[6] ought to be sent after them to serve to explain matters, and to prevent as far as can be, the bad consequences of their going home through Virginia and North Carolina, armed, for which purpose this letter is wrote, as Virginia has always suffered.

I am, S^{ir}

Y^r most ob^t, hum ser^t,

Jo fforbes

Col^o Burd

* * * * *

Halket to Byrd [*Burd*]*

[H.S.P. MSS. Papers of the Shippen Family, Vol. 3, p. 219]

New Camp Monday morning six o'clock
20th November 1758

Sir

It is General Forbes orders that you immediately Detach two hundred of your best men, with a proper proportion of officers, to take post at this Camp, in order to strengthen Convoys of Provisions &c coming to the Army, and keep the Communication open.

They are to be serv'd with eight days provisions at Loyal Hannon and remain upon this duty till it is expended, & not to break in upon any of the provisions coming up to the Troops. This Camp I compute to be about 22 miles from Loyalhannon, by nature extreamly strong, and fortifyed with four Reduts, so they cannot be at a loss for the Post. I am

Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant

Francis Halkett

Brigade Major

[*Addressed:*] To The Hon^{ble} Col^o Byrd

* * * * *

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[6] Not otherwise identified than as Richard, interpreter for the Cherokees with Forbes army. Cf. Forbes to Abercromby, May 4, 1758, *ante*, p. 86.

* From the location of this manuscript, it was considered as addressed to Colonel James Burd, left behind by Forbes, at Loyal Hannon.

Forbes to [*Washington*]*

[B.M., Add. MSS. 21640, f. 198. A.L.S.]

[November 20, 1758.]

From the Camp where they are building
the Redoubts just arrived 2 a Clock
afternoon.

Sir

The Catawbas & those Indians that came with Croghan, I have persuaded to march forward and join you were it never so late this night, the Cherokees are not come up. I know nothing of how far you go this night or where you make your last stop, so as by this time Col^o Bouquet must have joined you I suppose all that is settled. Be therefore so good, as send me back with a fresh Horse, where you are, this night, where you go to morrow, what orders Col^o Montgomery has, and as far as you have learned, the distances of the places before you as well as those distances from this forward to you, Turtle Creek &c and where you intend to push for, that wee may assemble and proceed togather I have sent forward 30 head of cattle from the 90 that came from Loy^{ll} Hanning with the last Division (and I understand that Col^o Bouquet has ordered forward 15 more) they have orders to make no stop untill they reach you. I shall order Col: Montgomery to strengthen their escorts I never doubted of the ennemys scouting partys discovering us, but I think it highly necessary that wee discover them likewise, as also the sure knowledge, if ever they send out any force from their fort capable of attacking us I could not well join Montgomery this night, but shall if possible to morrow, for which reason if he is not absolutely necessary up with you his making a short march to morrow will give me ane opportunity of joining him to morrow night, and wee can join you next day.

The Stillgards &c were sent you P express 2 days ago, I have sent another express back to hasten up the Carpenter.

I have ordered 40 of the Waggon horses that arrived yesterday at Loy^{ll} Hanning (which are very fine) to be directly sent off with light loads of Flour in order to make the train quite easy—And as there are a great number of Bats horses loaded with flour I should think the men ought to be putt again to their old Allowance, for otherwise our Cattle will not do and wee have flour enough.

Croghan has sent off 3 of his Indians toward the Ohio for Intelligence,

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* By internal analysis this letter must have been written to Washington but turned over to Bouquet.

and Jacob Lewis[7] that Col^{o} Armstrong sent out last Thursday is just come in without having done, or learning any one thing

If Col: Bouquet chooses that Col^{o} Montgomery should halt ane hour or two for me to morrow morning, let him send him back orders by the return of this express to night or order him a short march & I can join him and bring Cattle Artillery and all in with us.

This must serve as ane answer to Col^{o} Bouquet[8] and your letters[9] I received this morning, wrote in my litter so excuse

Y^{r} most obseq^{t} &c

Jo: ffobes.

[*Endorsed:*] 20th Nov.

* * * * *

*Halkett to Washington**

[L.C. MSS. Papers of Washington, Vol. IX, A.L.S.]

Washingtons Camp 21st November 1758

Sir

In consiquence of your letter,[10] the General has orderd out a Working, & covering party from Col: Bouquets Brigade, who are to begin at the Camp, and open the Road upon Cap^{t} Shilbeys Blazes till they meet your party. The Commissary has orders to have the provisions for the men of your Brigade ready to deliver immediately upon your Returning to Camp, and to set it a part by Corps, which will make as little delay as it is possible, the numbers he Calculates by the Return[11] you sent back to the General when on his March, so any errors as they must be small, can easily be rectifyed upon your coming in The General desires that you will Reconoitre the length of the old Path, & begin to open the Road as near to it as you think you may venture to do so that the two parties may finish it this day & send him an account by the Light Horse man of the nature of the Country—Fifty Felling axes which are all that are good ones, with a proportion of shovels, & Pick axes are given to this Party I am Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant

Francis Halkett

Brigade Major

---

[7] Probably a Pennsylvania civilian.

[8] Letter of Bouquet not found.

[9] Washington to Forbes, November 18, 1758, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick, ed.), II, 306.

* Printed, Hamilton, *Letters to Washington*, III, 130.

[10] Washington to Forbes, November 18, 1758, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick, ed.), II, 306.

[11] Several such returns are in the MSS. Papers of Washington in the Library of Congress.

[*Addressed:*] On His Majestys Service
To Brigadier Washington on his
March

[*Endorsed:*] Gen^{l} Forbes—by Brigade Maj^{r} Halket. 21th Nov 1758

* * * * *

Forbes to Bouquet

[B.M., Add. MSS. 21640, f. 199. A.L.S.]

[November 22, 1758]

D^{r} Sir

I have had the pleasure of yours[12] by Cap^{t} Callender just as I had taken the resolution to halt the two Brigades here for this night, as indeed it seemed to me impossible to proceed, for it was a quarter of hour past four and rather dark, I had no reason either to expect that the road was better, or better open'd that what I had come, which was so monstrously and Carelessly done that I lost all manner of patience, and was oblidged to employ the artillery guard to make Bridges & Openings to let them pass, This made it impossible for the artillery to have gott one bitt of Ground further than this to night, as it is now seven o Clock and the rear is not yet come in. I therefore ordered Col: Montgomerys working party and advanced Guard, amounting to near 300 men to march forward to join & strengthen you, which will be sufficient.

If your post pleases you altho I do not know the distance to F Duquesne I would begin early to morrow morning and putt it in a posture of Defence, You may employ the tools that Montgomerys working partys has with them for that purpose, and if you want any others let me know by a message this night and I will send them forward to you by break of Day. As it will take all to morrow to settle our matters for next days operations I beg that the Indians be sent forward to morrow for Intelligence, with orders to lye out all next night and watch any force that the Ennemy may either send to attack us or bring to their fort, and for the same purpose some of the very best of your Scouters ought to be sent out, with the like orders but to send of to acquaint us from time to time of whatever happens. I think some of the light horse might now be very usefully employed, particularly in gaining all the heights and reconnoitring the Grounds on the flanks, and in bringing quick intelligence of what ever happens, all this is so materiall I need not recommend the sending off all those by day break.

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[12] Not found.

Forbes to ———*

[Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania,* VII, p. 125.]

Fort Du Quesne, Nov. 26th, 1758.

Sir,—Our march has been attended with innumerable difficulties, a country wild and desolate, through and across mountains, where civilized man had not before trod, by Indian paths almost impracticable and harrassed at every step by merciless savages who hidden from our view would pour forth their deadly shot with impunity. As we approached the Fort the danger of a surprise became greater; the recollection of the defeat of Braddock made us cautious; I ordered Major Grant who was in the advance to guard against ambuscades.—That officer with three hundred men approached the Fort on the supposition that the French had withdrawn, when suddenly the hostile Indians rose on each side and poured forth a destructive fire and the Garrison numerous and strong rallied out and made a fierce and violent attack; the attack was on every side but Grant ordered a retreat, the men formed a compact band and awed the assailants by a resolute and determined combat. Many were killed, many were taken prisoners, but the success of the enemy met with a powerful check, for they came in contact with the body of the army being led on with skill and circumspection; met them boldly and compelled them to give up their attempts; the retreat of Grant was the last success of the enemy, they were convinced that all hopes of saving the Fort were fruitless; they withdrew to the Fort, destroyed most of the works, and went down the Ohio, in number exceeding five hundred men. On the twenty fourth the English flag waved triumphantly over Fort Du Quesne. In the third year after the commencement of hostilities about that fortification, it fell into our hands after having kindled so fierce a flame in so destructive a war. With the change of masters it has assumed the name of Fort Pitt, and Pittsburgh the propriety of which is too evident to require a justification of the change; two plans of operation have been judicious, extensive, vigorous and successful.

My health is still delicate.

With sentiments of respect
I remain yours, &c.

Forbes.[15]

* * * * *

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* Also printed, Stewart, *Letters of General John Forbes,* p. 71.

[15] The original of this letter was not found. Hazard says it was communicated for publication. To whom it may have been addressed is unknown. It does not resemble other letters of Forbes. It may be a forgery.

*Forbes to William Pitt**

[P.R.O. C.O. 5:50, (L.C. Trans.) pp. 607-613]

Pittsburgh, 27th Novem^{r}. 1758
and
[Philadelphia 21st, January 1759]

Sir,

I do myself the Honour of acquainting you that it has pleased God to crown His Majesty's Arms with Success over all His Enemies upon the Ohio, by my having obliged the Enemy to burn and abandon Fort Du Quesne, which they effectuated on the 25 th:, and of which I took possession next day, the Enemy having made their Escape down the River towards the Mississippi in their Boats, being abandoned by their Indians, whom I had previously engaged to leave them, and who now seem all willing and ready to implore His Majesty's most Gracious Protection. So give me leave to congratulate you upon this great Event, of having totally expelled the French from this prodigious tract of Country, and of having reconciled the various tribes of Indians inhabiting it to His Majesty's Government.

It would be too tedious for a Letter to enter into detail how this affair has been brought to a conclusion, I have therefore thought it proper and necessary to send over to you Brigade Major Halkett whose serving with me all this Campaign, and knowing from whence Events arose will be able to give you a true and succinct Account of the whole Affair from the beginning. I beg to recommend that Gentleman to your Protection, whose Zeal and abilities in the Service have been particularly distinguished, not only in this but every preceding Campaign from the beginning of the war in this Country, and whose Father S^{r}. Peter Halkett,[16] lost his life at the Monongahela under Gen^{l} Braddock.

I should have carried the troops up the River to the Lake Erie, and destroyed the French posts at Venango and Presque Isle, but the Season of the Year, and the Scarcity of my Provisions, does by no Means admitt of it, this last inconveniance (being obliged to carry every bit of my Provisions for Men and horse for betwixt 3 & 400 Miles thro' almost impracticable roads and Mountains) renders it extreamly difficult for me to leave a sufficient Garrison here for the Protection of this Country, as all Manner of Communication with the inhabited parts of the provinces will be cut off during the Winter for at least four Months, notwithstanding that I

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* Printed, Kimball, *Correspondence of William Pitt . . .* I, 406, and Stewart, *Letters of General John Forbes,* p. 72.

[16] Locally famous for the dramatic manner of his death on the battlefield.

M^{r} Croghans 3 Indians joined us on our march, and I suppose have gone forward to you, as I could not well understand them I know not what discoverys they have made, but I fancy no great ones

I hear nothing worth acquainting you. Capt Callender says that if there was 3 miles cutt forward from your camp that all the rest of the road is easy to the fort, I think this might be tryed to morrow if possible.

Let me hear from you and believe me

Y^{r} most ob^{t} humb^{le} Serv^{t}

Jo ffforbes

I have sent the light horse to pass the night upon the tops of the Hills all round. Wednesday 22^{d} past seven at night.

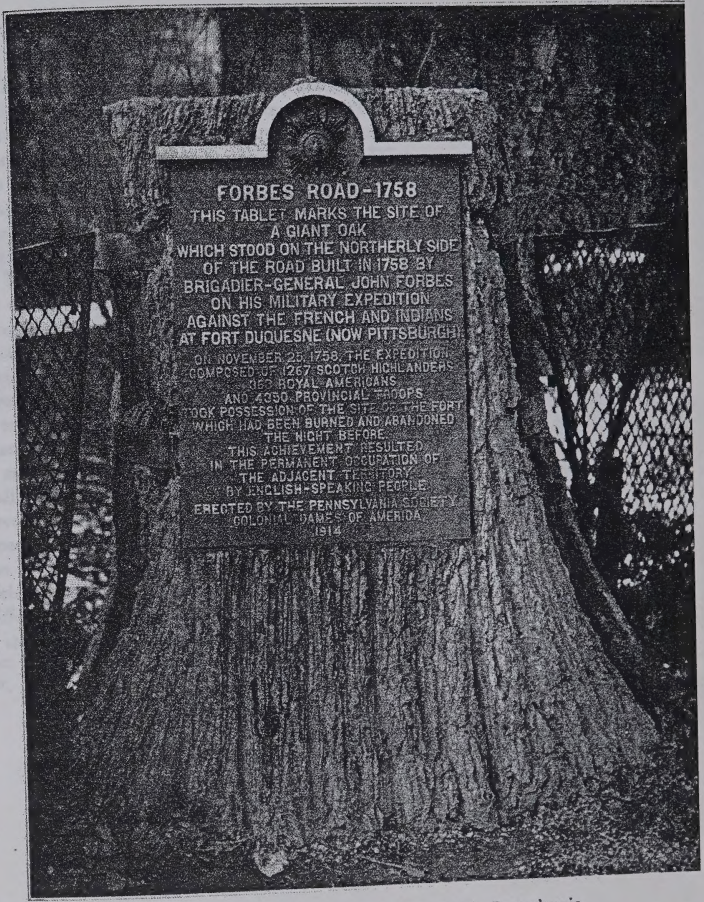
[*Note on Back:*] I shall send off a Waggon load of Entrenching tools by break of day to morrow.

[*Addressed:*] To Col^{o} Bouquet at the Advanced Camp.

[*Endorsed:*] Gen^{l} Forbes 22^{d} Nov^{r}

* * * * *

Give me leave therefore to congratulate you upon this important Event, aving expelled the French from Fort Duquesne, and this prodigious t of fine rich Country, and of having in a Manner reconciled the various es, and Nations of Indians inhabiting it, to His Majesties Government. You may remember S^{ir} that I applyed to for your orders,[13] and in-ctions, how I was to behave myself in case I was so fortunate as to g this affair to a happy crissis, acquainting you at the same time, that I wrote to the different Governours concerned, beging of them their ice, and councill, but never had an answer to any of my repeated appli-ons from any one person being left entirely to act upon my own weak ndation, I must now therefore beg, that as soon as possible, I may have r direction with regard to what strength I am to leave here for the tection of the Country, and for whom I must build a Blockhouse to er them from the severity of the Season.


FORBES ROAD-1758
THIS TABLET MARKS THE SITE OF
A GIANT OAK
WHICH STOOD ON THE NORTHERLY SIDE
OF THE ROAD BUILT IN 1758 BY
BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN FORBES
ON HIS MILITARY EXPEDITION
AGAINST THE FRENCH AND INDIANS
AT FORT DUQUESNE (NOW PITTSBURGH)
ON NOVEMBER 25, 1758, THE EXPEDITION
COMPOSED OF 1267 SCOTCH HIGHLANDERS
363 ROYAL AMERICANS
AND 4030 PROVINCIAL TROOPS
TOOK POSSESSION OF THE SITE OF THE FORT
WHICH HAD BEEN BURNED AND ABANDONED
THE NIGHT BEFORE.
THIS ACHIEVEMENT RESULTED
IN THE PERMANENT OCCUPATION OF
THE ADJACENT TERRITORY
BY ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE.
ERECTED BY THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY
COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA
1914

Forbes marker on Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Forbes to Abercromby and Amherst

[P. R. O. C. O. 5:54 (L.C. trans.) pp. 5-8; P.R.O. W.O. 34:44, f. 385. Copy.]

Fort Duquesne now Pittsbourg 26th Novem^{r}. 1758

Sir

I have the pleasure of acquainting you with signall success of His Majesties Arms over all His Enemies on the Ohio, by having obliged them to burn, and abandon their Fort Duquesne, which they effectuated upon the 24th Ins^{t}; and of which I took possesion with my light troops the same Evening, and with my little Army the next day—The Enemy having made their escape down the River, part in Boats, and part by land to their Forts and Settlements upon the Mississippi, being abandoned, or at least not seconded by their friends the Indians, whom we had previously engaged to act a neutrall part, after thoroughly convincing them in severall skirmishes, that all their attempts upon our advanced posts, in order to cut of our Communication, were vain, and to no purpose, so they now seem all willing, and well disposed to Embrace His Majesties most Gracious protection.

Give me leave therefore to congratulate you upon this important Event, of having expelled the French from Fort Duquesne, and this prodigious tract of fine rich Country, and of having in a Manner reconciled the various tribes, and Nations of Indians inhabiting it, to His Majesties Government.

You may remember S^{ir} that I applyed to for your orders,[13] and instructions, how I was to behave myself in case I was so fortunate as to bring this affair to a happy crissis, acquainting you at the same time, that I had wrote to the different Governours concerned, beging of them their advice, and councill, but never had an answer to any of my repeated applications from any one person being left entirely to act upon my own weak foundation, I must now therefore beg, that as soon as possible, I may have your direction with regard to what strength I am to leave here for the protection of the Country, and for whom I must build a Blockhouse to cover them from the severity of the Season.

The Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina troops, may all disband tomorrow, as their provinces will pay them no longer, however I have used the freedom to detain 250 of them here, which indeed is more than I think I can possibly mantain during the Winter, considering 400 miles of land carriage thrô an immense Wilderness, and the worst roads in the world.

So far I had wrote you the 26th, but being seized with an inflammation in my stomach, Midriff and Liver, the sharpest and most severe of all distempers, I could proceed no farther, and as I have a thousand things to say, have ordered Major Halkett down the Country in order to explain the motives upon which I proceeded, and the various, and almost insurmountable difficulties I had to grapple with.

I have ordered him to proceed directly for England, which I hope you will approve off, and forthwith order a Packett to sail with him, as I cannot put pen to paper myself, and as he is the only person with me, in whom I could place the smallest confidence, or from whom I have met with the smallest assistance, Col^{o}. Bouquet alone excepted.

I shall leave this as soon as I am able to stand, but God knows when, or if I ever reach Philadelphia.

I expect the heads of all the Indians in here tomorrow,[14] when I hope very soon to finish with them what I have laboured hard at these 6 months, and which tho in the end has turned out as I foresaw it would, yet I had so many different Interests to reconcile, that I almost despaired of Success.

Our men had neither Tents, cloaths, shoes, or stockings, and provisions only from day to day, so you may believe it is high time for me to Seperate. I am D^{r}. S^{ir}

With great regard and esteem

Y^{r}. Most obedt.

Most humble Serv^{t}.

Jo: fforbes

30th November
[*Endorsed:*] Brigadier General Forbess's Letter of the 26th & 30th Novr.
1758 in M. G. Amherst's of Decr.. 18th 1758

* * * * *

Forbes to Denny[*]
[*Pa. Col. Recs.* VIII, 232.]

Fourt Duquesne, or now Pittsburgh, the 26 Novr., 1758

Sir:

I have the Pleasure and Honour of Acquainting you with the Signal Success of his Majesty's Troops over all his Enemys on the Ohio, by having obliged them to Burn and abandon their Fort, Duquesne, which they effectuated upon the 24th Instant, And of which I took Possession with my little Army the next Day,—The Enemy having made their escape down the River, part in boats and part by Land, to their Forts, and Settlements on the Mississippi being abandoned, or at least not seconded by their Friends, the Indians, whom we had previously engaged to act a neutral part, And who now seem all willing and ready to Embrace His Majesty's Most gracious Protection.

So give me leave to congratulate you upon this publick event of having totally expelled the French from this Fort and this prodigious tract of fine Country, and of having in a manner reconciled the various Tribes of Indians inhabiting it to His Majesty's Government.

I have not time to give you a detail of our proceedings and approaches towards the Enemy, or of the Hardships and Difficulties that we necessarily met with; all that will soon came out, but I assure you, after receiving the Ground & Fort, I have great reason to be most thankful for the part that the French have acted.

As the Conquest of this Country is of the greatest Consequence to the adjacent Provinces, by securing the Indians, our real Friends, for their own Advantages, I have therefore sent for their Head People to come to me, when I think in few Words and few Days to make every thing easy; I shall then set out to kiss your Hands, if I have the Strength enough left to carry me through the Journey.

I shall be obliged to leave about Two Hundred Men of your Provincial Troops to join a proportion of Virginia and Marylanders, in order to protect this Country during Winter, by which Time I hope the Province will be so sensible of the great Benifit of this new Acquisition, as to enable me to fix this noble, fine Country, to all Perpetuity, under the Dominion of Great Britain.

I beg the Barracks may be put in good repair, and proper Lodging for the Officers, and that you will send me, with the greatest Dispatch, your opinion how I am to dispose of the rest of your Provincial Troops for the ease and Convenience of the Province and the Inhabitants.

You may also remember that Colonel Montgomery's Battalion of Thirteen Hundred Men, and Four Companies of Royal Americans, are after so long and tedious a Campaign, to be taken care of in some Comfortable Winter Quarters.

I kiss all your Hands, and flatter myself that if I get to Philadelphia, under your Cares and good Companys, I shall yet run a good Chance of reestablishing a Health that I run the risque of ruining to give your Province all the Satisfaction in the Power of my weak Abilities.

I am, Sir, with great Esteem and regard,
Your most Obedient and Humle. Servant,
Jo. Forbes.

Governor Denny

[*Endorsed:*] Copy A Letter from Gen. Forbes to Govr Denny Nov. 26th
1758 in M. G. Amrherst of Janry 18th 1759

P.S.—I must beg that you will recommend to your Assembly the building of a Block House and Saw Mill upon the Kisskaminities, near Loyal Hannon, as a thing of the utmost Consequence to their Province, if they have any intention of profiting by this Acquisition.

I send the New Levies to Carlisle, so beg you will loose no time in sending up Mr. Young, the Commissary, to clear them.

* * * * *

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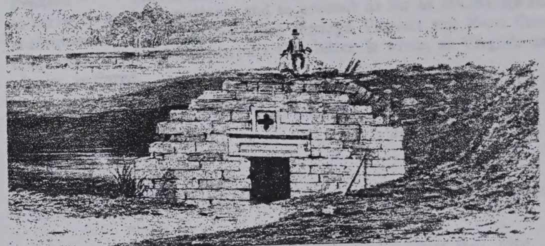
[*] Also printed *Pa. Arch.* 2nd series VI, 432; and Stewart, *Letters of General John Forbes,* p. 69. Varying copies of this document exist, in H.S.P. Penn Papers, Official Correspondence; P.R.O. C.O. 5:54, pp. 49-50; and elsewhere. Since the content is the same, the matter of determining the relation of the copies to each other is not carried out.

LETTERS
of
GENERAL JOHN FORBES
relating to the
EXPEDITION AGAINST FORT DUQUESNE
IN 1758



Ruins of the powder magazine of Fort Pitt, from the original painting by Russell Smith, 1852

Compiled by
Irene Stewart
for the Allegheny County Committee of the
Pennsylvania Society
of the
Colonial Dames of America

313
69

and I recommend secrecy and dispatch.

I am, kings *Beaver* and *Shingas*,
And brother warriors,
Your assured friend and brother,
John Forbes.

From my camp at Loyalhannon,
Nov. 9, 1758.

To Colonel Burd

Shippen papers, p.148

New Camp, 20 miles west of Loyal Hannon,
November 19th, 1758.

Sir:—

[1]astonished and amazed upon
and villainous desertion of
of the methods he had used
from our assistance at so very critical a time

He has often told us in public
that his nation were going to make war against the Virginians and
His Majesty's subjects. I therefore thought him a good pledge in our
hands to prevent that, and consequently the whole of them were
indulged in every extravagant, avaricious demand they made; but
seeing that those who have thus deserted and abandoned us, with all
the aggravating circumstances attending their desertion, now preludes
to what we may expect from them. I therefore desire, that upon
receipt of this, you will instantly dispatch an express to the com-
manding officer at Raystown, who is to send one to Winchester and
Fort Cumberland, in case that he, the Carpenter and his followers,
should have already past Raystown, and notice ought to be sent to
Fort Loudon likewise with my orders, which are that having under the
[illegible]k of friendship robbed us these several months, but now having
[illegible]ver[illegible] themselves our private enemies, and having turned the arms,
[illegible]in[illegible]ir hands by us, against His Majesty's subjects, which the
[illegible]he[illegible]rties have already done, that, therefore prudence and self
[illegible]e[illegible]n obliged us, to require of them the returning of their
[illegible]s[illegible] ammunition directly, as likewise the horses that were fur-
[illegible]le[illegible]m to accompany us to war; that as their blankets, shirts,
[illegible]er[illegible]x, &c., are not of that consequence, therefore the peremptory
[illegible]f them need not
[illegible]pon the inhabitants[1]
[illegible]aking them do
[illegible]s, which is but
[illegible]jects of the parts of Virginia
[illegible]where no doubt they would commit all sorts of outrage, so
[illegible]ill be necessary to send a sufficient escort along with them,
[illegible]of them a sufficiency of provisions and no more, so that the

[1]Passage lost or indecipherable.

Cherokee nation may see plainly they will have nothing to complain of but the baseness aud perfidy of those, whom they have sent amongst us as friends for these seven months past. The garrison of Fort Cumberland is strong enough to compel them to deliver up their arms, so let a copy of this my letter be sent to the commanding officer, who is to make use of all the fair means in his power before he takes their arms from them. At Raystown they are to do the same.

But as the garrison of Fort Loudon is perhaps too weak either to refuse them their presents, or make them deliver up their arms, I desire, therefore, that in case they take that way, that Major Wells marches directly himself with a sufficient force from Raystown to Fort Loudon to execute this, which you and all concerned, are always first to try by gentle methods, before that rougher ones be made use of; as it is impossible any of your garrison can overtake them before they reach Raystown, I therefore desire no time may be lost in sending copies of my letter and directions to Raystown, to be forthwith transmitted by expresses to Fort Loudon, Cumberland and Winchester. * * * Mr. Smith the interpreter ought to be sent after them to serve to explain matters, and to prevent as far as can be, the bad consequences of their going home through Virginia and North Carolina, armed, for which purpose this letter is wrote, as Virginia has always suffered.

I am, sir,
Your obedient, humble servant,
Jno. Forbes.

Colonel Bouquet to William Allen, Esq., chief justice of Pennsylvania

Rupp's History of western Pennsylvania, apx., p.298

Fort Du Quesne, 25th Nov., 1758.

Dear Sir:—I take, with great pleasure, this first opportunity of informing you of the reduction of this important place, persuaded that the success of his Majesty's arms on this side, will give you a great satisfaction, and reward you for all the pains you have taken for the difficult supply of this army.

We marched from Loyalhanna with 2,500 picked men, without tents or baggage, and a light train of artillery, in the expectation of meeting the enemies, and determining by a battle who should possess this country. The distance is about 50 miles, which we marched in five days, a great diligence, considering the season—the uncertainty of the roads, entirely unknown, and the difficulty of making them practicable for the artillery. The 23d we took post at 12 miles from hence, and halted the 24th for intelligence. In the evening our Indians reported that they had discovered a very thick smoke from the fort, extending in the bottom along the Ohio. A few hours after they sent

word that the enemies had abandoned their fort, after having burnt every thing.

We marched this morning and found the report true. They have blown up and destroyed all their fortifications, houses, ovens and magazines—all their Indians' goods burnt in the stores, which seem to have been very considerable.

They seem to have been about 400 men; part is gone down the Ohio, 100 by land, supposed to Presque Isle, and 200 with the Governor, M. de Lignery, to Venango, where he told the Indians he intended to stay this winter, with an intention to dislodge us in the spring. We would soon make him shift his quarters, had we only provisions, but we are scarcely able to maintain ourselves a few days here to treat with the neighboring Indians, who are summoned to meet us. The destruction of the fort, the want of victuals and the impossibility of being supplied in time at this distance and season of the year, obliges us to go back and leave a small detachment of 200 men only, by way of keeping possession of the ground.

This successful expedition can be of great service to the provinces, provided they will improve and support it. It is now the time to take vigorous measures to secure this conquest, and unless Virginia and Pennsylvania can agree upon an immediate assistance, all our pains and advantages will be lost.

An immediate supply of provisions, clothing and necessaries, should at any rate be sent up for the support of the troops, and measures taken for the formation of magazines on the frontiers, (Raystown and Cumberland) for the supply of an army to act early in the spring.

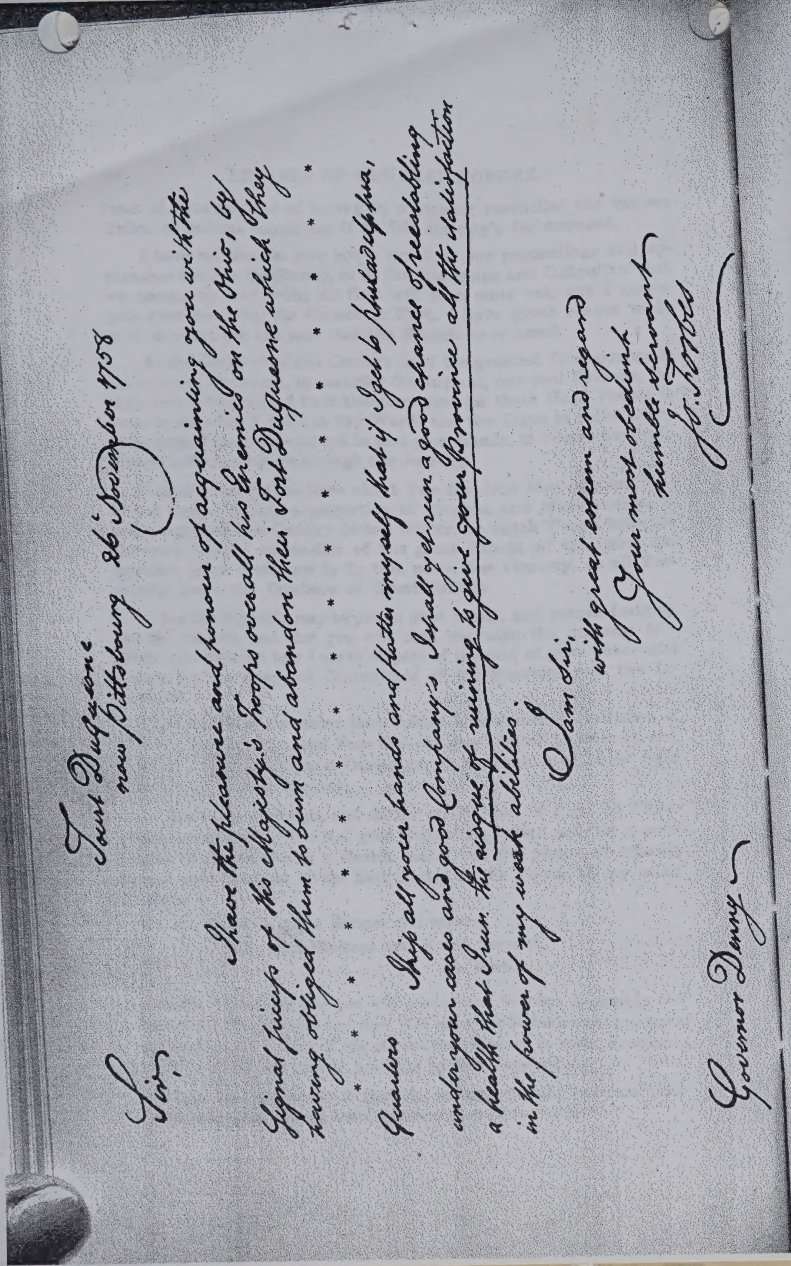
The succors and directions from England would be too late, and if the colonies do not exert themselves to the utmost of their power, I am afraid they will have occasion to repent it.

Indian goods ought to be provided without delay, with a commissary, or proper person to dispose of them, either for trade or presents, as our new friends cannot remain long unprovided, and would soon return to the French were we to leave them in want. Some artificers are also greatly wanted, such as carpenters, smiths, masons, gun-smiths, and chiefly ship builders.

A number of cows and bulls, mares and stallions, garden seeds, corn, &c. Every moment is precious, and the land so rich and the pasture so abundant, that every thing would thrive, and the garrison would soon be able to support itself.

Fish nets and hooks would likewise be of great use for people reduced to salt meat, and some rice, barley, &c., to prevent scurvy among the men.

I enter into all those details with you, because I think the safety of the post depends upon it; and in the plenty you are used to live, they would not so readily occur to you as to us, who are deficient



Fort Duquesne
now Pittsbourg 26 November 1758

Sir,

I have the pleasure and honour of acquainting you with the Signal success of His Majesty's Troops overall his Enemies on the Ohio, by having obliged them to burn and abandon their Fort Duquesne which they

* * * * * * * * * * *

Quarters Ship all your hands and flatter myself that if I get to Philadelphia, under your care and good Company's I shall yet run a good chance of reestablishing a health that I run the risque of ruining to give your Province all the satisfaction in the power of my weak abilities.

I am Sir,
with great esteem and regard
Your most obedient
humble Servant
Jo. Forbes

Governor Denny

of every necessary of life. Could you diffuse into the Assembly the public spirit that directs all your actions, I would be very easy about the consequences. But I know the disposition of the people in general—always indolent, and ready to fall asleep on the smallest gleam of ease and quiet. You must rouse them, and make them sensible that this business is but half done. We have acted our parts, let you do yours. It is now in your power to enjoy in peace and quietness your lands and possessions, if you will only lay out some money, —which may save you ten times more, and the lives of thousands of your poor inhabitants.

After God, the success of this expedition is entirely due to the General, who, by bringing about the treaty with the Indians at Easton, has struck the blow which has knocked the French on the head, in temporizing wisely to expect the effects of that treaty, in securing all his posts, and giving nothing to chance, and not yielding to the urging instances for taking Braddock's road, which would have been our destruction. In all these measures I say he has shown the greatest prudence, firmness and ability. Nobody is better informed of the numberless difficulties he had to surmount than I am, who had an opportunity to see every step that was taken from the beginning, and every obstruction that was thrown in the way. I wish the nation may be as sensible of his service as he really deserves, and give him the reward that can flatter him the pleasure of seeing them pleased and satisfied.

I expect the satisfaction to see you this winter and to talk more at large upon this subject. I beg you will present my compliments to Mrs. Allen, and believe me, with true respect, dear sir,

Henry Boquet.

To Governor Denny

Pennsylvania Colonial records, v.8, p.232

Fort Duquesne, or now Pittsburg, the 26 Nov^{r}., 1758.

Sir:

I have the Pleasure and Honour of Acquainting you with the Signal Success of his Majesty's Troops over all his Enemys on the Ohio, by having obliged them to Burn and abandon their Fort, Duquesne, which they effectuated upon the 24th Instant, And of which I took Possession with my little Army the next Day,—The Enemy having made their escape down the River, part in Boats and part by Land, to their Forts, and Settlements on the Mississippi being abandoned, or at least not seconded by their Friends, the Indians, whom we had previously engaged to act a neutral part, And who now seem all willing and ready to Embrace His Majesty's Most gracious Protection.

So give me leave to congratulate you upon this publick event of having totally expelled the French from this Fort and this prodigious

tract of Country, and of having in a manner reconciled the various Tribes of Indians inhabiting it to His Majesty's Government.

I have not time to give you a detail of our proceedings and approaches towards the Enemy, or of the Hardships and Difficulties that we necessarily met with; all that will soon come out, but I assure you, after receiving the Ground & Fort, I have great reason to be most thankful for the part that the French have acted.

As the Conquest of this Country is of the greatest Consequence to the adjacent Provinces, by securing the Indians, our real Friends, for their own Advantage, I have therefore sent for their Head People to come to me, when I think in few Words and few Days to make every thing easy; I shall then set out to kiss your Hands, if I have Strength enough left to carry me through the Journey.

I shall be obliged to leave about Two Hundred Men of your Provincial Troops to join a proportion of Virginia and Marylanders, in order to protect this Country during Winter, by which Time I hope the Provinces will be so sensible of the great Benefit of this new Acquisition, as to enable me to fix this noble, fine Country, to all Perpetuity, under the Dominion of Great Britain.

I beg the Barracks may be put in good repair, and proper Lodging for the Officers, and that you will send me, with the greatest Dispatch, your Opinion how I am to dispose of the rest of your Provincial Troops for the ease and Convenience of the Province and the Inhabitants.

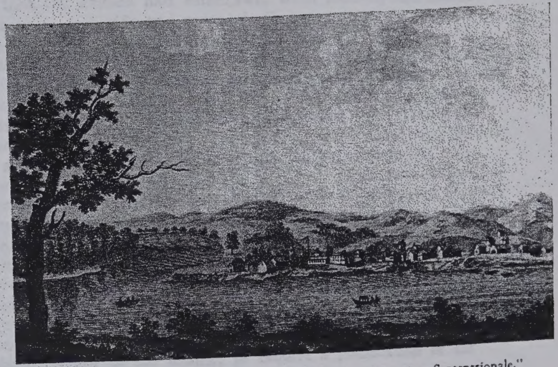
You must also remember that Colonel Montgomery's Battalion of Thirteen Hundred Men, and Four Companies of Royal Americans, are, after so long and tedious a Campaign, to be taken care of in some Comfortable Winter Quarters.

I kiss all your Hands, and flatter myself that if I get to Philadelphia, under your Cares and good Companys, I shall yet run a good Chance of re-establishing a Health that I run the risque of ruining to give your Province all the Satisfaction in the Power of my weak Abilities.

I am, Sir, with great Esteem and regard,
Your most Obedient and Hum^{e}. Servant,
Jo. Forbes.

P. S.—I must beg that you will recommend to your Assembly the building of a Block House and Saw Mill upon the Kisskaminities, near Loyal Hannon, as a thing of the utmost Consequence to their Province, if they have any intention of profiting by this Acquisition.

I send the New Levies to Carlisle, so beg you will loose no time in sending up Mr. Young, the Commissary, to clear them.



View of Pittsburgh, 1796, from Collot's "Voyage dans l'Amerique Septentrionale," engraved by Tardieu

Note:— Other sources say
this letter may be a forgery
so I did not use it.
I'm inclined to agree

Letter containing account of the defeat of Major Grant

Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania, v.7, p.125

Fort Du Quesne, Nov. 26th, 1758.

Sir,—Our march has been attended with innumerable difficulties, a country wild and desolate, through and across mountains, where civilized man had not before trod, by Indian paths almost impracticable and harrassed at every step by merciless savages who hidden from our view would pour forth their deadly shot with impunity. As we approached the Fort the danger of a surprise became greater; the recollection of the defeat of Braddock made us cautious; I ordered Major Grant who was in the advance to guard against ambuscades.—That officer with three hundred men approached the Fort on the supposition that the French had withdrawn, when suddenly the hostile Indians rose on each side and poured forth a destructive fire and the Garrison numerous and strong rallied out and made a fierce and violent attack; the attack was on every side but Grant ordered a retreat, the men formed a compact band and awed the assailants by a resolute and determined combat. Many were killed, many were taken prisoners, but the success of the enemy met with a powerful check, for they came in contact with the body of the army being led on with skill and circumspection; met them boldly and compelled them to give up their attempts; the retreat of Grant was the last success of the enemy, they were convinced that all hopes of saving the Fort were fruitless; they withdrew to the Fort, destroyed most of the works, and went down the Ohio, in number exceeding five hundred men. On the twenty fourth the English Flag waved triumphantly over Fort Du Quesne. In the third year after the commencement of hostilities about that fortification, it fell into our hands after having kindled so fierce a flame in so destructive a war. With the change of masters it has assumed the name of Fort Pitt, and Pittsburg the propriety of which is too evident to require a justification of the change; two plans of operation have been judicious, extensive, vigorous and successful.

My health is still delicate.

With sentiments of respect
I remain yours, &c.
Forbes.

Captain Haslet to the Rev. Dr. Allison

Rupp's History of western Pennsylvania, apx., p.301

Fort Duquesne, Nov. 26, 1758.

Rev'd Sir:—I have now the pleasure to write you from the ruins of the fort. On the 24th, at night we were informed by one of our Indian scouts, that he had discovered a cloud of smoke above the place, and soon after another came in with certain intelligence that it

Letter — Often summary
after letter only for a summary

so I did not use it.
I'm inclined to agree

was burnt and abandoned by the enemy. We were then about 15 miles from it, a troop of horse was sent forward immediately to extinguish the burning, and the whole army followed. We arrived at 6 o'clock last night, and found it in a great measure destroyed. There are two forts about 200 yards distant, the one built with immense labor, small but a great deal of very strong works collected into a little room, and stands on the point of a narrow neck of land at the confluence of the two rivers. It is square and has two ravelins gabions at each corner. The other fort stands on the bank of the Allegheny, in the form of a parallelogram, but not so strong as the other. Several of the out works are lately begun and still unfinished. There are, I think, 30 stacks of chimneys standing—the houses all burnt down. They sprung one mine which ruined one of their magazines. In the other we found 16 barrels of ammunition, a prodigious quantity of old carriage iron, barrels of guns, about a cart load of scalping knives. They went off in such haste they could not quite destroy their works as they intended. We are told by the Indians that they lay the night before last at Beaver creek, 40 miles down the Ohio from here. Whether they buried their dead in the river or carried them down in their batteaux, we have not yet learned. A boy 12 years old who has been their prisoner two years, who escaped on the 2d inst., tells us, they had carried a prodigious quantity of wood into the fort, that they had burnt five of the prisoners that they took at Maj. Grant's defeat, on the parade, and delivered others to the Indians, who were tomahawked on the spot. We have found numbers of dead bodies within a quarter of a mile of the fort unburied, as so many monuments of French humanity! A great many Indians, mostly Delawares, are gathered on the Island last night and this morning, to treat with the General, and we are making rafts to bring them over. Whether the General will think of repairing the ruins or leaving any of the troops here, I have not yet heard. Mr. Beatty is appointed to preach a thanksgiving sermon, for the remarkable superiority of his Majesty's arms. We left all our tents at Loyalhanna, and every convenience except a blanket and knapsack. You will excuse the errors of haste, and believe me to be,

Rev'd sir, your most obedient servant,

John Haslet.

To William Pitt

Correspondence of William Pitt with colonial governors in America, v.1, p.406

Pittsbourgh. 27th Novemr. 1758.

Sir,

I do myself the Honour of acquainting you that it has pleased God to crown His Majesty's Arms with Success over all His Enemies upon the Ohio, by my having obliged the Enemy to burn and abandon Fort Du Quesne, which they effectuated on the 25th:, and of which I took

possession next day, the Enemy having made their Escape down the River towards the Mississippi in their Boats, being abandoned by their Indians, whom I had previously engaged to leave them, and who now seem all willing and ready to implore His Majesty's most Gracious Protection. So give me leave to congratulate you upon this great Event, of having totally expelled the French from this prodigious tract of Country, and of having reconciled the various tribes of Indians inhabiting it to His Majesty's Government.

It would be too tedious for a Letter to enter into the detail how this Affair has been brought to a conclusion, I have therefore thought it proper and necessary to send over to you Brigade Major Halkett whose serving with me all this Campaign, and knowing from whence Events arose will be able to give you a true & succinct Account of the whole Affair from the beginning. I beg to recommend that Gentleman to your Protection, whose Zeal and abilities in the Service have been particularly distinguished, not only in this but in every preceding Campaign from the beginning of the war in this Country, and whose Father Sr. Peter Halkett, lost his life at the Monongahela under Genl. Braddock.

I should have carried the troops up the River to the Lake Erie, and destroyed the French posts at Venango and Presque Isle, but the Season of the Year, and the Scarcity of my Provisions, does by no Means admitt of it, this last inconveniance (being obliged to carry every bit of my Provisions for Man and horse for betwixt 3 & 400 Miles thro' almost impracticable roads and Mountains) renders it extreamly difficult for me to leave a sufficient Garrison here for the Protection of this Country, as all Manner of Communication with the inhabited parts of the provinces will be cut off during the Winter for at least four Months, notwithstanding that I have built Forts, and erected Posts at proper distances, to have kept the Communication open if possible.

Altho' that I have made frequent Applications not only to the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces for his Orders, and instructions but likewise to the Governours of the adjacent colonies and Provinces for their Advice and Councill how I was to behave myself in case that I was so fortunate as to render myself Master of Fort Du Quesne, and the Country of the Ohio, yet I have never been favoured with any of their Sentiments upon that Subject, except in one letter from the Lieut Governr. of Virginia, wherein he tells me that his Assembly and Councill would not venture to give any opinion, but at the same time acquaints me that they had addressed him to recall their troops by the first day of decemr., therefore having been left to act intirely from my own judgement hitherto, I must beg His Majesties Indulgence that He would be graciously pleased to attribute my faults or omissions that I may have made, to my want of greater abilities and not to want of Zeal for His Majesty's Service, which I shall ever think my duty to exert to the utmost of my power. As

thus you see S^{ir}., that I am without advice or Orders, and that I very soon run a risque of being without troops if Pennsilvania recalled theirs as well as Virginia, I shall soon be greatly difficulted how to maintain our new conquest should the Enemy return, as I will have only 4 Companies of the Royal Americans and Col^{o}. Montgomery's young Battalion to depend upon, both greatly impaired as to Numbers by their frequent skirmishes with the Enemy during the Campaign.

This far I had wrote at Fort Du Quesne upon the 27th: Novem^{r}. since which time I have never, either been able to write, or capable to dictate a letter; but as General Amherst acquainted me that he had sent to you my letter with the Accounts of my taking the place, I was the less anxious of sending Major Halkett, but now dreading my silence may have some wrong construction put upon it when the true cause is unknown it will very well bear, I now send you the Major who must give you the best Accounts he can, untill I am able to write more circumstantially, which I hope will be by the first Packett, altho' my Physicians and all our Hospital People unanimously agree that I must go directly for England for to save my life, I must therefore beg it as the greatest favour that you will be so good as to move His Majesty to be graciously pleased to give me His leave of returning home as soon as I possibly can in order to re-establish my health, which at present renders me incapable of any service, or doing any duty whatever.

I must likewise take the boldness, to beg your Countenance & Protection with His Majesty of having me restored to my Rank which is one day antecedent to Gen^{l}: Amherst as Lieut. Col^{o}..—Had I ever committed any fault, or been guilty of any misdeamenor in the Service, I should be now ashamed of making this Application to you, but the having so many people put over my head, without my being sensible of any *faux pas* committed, has made and still makes the deepest impression on my mind. If Lord Ligonier pleases to let you know the hardness of my case, I flatter myself with the protection and Service of M^{r}. Pitt, to restore me to Peace of mind.

I have used the freedom of giving your name to Fort Du Quesne, as I hope it was in some measure the being actuated by your spirits that now makes us Masters of the place. Nor could I help using the same freedom in the naming of two other Forts that I built (Plans of which I send you) the one Fort Ligonier & the other Bedford. I hope the name Fathers will take them under their Protection, In which case these dreary deserts will soon be the richest and most fertile of any possest by the British in N^{o}. America. I have the honour to be with great regard and Esteem Sir,

Your most obed^{t}.. & most hum^{le}. serv^{t}.

Jo: Forbes.

Philadelphia. 21st. January 1759.

Colonel Washington to Governor Fauquier

Sparks's Writings of Washington, v.2, p.320

Camp, at Fort Duquesne, 28 November, 1758.

Sir,

I have the pleasure to inform you, that Fort Duquesne, or the ground rather on which it stood, was possessed by his Majesty's troops on the 25th instant. The enemy, after letting us get within a day's march of the place, burned the fort, and ran away by the light of it, at night, going down the Ohio by water, to the number of about five hundred men, according to our best information. This possession of the fort has been matter of surprise to the whole army, and we cannot attribute it to more probable causes, than the weakness of the enemy, want of provisions, and the defection of their Indians. Of these circumstances we were luckily informed by three prisoners, who providentially fell into our hands at Loyal Hanna, when we despaired of proceeding further. A council of war had determined that it was not advisable to advance this season beyond that place; but the above information caused us to march on without tents or baggage, and with only a light train of artillery. We have thus happily succeeded. It would be tedious, and I think unnecessary, to relate every trivial circumstance that has happened since my last. To do this, if needful, shall be the employment of a leisure hour, when I shall have the pleasure to pay my respects to your Honor.

The General intends to wait here a few days to settle matters with the Indians, and then all the troops, except a sufficient garrison to secure the place, will march to their respective governments. I give your Honor this early notice, that your directions relative to the troops of Virginia may meet me on the road. I cannot help reminding you, in this place, of the hardships they have undergone, and of their present naked condition, that you may judge if it is not essential for them to have some little recess from fatigue, and time to provide themselves with necessaries. At present they are destitute of every comfort of life. If I do not get your orders to the contrary, I shall march the troops under my command directly to Winchester. They may then be disposed of as you shall afterwards direct.

General Forbes desires me to inform you, that he is prevented, by a multiplicity of affairs, from writing to you so fully now as he would otherwise have done. He has written to the commanding officers stationed on the communication from hence to Winchester, relative to the conduct of the Little Carpenter, a chief of the Cherokees, the purport of which was to desire, that they would escort him from one place to another, to prevent his doing any mischief to the inhabitants.

This fortunate, and, indeed, unexpected success of our arms will be attended with happy effects. The *Delawares* are suing for peace,

and I doubt not that other tribes on the Ohio will follow their example. A trade, free, open, and on equitable terms, is what they seem much to desire, and I do not know so effectual a way of riveting them to our interest, as by sending out goods immediately to this place for that purpose. It will, at the same time, be a means of supplying the garrison with such necessaries as may be wanted; and, I think, the other colonies, which are as greatly interested in the support of this place as Virginia, should neglect no means in their power to establish and maintain a strong garrison here. Our business, without this precaution, will be but half finished; while, on the other hand, we shall obtain a firm and lasting peace with the Indians, if this end is once accomplished.

General Forbes is very assiduous in getting these matters settled upon a solid basis, and has great merit for the happy issue to which he has brought our affairs, infirm and worn down as he is. At present I have nothing further to add, but the strongest assurances of my being your Honor's most obedient and most humble servant.

George Washington.

LIST OF REFERENCES ON THE EXPEDITION OF GENERAL FORBES AGAINST FORT DUQUESNE.

The call numbers are those of the books in the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, and the references are limited to the books in that library.

Albert, George Dallas, *ed.* qr974.881 A33 ✓

History of the county of Westmoreland, Pennsylvania. 1882. p.27-31.

Relates somewhat in detail the principal events of the campaign.

Annual Register, 1758. v.1, p.74-75. r905 A61 v.1

Of interest chiefly as a contemporary account.

Avery, Elroy McKendree. q973 A95 v.4

History of the United States. 1904-08. v.4, p.192-213.

The same............ qr973 A95 v.4

Interesting and rather full narrative of the campaign. Contains maps, one of them showing the roads of Braddock and Forbes.

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Bancroft, Aaron. r92 W272b

Life of George Washington. 2v. in 1. 1826. v.1, p.33-39.

Washington's part in the campaign.

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History of the United States of America. 1892-93. v.2, p.493-496.

The same............ 973 B22 v.2

Narrates briefly the chief events and the results of the campaign.

Banvard, Joseph. 973.1 B22p ✓

Pioneers of the New World and the old French war. 1880. p.196-208.

Good popular account.

Boucher, John Newton. qr974.886 B65 v.1 ✓

A century and a half of Pittsburg and her people. 1908. v.1, p.27-42.

The same............ q974.886 B65 v.1

The Forbes campaign.

Includes map showing route from Laurel Ridge.

A LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE NEW LEVIES & THE DATES OF THEIR COMMISSIONS—1759. (a.)

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Pennsylvania Archives 3 (Original series) pages 175-189 (Excerpts)
ORIGINAL SPELLING

Letter 8 June 1757, Winchester, Edmund Atkin, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Southern Dept., to Mr. George Croghan, Sir William Johnson's deputy, Northern District of Indian Affairs. says that

A large body of Catawbas and Cherokees, in going against the Shawnees, had gone through Virginia, and he had found that Colony "just on the Brink of Confusion and distraction, by means of the very Indians that had been drawn with great pains and expence to its assistance. For no person pretended to much knowledge or acquaintance with them and their affairs, the Persons employed as Conductors or Interpreters (there being no regulation entered into) carried them chiefly through the Heart of the Settlements, disorders were committed, and the Inhabitants terrified every where.

"There had then gone up, and were going to this Place and Fort Cumberland, 124 Catawbas, 148 Cherokees, 57 Tusks and other Tributary Indians. 128, part of the Cherokees, then on their way thro' Lunenberg County, not finding what Presents they expected there at the Court House, & extorting promises, committed the most flagrant outrages and violence, frightening, plundering, and even ravishing one poor Girl & killing a Chickawaw in their Company for reproving them. In a word, as Col Read wrote to Governor Dinwiddie, they behaved like Free Booters in an Enemys Country. And though they received a considerable Present at Bedford Court House, yet they bullied with insolent speeches the Commanding Officer at Fort Loudon.....

"Wawhatchee,Chief of all the Southern Cherokee Towns, and another Captain, commonly called the Swallow, are leaders except 13 over Hillpeople, called the Young Warrior of Tellasee; these lower Cherokees are from five Towns, the worst behaved in the Nation, and Wawhatchee, perhaps himself the greatest rogue among them, most certainly with the most avarice...Hints are given that on failure of the Governor sending what they expected, they should turn back, pay themselves, and perhaps Scalp some people.....
Igot to this place the 3d Inst., where I found Wawhatchee with 46 of his people, (besides one woman) & Yatahnou with his 13 waiting for me, after their return from Maryland & Pennsylvania where Captn Paris, not pursuing the Orders he went out with, and baulking a particularly Service intended, had carried them to offer their Services.

"This Governor Dinwiddie thought wrong, as the Indians were brought to the assistance of this Colony, & supported with great Expence to it, & Captain Paris was in its pay and Service by his Commission. Tho' had he not taken, as he did, another Commission from Governor Sharpe (Note: Maryland Governor) I was empowered by Governor Dinwiddie to discharge him in his name, on account of the many Complaints he had received against him in other Respects.

"In my way to the Town, I was informed by a half Breed Catawba, that Wawhatchee's Party had formed a Resolution of going into all the White Peoples Houses on the way home and taking whatever they liked..."

Atkin protested very insistently that that he was commissioned by the King of England to deal with all Southern Indians for all of the colonies. He said that the Indians were succeeding in playing one government against the next, demanding presents in each vicinity for services already rendered someplace else, and making threats if they did not get them. The only way to stop that was by letting him, Atkin, make one present for each service on behalf of the combined governments. He complained that so far he was receiving poor cooperation.

Atkin gives in great detail some of the mind and word games he played with Wawhatchee and Yahtanow of the Cherokee town of Kuwee (who evidently had protected murderers of a Mr. George Hai). At length Wawhatchee pretended to be chastened and "declared he did not expect at first to hear anything good from him "but would make amends for his behavior , and would collect warriors to carry him to their towns to the southward to talk to them." Rightly suspecting mischief against his person, Atkin declined. Wawhatchee thanked him profusely and said how glad he was to have found a friend, but

"The next morning being the 5th, just as I was going to deliver the Presents of this Government, and to cancel their Engagements & then to hint to the Cherokees the Regulation intended by me, as I had done to the Catawbaws, Captain Paris shew'd me a Letter from you to him dated at Carlisle the 3d with a string of white wampum to invite the Cherokees under his Command to meet you with him at Fort Loudoun 'in Pennsylvania to receive a present provided by that Government, which had been before mentioned by Colonel Armstrong, and to tell them the Mohawks had sent one of their Chief men along with you to brighten the chain of Friendship between them and the Cherokee Nation, but not to deliver that Message until the Business transacting between them and this Government should be finished.'

"Without Doubt you had no notice of my being hereabouts, But you will be Sensible from what I said before, that Captain Paris had no command here, having discharged himself by accepting of a Commission in another Government. He nor any other person could negotiate any matter with the Indians in my department without my leave. (By the way, he is a man whom I shall by no means ever Intrust with the Conduct of Indian concerns, tho' I believe he is a fit man to head a party in the Woods, & I have been obliged to make use of his Tongue, on this Occasion upon his oath as Interpreter.)

"Tho' I gave all the Caution possible not to let the Cherokees know the Message, yet they were soon made acquainted with it by more than one for different reasons and purposes." When it came time to receive their presents between these Cherokees (and others still at war under the Swallow) they looked on them with disdain. Wawhatchee said they were not worth dividing, and Yahtanow seemed indifferent. They would leave them for the Swallow and his 93 men if he wanted them. Though they promised to talk again the next day, Yahtanow got drunk and set off homeward with 13 Overhills. All but 7 Or 8 of Wawhatchee's men took off unaccompanied to Fort Loudowm VA to get presents.

He goes on at length to instruct Croghan that Pennsylvania and Maryland as well as Virginia are not to bargain with the southern Indians, adding, "I expect to see here daily Richard Smith (an Excellent Interpreter he says) with at least the Chiefs of the Cherokees now out at War between Fort Pleasand and Fort Cumberland, and that will be a good Opportunity for you to be here, with the Mohawk in your Company......9th P.S. I have warned Duning your Express (whom I have detain'd in the Hurry I am in till I could give you this detail) not to carry over the Powtomack Wawhatchee's people, who I understand are waiting for him or Paris or both, untill he shall hear from you."

Atkin wasted his ink in this last regard, for Pearis promptly carried the Indians over the Potomac himself, before orders forbidding this could be received, as we see in the following letters.

Letter 12 June 1757, Winchester, Edmund Atkin to His Excellency, Horatio Sharpe, Governor of Maryland.

Sir: I am very much obliged to your Excellency for your Favour of the 1st Instant, which came to my hand last Sunday, giving me a Copy of the Message or Letter sent to you from the Party of Cherokees, carried by Capt. Pearis into Maryland the 29th of April last, and of the Transactions that passed afterwards at Fort Frederick on your Frontier, ...imagining I was returned to South Carolina...it put it into my power..to send you some proper Remarks which may be useful Hints for your own hereafter.

"Permit me to rectify an error which you seem to be under, by saying you heard I was expected here in a few Days to hold a Treaty with the Indians that came to Virginia by Govr. Dinwiddie's Invitation; and to make them a Present. My Business is to make a new Treaty in his Majesty's Name, in Behalf of all his Subjects without Distinction in North America, with every Nation of Indians in my Department....Now his Majesty hath put a Stop to the Exercise of such a Power by the several Colonies, each for themselves, which could not but clash frequently with each other's Good... There is in your answer to that part of the Message you received from the Cherokees before mentioned, taking Notice, that upon coming to Fort Frederick, they found themselves no longer in Virginia but in another Government...

"Nothing is more easy than to make Indians sensible, that they ought not to expect to be paid by different Colonies for the same Service; But they have Sense enough not to refuse it.....inclosed Copy of a Letter which I wrote to Mr. Croghan, Sir William Johnson's Deputy in the Northern Department, by way of answer to a Letter Capt. Pearis received from him by the same Express that brought your Packet, inviting the before mentioned Party of Cherokees to Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania, to receive a present provided for them by that Government, in Consequence of the Message they had sent to Govr. Denny, offering their assistance to him also....

"I consider Pearis as the Spring of this Mischief, who being then in the Pay & Service of this Government, and in Breach of his Orders, turning his Back upon & baulking a Matter of Importance (being certainly conscious of his intended Discharge for Misbehavior,) carried Wawhatchee's said Party over Potowmack, in order to make a Merit with Governments of Maryland and Pennsylvania, by offering their Assistance...There are many strokes in Wawhatchee's Message to you...He sent you even a list of what he wanted (as he had done here to Govr. Dinwiddie.) He slighted the present of 100 pounds, tho' he would not have left a less one behind him. He refused to give up the Scalps for the large Reward of 50 pounds each on pretence of a point of Honor, but in Truth, that he might receive the Virginia Reward also. This money might have been saved; because Paris knew that being then in the Pay & Service of this Colony, they were obliged to deliver these Scalps here, for 10 pounds each, and 45 pounds for a prisoner.....

"On the 8th, most of Wawhatchee's Party stole away in the Morning privately, to get the presents intended at Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania. But Mr. Croghan who was to have delivered it, on a few Lines of Notification I sent by Express at their Heels, just to put him on his Guard, resolved, before my other Letter at large reached him, not to transact any thing whatsoever with them. Pearis who the same Day asked Leave of me most earnestly, to go to his new Duty in Maryland, but promised solemnly he would not go until Smith, whom I had sent for, should come to me, followed them the next Morning without saying a Word to me more; leaving me without an Interpreter to speak to those that remained in this Town."

(This very long letter, a larger part of it omitted, rambles on...)

Letter 19 June 1757, Carlisle, Colonel John Armstrong to Honorable William Denny, Governor of Pennsylvania

"May it Please your Honr, On the seventh Inst, per advice of Col. Stanwix, I set out with Mr. Croghan for Fort Loudon, carrying the Provincial Present for the Cherokees, under an Escort of Eighty Men, expecting, after the delivery of the Present, to have been join'd by Capt. Parris & a party of the Indians, and to have reconnoitred the Country towards the Alleghany Hill, as far as was Possible with what Provision the Men cou'd carry on their Backs.

"On going to Loudon, Capt. Croghan recd a long Letter from Mr. Atkins, letting him know that thirty-three Cherokees had Stole away towards Pennsylvania without his knowledge, and without a Chief, for which he also blamed Paris, in first fetching them over Potomack, forbidding Mr. Croghan to send for, speak to, or give any thing to them, but immediately to come to him at Winchester, ...Mr. Croghan shew'd me the Letter and desir'd I would go with him, to which I readily agreed, thinking it the best Opportunity of Vindicating the Governmt so far as it had been concern'd. ....The Indians before mention'd having return'd to Winchester, and their Chief Wahatchy being dispos'd to go home, Mr. Atkins gave them something on acct of the Pennsylvania Present, which Mr. Croghan is to refund him out of it, keeping the residue for a part of the Eighty Indians who, with the Swallow Warrior, have been on duty betwixt Fort Cumberland & Fort Du Quisne, and were to go within Twenty five Miles of Winchester on their return to see Mr. Atkins.

"Fourteen of those, under the immediate conduct of the Swallow, a few Miles from Fort Du Quisne, fell in with three or four French Subaltern Officers, and a few private men, who had been at the Head of a Party of Soldiers & (Shawnee) Indians whome, when return'd near the fort, they sent a Hunting. The Swallow fir'd first, knock'd down an Officer (French) and, on springing up to Scalp him, was unfortunately shot thro' the head. The party, loosing their Chief, was some what confounded, but kill'd and scalp'd two or three of the Officers, and has brought in an Ensign prisoner....

(After relating the heroic deeds of theCherokees under the Swallow, he tells of a group of men under Lt. Holliday killed in a Shawnee ambush, and of other Indians with French officers preying on the population as well as other soldiers.
"This Day Colonel Stanwix is to write your Honour of his preparation to March immediately from this place, having receiv'd intelligence from Capta. Dagworthy at Fort Cumberland, that Six Cherokees that staid to view the situation of Duquesne, observ'd the French hurrying greatly and making preparation, as they thought, to March out an Army; accordingly the Indians watched their motions until, on the 10th Inst., they saw a large Body cross the Monongehela, near the place where Genl Braddock was defeated, with wheel'd Carriages and Guns larger than any at Fort Cumberland, and Men, as the Indians phrase it, that could not be counted. Capt. Dagworthy thinks they are coming against that place where they have but 180 Men, raw troops from Maryland. Col. Washington told me..it was not in his power to assist the Garrison, nor wou'd all his men be more than a Breakfast to the French & their Indians..."

After this he gives poignant details about lack of provisions such as tents, blankets, kettles, etc., and provisioned with meat so rotten & putrid they buried it only with difficulty for the stench, the men going hunting in order to eat. Finally they got a new supply, though salty....

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EDMUND ATKIN TO GEORGE CROGHAN, 1757.

Winchester, the 8th June, 1757.

Sir,

When we parted at Philada, the 26th of March, I desired you not to fail of sending after me an account of the result of the Conferences you was then going to hold with the Susquehanna and other Indians, at Lancaster, or Harris's Ferry, in Pennsylvania. On the same Day, hearing the certainty of a large party of Cawtabas & Cherokees being got so far as the Virginia Settlements, in order to go against the Shawnesse, as the propriety of the making Peace or War between them, depended intirely on the result of those Conferences. I acquainted you therewith by Letter, (which Mr. Pemberton undertook to convey to you) and that I should not incline, when I reached Williamsburgh, to turn my back whilst those Cawtabas or Cherokees should stay, nor untill I should here from you, and therefore I prayed you to send me the earliest Intelligence you could for the determination of my conduct, wherefore, as I have not had the favour of a Line from you ever since, it hath given me not a little uneasiness.

When I reached this Colony I found it just on the Brink of Confusion and distraction, by means of the very Indians that had been drawn with great pains and expence to its assistance. For no person pretended to much knowledge or acquaintance with them and their affairs, the Persons employed as Conductors or Interpreters (there being no regulation entred into) carried them chiefly through the Heart of the Settlements, disorders were committed, and the Inhabitants terrified every where. There had then gone up, & were going to this Place and Fort Cumberland 124* Cawtabas, 148 Cherokees, 57 Tusks and other Tributary Indians; 128, part of the said Cherokees, then on their way thro' Lunenberg County, not finding what Presents they expected there at the Court House, & extorting promisses, committed the most flagrant outrages and violence, frightening, plundering, and even ravishing one poor Girl & killing a Chickasaw in their Company for reproving them. In a word, as Col. Read wrote to Governor Dinwiddie, they behaved like Free Booters in an Enemys Country.—And though they received a Considerable Present at Bedford Court House, yet they bullied with Insolent Speeches the Commanding officer of Fort Loudon, at this Place, when they got to it after, to such a degree, that he promised them every thing they could want, and they made out accordingly the most extravagant List of their Demands before they would Stirr a Step to War; you must know that Wawhatchee, Chief of all the Southern Cherokee Towns, and another Captain, commonly called the Swallow, are the Leaders of all those Cherokees, except 13 over Hillpeople, under Yatahnou, called the Young Warrior of Tellasee; those lower Cherokees are from five Towns, the worst behaved in the Nation, and Wawhatchee, perhaps himself the greatest rogue among them, most certainly of unbounded avarice, well and long known to me in particular, & not having the least regard for the English, further than he can get Presents from them. Hints are given, that on failure of the Governor sending what they expected, they should turn back, pay themselves, and perhaps Scalp some people.

The Governor & Council being greatly alarmed, & dreading the Consequences, when so many different Indians were got together, requested me unanimously (while I was waiting for Lord Loudouns Directions) to come up hither, as being indispensably necessary for the Service in General. Just as I was ready to start out, the Cawtabas came all down to Williamsburgh, on their way homeward, the 11th of last month, except a small party of 11, who have gone home since greatly dissatisfied, & for Different reasons resolved to go home. I prevailed on them twice to consent to send back one or two parties, but it was as oft frustrated officious Interposition of others, who either affronted them or ridiculously coaxed them; So that at last they left the Town in such an ill humour that it has gave infinite uneasiness, and the Government gave me unlimited power to Satisfy them. I went after them to James Town Ferry, by a private agreement I made, where, after adjusting matters satisfactory in Behalf of the Virginia Government that sent for them, without Five pounds Expence, or any promise given of a farthing Value; I spoke to them in the name of the King, which produced all the good effect I could possibly desire, and I think I may venture to say they will be at my devotion. They have offered to send relieving Parties, to enter Virginia only by my Passports, with proper Conducters up hither, the direct Way by the old War path, the number limited and the reward to be ascertained and paid in proportion to the Service, & the time of Serving. This Government is resolved to strengthen my

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* Signed by 21 persons. Read in Council, June 6, 1757.

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Hands, and enable me to bring their Indian Affairs under a proper regulation, being convinced they have no other way to put a stop to & reduce their present vast Expence, to render themselves quiet in their Settlements, & obtain a more Effectual assistance from the Indians. They have put their Presents in my sole disposal, & desired me to appoint a Commissary to take Charge of and deliver them, & Conductors or Interpreters, &c. And Proclamations having been issued in Support of my Commission, particularly warning all persons not to go unless authorized by me to any of the Indian Countrys, or to bring any Indians into the Settlements, nor to come themselves with them, nor to interfere with me in any part of my management.

I got to this place the 3d Inst., where I found Wawhatchee with 46 of his people, (besides one woman) & Yatahnou, with his 13, waiting for me, after their return from Maryland & Pennsylvania, where Captn Paris, not pursuing the Orders he went out with, and baulking a particularly Service intended had carried them to offer their Services. This Governor Dinwiddie thought wrong, as the Indians were brought to the assistance of this Colony, & supported with great Expence to it, & Captain Paris was in its pay and Service by his Commission. Tho' had he not taken, as he did, another Commission from Governor Sharpe, I was impowered by Governor Dinwiddie to discharge him in his name, on account of the many Complaints he had received against him in other Respects. In my way to the Town, I was informed by an half Breed Cawtaba, that Wawhatchee's Party had formed a Resolution of going into all the White Peoples Houses in their way homeward and of taking whatever they liked, and that they even advised him to do the same. At my arrival, I was told they resolved to set off the next Day, a little while after I was in the House Wawhatchee came with most of his people to see me, I seem'd to take but little notice of him, & in a few minutes he said he wanted to hear what I had to say. I told him when I was ready to speak to him, I would let him know it. When would that be? I said I had given an answer already. Would it be to morrow? Then I told him it wou'd be whenever I pleased; whereupon, he started up as the rest did after him, and bolting out of the Room, he went to his Quarters & gave orders to his people to get every thing together to set off immediately. Yahtanou, who had not been present, being sent for by him, came and asked me what had offended him, & being told ridiculed it. He undertook, voluntarily, to diswade him from going off directly, & did so. In the mean time every one else seemed frightened; But I knew of how much importance it was to the Honour of this Government, the security of the Settlement. The Kings service in every thing else to come after & to my own Credit, that I should not be hurried as others have been. In the Evening I had Yatanou with me, in order to throw out some Things for him to work upon Wawhatchee, at Second Hand. Whilo he was with me, Wawhatchee sent for him to Council, & soon after sent word to him to tell me, that if I did not talk to him that very night he would set off in the morning early. I bid Yatawnau to tell him I would not, and he might go if he pleased. But he had best take care what he was about, for that if he would not stay and hear the Kings talk from me, I would follow him to his Country and make him hear me in presence of all the Nations. This had effect, for as he owned to others that he knew me at first sight; he was, in truth, afraid of me, knowing how near he was by my means to be put to Death in his own Town of Kuwee, for the protection he gave the murders of Mr. George Haig, and he no doubt imagined I was come to call him to an account for what he and his people had committed in this Colony. The next morning, after waiting patiently, he took care to let me know at Second Hand, that if I had a mind to talk Cross, he could talk Cross too, But if I would talk good so would he; upon this overture I sent for him, Yatahnau & their Seconds, to a private Conference, in which I let him know the nature and design of my Commission.

"That I was sent by the King to manage every thing with them "and the other Southern Indians, and all the King's Children in "these four Southern Colonies, That I was his mouth between them "all, and henceforth they were to regard nothing but what came "from my Mouth, or they saw under my Seal, That they could "receive no more presents but from me, and that they had no more "to do with the Governors, who were only to mind the affairs of "the white people," (agreeable whereto I delivered a Letter under the Hand and Seal of the Governor of Virginia, expressing that he had left everything to me,) "That I should visit the Indians my"self, and see into every thing that was amiss for their and our "mutual Good. That I knew many wrong things had been done "on both sides; but I was not come to look back, for that the King "had only sent me to join with their head men in wiping of the "Rust from the Chain between them, & in keeping it bright for "ever after. That the King had appointed another beloved Man, "Sir Wm. Johnson to be his Mouth with the Six Nations and other "Northward Indians, between you and all his other Children near "them, and to act in like manner, He and I were now Brothers, & "should let each other know everything. That I had a Belt and "Strings of Wampum from the Six Nations," &c., &c. During this Conference their Countenances visibly cleared up and grew Chearful. Wawhatchee declared he did not expect at first to hear any thing good from me for that he had been used to hear a great many different kinds of Talks. He might have hearkened to me, but shoud not have regarded me, let me come from what Province soever, especially Carolina, That he had not slept the night before, but that now he was easy and quite satisfied, being convinced I came directly from the King. He made Excuses for his Behaviour which he own'd was wrong, & owing to the Prejudice and ill Opinion he had conceived of me, but woud make amends by his Behaviour here-

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after; and if I wou'd let him know in Time of my Coming to his Countrey, he wou'd Collect all the Head Men and Warriors of the Nation, & come about 100 or 150 miles to meet me, and carry me into their Towns, where they would hold me fast, & mind whatever I should say. I then told them that they were Strangers in these parts, and the People unacquainted with them. That from some Things I had heard in my Way to the Southward, I fear'd some Mischief wou'd happen which made me come out of the Way so far to talk with them. Upon which Wawhatchees second got up, and taking me by the Hand thanked me most heartily, for he said it was true there wou'd have been a great deal of Mischief which I had now prevented. Wawhatchee confirmed it, thanked me in like manner, as did the others. In the Evening I had another private Conference with them wherein I enquired into the Occasion of their coming here; told them that I wou'd see the Engagements of this Government fulfilled according to the Treaty made last Year with them & the Cawtabaws, & that for the future when this Service was wanted I would agree with them for their Reward before they came and wou'd perform my promisses. There should be no Disputes or uncertainties about their reward, Wawhatchee said he was glad to find they had now such a Friend, it did not signify to say much now here, their Towns being the most proper place. He was in haste before to go with the good News of the Kindness they received in Maryland, but now he was in more haste.

The next Morning being the 5th, just as I was going to deliver the Presents of this Government, and to cancel their Engagements, & then to hint to the Cherokees the Regulation intended by me, as I had done to the Catawbaw's, Capt^{n} Paris shew'd me a Letter from you to him dated at Carlisle the 3d with a String of white wampum to invite the Cherokees under his Command to meet you with him at Fort Loudoun "in Pennsylvania to receive a present provided by "that Government, which had been before mention'd to them by "Colonel Armstrong, and to tell them the Mohawks had sent one "of their Chief men along with you to brighten the Chain of Friend-"ship between them and the Cherokee Nation, but not to deliver "that Message until the Business transacting between them and "this Government should be finished." Without Doubt you had no notice of my being hereabouts, But you will be Sensible from what I said before, that Capt^{n} Paris had no command here, having discharged himself by accepting of a Commission in another Government. He nor any other person could negotiate any matter with the Indians in my department without my Leave. (By the way he is a man whom I shall by no means ever Intrust with the Conduct of Indian concerns, tho' I believe he is a fit man to head a party in the Woods, & I have been obliged to make use of his Tongue, on this Occasion upon oath as Interpreter.) Tho' I gave all the Caution possible not to let the Cherokees know the Message, yet they were soon made acquainted with it by more than one for different Reasons and purposes.

The alteration was visible. Tho' they had not once before touched upon Presents with me, & were disposed to receive thankfully whatever I should have given them, yet when I came after to produce the presents of the Governor (more than sufficient to perform his Engagements, & by no means contemptible,) to be divided between the Cherokees now here, and those still out at War with the Swallow. Wawhatchee looked on them with disdain, said they were not worth dividing, wou'd rather leave them all for the Swallow & go up to go away. As this Government had it nearest Heart to get them away well satisfied, to prevent Mischief, I told him if he had the Conscience to take all and leave none for the Swallow and his People, he might, and he did so without Remorse, This will be an additional Expence to Virginia. Then I told him in a proper manner of the Letter & String of Wampum from you which I shou'd, and said if they were willing to stay and go out again to War, I wou'd send for you for that I would not promise them any Thing till I knew what I cou'd do from your own mouth. To this Wawhatchee & Yatanore seemed indifferent, not at all inclined to receive the String, but pretended afterwards they would this morning say something to me, But neither came, Instead thereof Yahtanore having got drunk set out early with his 13 overhill men Homeward. And all Wawhatchee's People (except seven or eight that staid with him, & the other prisoner a young Delaware,) pushed of towards Fort Fredrick without any men of Consequence among them, and without my Knowledge in their way, no Doubt to Fort Loudoun, That is Wawhatchee hath sent them to levy Contributions there, as he hath done all the Course of their Journey, and then post off homeward with the same before the Swallow & his people, (93 men) who I have sent for and are most likely to Stay & do Service can come and take part. For Wawhatchee's People go meerly to get the Presents, & walk of with the whole. At the same time they are to make me a Liar, after having first told them they are now only to talk with me, and can have no presents but from my Hands.

It was on purpose to prevent all partial & local Regard and the many ill Consequences arising by different Ways of talking, treating and acting with Indians that his Majesty was pleased for the Good of all his American Subjects without distinction, to appoint two Superintendants for the management of all the Indian Affairs divided into two Districts, free from any particular provincial Influence. Sir William Johnson and myself you know were to correspond with other, but neither of us meant to treat with or to give Presents to the Indians in the others District, which would tend to distroy entirely the proper Weight & Influence of each in his own Department, much less should any Colony Treat with or give Presents to them, and by outbidding each other lose the Benefit of the very Service they want, Enhance each others Expence as well as the Kings of

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Consequence, & distract his Majesties Measures that is the General Service of the whole. The Giving Presents is so Essential a part of my office that without that Power in my Hands, it is impossible for me to do his Majesty any Service at all, & any interfereing wth me therein, as well as in talking, is striking directly at the Root of my Commission.

I know it is in my Power to serve effectually both Maryland and Pennsylvania, by the same measures I take for Virginia, if they will contribute their parts towards the Expence (on a Footing that may be done to their own intire satisfaction,) and I can do it at a vastly cheaper Rate, than they can possibly procure it themselves. It is my Desire to give them all the assistance in my power. But they will put it out of my power to give them any if they intermeddle with the Indians under my Direction, and will not be able to procure it themselves. On the Contrary tho' they do not see it, yet they are taking the only way to Tax themselves without Bounds, upon the whole in my opinion, it is absolutely necessary for his Majesty's Service, that you stop and send back to me the Cherokees now gone from hence to you, referring matters to me seeing I am here, and that you came over here as the Distance is but little, to consult and Confer with me on this Occasion, for I think every thing is at Stake in this District. It will give me great Pleasure to see you here as soon as possible, for which purpose I shall wait your answer, tho' much wanted to the Southward, hoping by that means to establish some Rule of proceeding at this Juncture, equally Beneficial to all the neighbouring Colonies, For it's impossible to transact a thing of this nature by writing only. I expect to see here daily Richard Smith, (an Excellent Interpreter,) with at least the Chiefs of the Cherokees now out at War between Fort Pleasant and Fort Cumberland: and that will be a good Opportunity for you to be here, with the Mohawk in your Company.

I am Sir,
Your very hble Serv^{t}.,
EDM'D ATKIN.

9th P. S. I have warned Duning your Express (whom I have detain'd in the Hurry I am in till I could give you this detail,) not to carry over Powtomack Wawhatchee's people, who I understand are waiting for him or Paris, or both, untill he shall hear from you.

As I am informed by Duning, Col. Stanwix is at Carlisle, a copy of this for his Information, (too late to be sent to Lord Loudoun,) will be very proper (with my Compliments) and I wish you would send another to Sir W^{m}. Johnston, to whom I shall write soon myself.

George Croghan, Esq^{r}.

Edmund Atkin to Gov. Sharpe, 1757.

Winchester, June 12th, 1757.

Sir,

I am very much obliged to your Excellency for your Favour of the 1st Instant, which came to my hand last Sunday, giving me a Copy of the Message or Letter sent to you from the Party of Cherokees, carried by Cap^{t} Pearis into Maryland the 29th of April last, and of the Transactions that passed afterwards at Fort Frederick on your Frontier, between them and the two Gentlemen whom you sent to hold a Treaty with them; imagining I was returned to South Carolina. It gave me much satisfaction, because it furnished me timely with the necessary Information that I wanted for my conduct, and put it in my power at the same time to send you some proper Remarks, which may be useful Hints for your own hereafter.

Permit me first to rectify an Error which you seem to be under, by saying you heard I was expected here in a few Days to hold a *Treaty* with the Indians that came to Virginia by Gov^{r}. Dinwiddie's Invitation; and to make them a present. My Business is to make a new Treaty in his Majesty's Name, in Behalf of all his Subjects without Distinction in North America, with every *Nation* of Indians in my Department, that are willing to be in Friendship with them; as the only Basis of the future Quiet & Security of the whole. This I was bending my Course to the Indian Countries to do in their Towns. The Impropriety of any particular Colony entering into a Treaty with Indians, for itself separately, will appear from hence at first view. But nothing can deserve the Name of a Treaty, that hath not certain Articles and Conditions stipulated to be performed on both Sides, by those who have a power to do it. Now his Majesty hath put a Stop to the Exercise of such a Power by the several Colonies, each for themselves, which could not but clash frequently with each other's Good; and taken it into his own Hands as his Prerogative, by appointing two Agents and Superintendents, to manage and transact all affairs with the Indians, divided into two Districts or Departments. And with Respect to the Indians, whatever particular Parties or Numbers of them may be brought, by Dint of Presents to say or promise for their Nation, when in our Settlements; yet their greatest men having no Power to do so when from Home, it hath in their own Sense of Things, no Validity further than their present Convenience, because according to Indian Polity, the Consent of their whole people is necessary before any thing can take Place effectually.—There is in your answer to that part of the Message you received from the Cherokees before mentioned, taking Notice, that upon coming to Fort Frederick, they found themselves no longer in Virginia but in another Government

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a very just and proper Remark made to them; "that the Virginians "and your people were nevertheless one people; that the Inhabi-"tants of all the Colonies were Brethren, Subjects of the same Great "King; and that they who are Friends to some of them must be "Friends to all." The same Sentiment pursued a little further, might have pointed out the Propriety of one common Purse for the Good of all. Nothing is more easy than to make Indians sensible, that they ought not to expect to be paid by different Colonies for the same Service; But they have Sense enough also not to refuse it. And if their Assistance is put entirely on the Footing of presents, & not at all upon Friendship founded in a mutual Interest, and they have different Markets to go to for selling it, they will most certainly flock to the highest Bidder. One particular Colony may in such Case serve itself for a present purpose, but the King will be disabled from assisting his other Subjects; the Royal Purse itself being unequal at this Juncture to the copying the Example, in a District where there above 10,000 Indians that bear Arms. Whereas if the Indians therein can receive Presents only from one hand, in the Name of the King, and in Behalf of all his Subjects without Distinction, they must and will be content with what shall be given to as many as shall be wanted for Service; and will go where they are desired: and all the Colonies will reap equal Benefit.—There cannot be a better Instance given of the ill consequences arising by two Colonies treating or negotiating with the same Indians, or interfering with the King's Measures, with which they are unacquainted, than in the present case; whereof you will receive a sufficient Idea or Proof, by reading the inclosed Copy of a Letter which I wrote to Mr. Croghan, Sir William Johnson's Deputy in the Northern District, by way of answer to a Letter Capt. Pearis received from him by the same Express that brought your Packet, inviting the before mentioned Party of Cherokees to Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania, to receive a present provided for them by that Government, in Consequence of the Message they had sent to Govr Denny, offering their assistance to him also. In that Letter you will find all that is needful to be said further upon this Subject in general; together with a true State of the Indian Affairs in this Colony when I came into it, an account of my Transactions with the Catawbas, as well as with the said Cherokees, and my sincere Disposition to do any Thing in my Power consistent with my Duty, for the Service both of Maryland & Pennsylvania. You will see how fortunate my being at Williamsburg was, to prevent a Convulsion which must have otherways happened in this Colony, and shaken all the Colonies in its Consequences. How terrible that to us! and how favourable for the French just as Lord Loudoun embarked! and you cannot help seeing also, how unfortunately the Message of Invitation came from Pennsylvania, to put a Stop to my further Negotiations for the King's Service.

I consider Pearis as the Spring of this Mischief, who being then in the Pay & Service of this Government, and in Breach of his Orders, turning his Back upon & baulking a Matter of Importance, (being certainly conscious of his intended Discharge for Misbehaviour,) carried Wawhatchee's said Party over Potowmack, in order to make a Merit with the Governments of Maryland and Pennsylvania, by offering their Assistance. And tho' they seem to have entertained a very grateful Sense of that Service, yet in Fact, he led them into a Difficulty, from which they cannot extricate themselves without my Help. There are many Strokes in Wawhatchee's Message to you, and in the Transactions at Fort Frederick, of his Impudence, Selfishness and avaricious views supported by an artful Way of bullying. He sent you even a List of what he wanted, (as he had done before here to Govr. Dinwiddie,) which he knows he never presumed to do to the Southward; promising to stay as long as there should be Use for him and his people, tho' he intended nothing less. He slighted the Present of £100, tho' he would not have left a less one behind him. He refused to give up the Scalps for the large Reward of £50 each, on pretence of a point of Honor, but in Truth, that he might receive the Virginia Reward also. This money might have been saved; because Paris knew that being then in the Pay & Service of this Colony, they were obliged to deliver those Scalps here, for £10 each. (In a few Days more the Reward will be, I hear, £40 for a Scalp, & £45 for a Prisoner,) And tho' I observe it is said in the Copy of the Transactions, that Wawhatchee did at last deliver the Scalps, yet he hath brought them here, and would no Doubt have got Payment for them again, had I not been here. In his Reply to your answer to his Message after receiving the Present, he discovers fully his real Intention; for he labours to let you know how large he intended to make the Path to you; that he would hold up your Belt to his young Men to freshen the Track, and would send for them to go to War with him (tho' he was really going home) and *to receive Presents as he and his had done.* That it was a *small* Present, being for a few he had killed, but when he should come again, he would kill more, and hoped to receive *a larger Present;* and that *as long as King George would furnish them with Cloaths,* he would continue to destroy his and their Enemies. This is not, according to Wawhatchee's views, consistent with the Cherokee Treaty made by their Deputies in England, 1730; whereby they were promised to be furnished with all Manner of Goods that they wanted, by the Carolina Traders; and one of the Conditions on their part was, that they should be always ready to fight against any white men or Indians whatever, that should molest or hurt the English; yet they ought undoubtedly to receive a reasonable Reward for their Time and Trouble, while taken from their Hunts to assist us.

On the 8th, most of Wawhatchee's Party stole away in the Morning privately, to get the Present intended at Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania. But Mr. Croghan who was to have delivered it, on a few Lines of Notification I sent by Express at their Heels, just to put

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him on his Guard, resolved, before my other Letter at large reached him, not to transact any thing whatever with them. Pearis who the same Day asked Leave of me most earnestly, to go to his new Duty in Maryland, but promised solemnly he would not go, until Smith whom I had sent for should come to me, followed them the next Morning without saying a Word to me more; leaving me without an Interpreter to speak to those that remained in this Town.

I doubt not you will be sensible that the Regulation under my Passports and Directions only, which I established with the Catawbas, and purpose to establish also with the Cherokees, is the only Means of obtaining an effectual Assistance from them, on reasonable Terms and with the Quiet & Satisfaction of our Colonies. And if Maryland and Pennsylvania are so desirous as they appear to be, to partake of the Benefit arising by the Assistance of those Indians, they will surely think it but just to contribute their Part towards the Expence of it. And unless they do so, inasmuch as the Number of Indians that I shall send up this Way, will depend entirely upon my Stock of presents, to discharge my Engagements, they ought not to wonder if, contrary to my Inclination, I confine the Services of those I do send, to this Side of Potowmack River, within my own District.

I am Sir,
Your Excellency's very humble
and most obedient Servant,
(Signed) EDM'D. ATKIN.

To His Excellency, Horatio Sharpe, Esq^{r}.

ADMIRAL THOMAS COTES TO GOV. DENNY, 1757.

Marlborough, in Port Royal Harbour,
12th June, 1757.

Sir:

The Contractors for Victualling His Majesty's Ships on this Station, relying on the Supplys of Bread they have Ordered from Philadelphia, have omitted sending a Supply from England, by which means We are reduced to great Straits for want of Bread, and it will be impossible for me to Execute His Majesty's Orders, if the Vessells freighted with Bread for His Majesty's Ships here, are not permitted to Sail from your Ports; I must therefore, Sir, desire in the most pressing manner, that you will allow the Bread to be sent by the Contractors Agent, to enable me to keep the Sea with His Majesty's Ships, for the Protection of the Trade of this Island. My Squadron contains near 5000 Men, who are allowed one pound of Bread a Day for each man, So that our Demands are very great, and can only be Supplyed from your Colony; And if we are disappointed by the Embargo being continued, His Majesty's Ships on this Station must lay Idle in Port, and the Enemy will be Masters at Sea and Destroy all our Trade.

The Reproach and Loss that will be to the Nation, I need not mention to your Excellency.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient Serv^{t}.
THOS. COTES.

COL. JOHN ARMSTRONG TO GOV. DENNY, 1757.

Carlisle, 19th June, 1757.

May it Please your Hon^{r},

On the seventh Ins^{t}., ꝑ advice of Col^{l} Stanwix, I set out with M^{r}. Croghan for Fort Loudon, carrying the Provincial Present for the Cherokees, under an Escort of Eighty Men, expecting, after the delivery of the Present, to have been join'd by Capt^{n} Parris & a party of the Indians, and to have reconoitred the Country towards the Alleghany Hill, as far as was possible with what Provision the Men cou'd carry on their Backs. On going to Loudon, Cap^{t}. Croghan rec^{d} a long Letter from M^{r}. Atkins,* (the Surperintendant for the Southern district, then at Winchester) letting him know that thirty three Cherokees had Stole away towards Pennsylvania without his knowledge, and without a Chief, for which he also blamed Paris, in first fetching them over Potomack, forbidding M^{r}. Croghan to send for, speak to, or give any thing to them, but immediately to come to him at Winchester, aledging that the Provinces were chargable with indiscretion, in not doing what they did thro' him, who was the Sole Agent over those Tribes. M^{r}. Croghan shew'd me the Letter and desir'd I would go with him, to which I readily agreed, thinking it the best Opportunity of Vindicating the Governm^{t} so far as it had been concern'd. Doctor Ross, from Fort Frederick, at the same time representing the Province of Maryland. The Gentleman (tho' perhaps rather too nice in the conduct of his affairs at so critical a conjuncter) treated us politely, and was soon convinc'd that those Colonies had no design of neglecting his authority, knew nothing of his being at Winchester, nor had done any thing to or for the Indians, but what was very natural; only that future Presents must be put under his direction, which we presum'd was right, and wou'd be controverted by none. The Indians before mention'd having return'd to Winchester, and their Chief Wahatchy being dispos'd to go home, M^{r}. Atkins gave them something on acc^{t} of the Pennsylvania Present, which M^{r}. Croghan is to refund him out of it, keeping the residue for a part of the Eighty Indians who, with

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the Swallow Warrior, have been on duty betwixt Fort Cumberland & Fort Du Quisne, and were go within Twenty five Miles of Winchester on their return to see M^{r}. Atkins. Fourteen of those, under the immediate conduct of the Swallow, a few Miles from F. D—e, fell in with three or four French Subaltern Officers, and a few private men, who had been at the Head of a Party of Soldiers & Indians, whome, when return'd near the Fort, they had sent a Hunting. The Swallow fir'd first, knock'd down an Officer, and on springing up to Scalp him, was unfortunately Shot thro' the head; the party loosing their Chief was some what confounded, but kill'd and scalp'd two or three of the Officers, and has brought in an Ensign, prisoner. *One Capt^{n} Spotswood, who went out with an other Party of Cherokees is thought to be kill'd, two of his Men are fallen in at Fort Lyttleton, who say he desir'd them to do for themselves. Before this Time, y^{r} Honour may have heard that Lieut^{t} Holliday, on the 8th Ins^{t}., with 25 Men, went into the Great Cove about Ten Miles from Fort Loudoun, where he and about Ten of the Men went into a Deserted house, the others at some small distance were drinking at a Spring, in which possition they were Surrounded & Surprized by a Party of Indians, who soon dispers'd them, kill'd the Lieu^{t}. and three of the Men, taking three others prisoners, with a number of Blankets and Arms. This is an unfortunate affair, the Men say, that the Lieu^{t}. finding himself surrounded & some of his Men scatter'd, desir'd the others to escape the best way they could, however some of the Men are to be punished, & five aquitted. More might be said on this affair, but is now needless. On Riding from Winchester to Shippensburg, with only Cap^{t}. Mercer & Cap^{t}. Armstrong in Comp^{y}, M^{r}. Croghan having waited the coming of the Indians with the French Officer, I was Inform'd that Indians were seen in Sundry parts of this County, and in waiting an Hour at Shippensburgh for a fresh Horse, receiv'd two Expresses from different parts of the neighbourhood, the latter said that some Men were at work in a Corn field, four Miles from that place, that a party of Indians Sprang out of a Field of Winter Corn, shot down one of the Men, the others escap'd to a House, from whence they were defending themselves; on both occasions I detach'd parties immediately, but have not heard further.

This Day Colonel Stanwix is to write your Honour of his preparation to March immediately from this place, having receiv'd Intelligence from Capt^{n} Dagworthy, at Fort Cumberland, that Six Cherokees that staid to view the situation of Duquesne, observ'd the French hurrying greatly and making preparation, as they thought, to March out an Army; accordingly, the Indians watched their motions, until, on the Tenth Inst., they saw a large Body cross the Monongehela, near the place where Gen^{l} Braddock was defeated, with wheel'd Carriages and Guns larger than any at Fort Cumberland, and Men, as the Indians phrase it, that cou'd not be counted. Capt^{n} Dagworthy thinks they are coming against that place, (which indeed is most probable) where they have but 180 Men, raw troops from Maryland. Col^{l} Washington told me, if he came without Erecting something by the way, that it was not in his power to be early enough to assist the Garrison, nor wou'd all his men be more than a Breakfast to the French & their Indians.

I have order'd Spys from Fort Lyttleton to the Alleghany Hills, least the whole, or any part shou'd be Destin'd to this Province. Colonel Stanwix has ordered me to join him with at least 250 men, his first object is Winchester, except future intelligence prevent or alter his Rout. He has allow'd us two Waggons, we have but little Baggage, having but a few Tents, and not enough of Kettles, Blankets, nor Arms. I have frequently mention'd the number of Arms, and Blankets that were wanted, now they are more of course. Our Flints are very bad, no person is yet appointed to make the necessary Contracts, nor Money given to defray Contingent expences, such as the Carriage of Stores from Harris's to this Place, transporting of Amunition and Provisions from one Garrison to another, sending Expresses on Sundric occasions, &c., which services require ready pay, or they will not be done. The Provisions of this Garrison was so roten that the Men lived at their own expence for meat, the space of Ten Days, and thro' necessity eat Frequently when the Meat was unsound; after sundry applications being made to no purpose, I was obliged (the Men being ready to Mutiny) to apply to Col^{l} Stanwix, who sent his Doctor to inspect the Meat, which he entirely condemned, upon which the Colonel gave orders that it should be imediately hove out, carry'd away and buried, which was perform'd with great difficulty on acc^{t} of the smell. M^{r}. Hoops then being in Town, gave us some fresh Meat, Mr. Buchanan does not give himself any trouble in supplying the defects, or replacing the Meat. Hoops, yesterday, was unwilling to give any more until he had your Hon^{rs} or the Commissioners orders, upon which I was again oblig'd to apply to Col^{l} Stanwix, who immediately order'd M^{r}. Hoops to supply us. The Meat is generally safe at the other Garrisons but very salt, we have some dry'd Meat here which is kept for the Woods. I suppose M^{r}. Hoops, or M^{r}. Buchanan, will write on the subject of Provisions.

I am, Honoured Sir,
Your most obed^{t}
Humbl. Serv^{t}.
JOHN ARMSTRONG.

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* See Colon. Rec. Vol. VII, p. 598-601.

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Pennsylvania Archives 3 (original series) pp 175 - 189

June 1757

Capt. Richard Pearis was instrumental (at Gov. Dinwiddie's urging, etc.) in persuading Cherokees to aid the Colonies in combatting the Shawnees and French. He was able to enlist 124 Catawbas, 148 Cherokees, 57 Tuskegee etc. and they routed a French party, killing two officers and captured a third - though a Cherokee sub-chief was killed also. 128 of these Overhill Cherokees under Wawhatchee, Chief of all Southern Towns assisted by The Swallow (excepting 13 overhills under Yatah now-called Young Warrior of Tellasee - also included) ("lower Cherokees from 5 towns"?) came through Lunenberg Co. Courthouse "acting like FreeBooters in an Enemy Country." (They got booty there + at Bedford, etc.)

These Indians were trying to play one Colony against another in extracting bounty for serving in a "White Man's War," instead of just taking what "The King offered" (according to Edmund Atkin, Esquire, Supt. of Indian Affairs, Southern District) - letters from Winchester, to George Croghan, Gov. Horatio Sharpe of Maryland. and letter from Carlisle PA to Gov. Denny by Col. John Armstrong.

Col Pearis was blamed for, among other things, ferrying the Indians across the Potomac, (how else were they supposed to cross?) not staying to act as an interpreter at the same time he had been ordered to be at Ft Cumberland, and (by inference)) encouraging the Indians to get what they could, even in MD + PA.

(This is referred to in p. 198/9 - Dawn of Tennessee footnote 8 wherein the Chief's name is spelled "Wahachy" of Keowee.)

LORD LOUDOUN TO GOV. DENNY, 1757.

Sir,

As the Fleet is now ready to Sail, I take this Opportunity to acquaint you, that in Conjunction of Sir Charles Hardy, we have agreed that the Embargo should not be any longer continued, on account of the Service we are now going on, than Seven days after we are Sailed from this Port; but we think it absolutely necessary that it should be continued so long, in order to prevent the Enemy from having Intelligence of our motion, from any Ship they may take, and it will not be taken off here any sooner.

I shall leave my Letters with Lieutenant Governor De Lancey, to be forwarded to you as soon as we sail.

I am, with great Respect,
Sir,
Your most obedient
Humble Servant,
LOUDOUN.*

The Hon^ble William Denny.

PETITION FROM NORTHAMPTON, 1757.

To the Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esq^r., Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the Province of Pensylvania, and Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex, upon Delaware, and Captain General of the same.

The Petition of the few remaining Inhabitants of the Township of Lower Smithfield, in the County of Northampton, and in the Province of Pensylvania,

Most Humbly Sheweth:

That the seituation of the Petitioners being part of the Frontiers of the Province, have for some time past suffered many and great Difficulties by the Excursions of the Savages, untill your Hon^rs accession to this Province, and the Treaty held with the Indians at Easton, which afforded the prospect of a Peace, and gave your Petitioners encouragement to return to their Farms, in order to Plant and to Support their Distressed Familys in a peaceable manner; But so it has happened, and please your Honour, to our inexpressible surprize, those perfidious murderers have renewed their Barbarities

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* See Col. Rec. Vol. VII., p. 569.

by Killing, Scalping, and Captivating the Inhabitants in a most dreadful manner, which has oblidged your honours petitioners to assemble wth their Familys together for their Better defence; But as the number of men now here will not be sufficient to defend themselves and Familys any long time against the Enemy, they must inevitably, either fall into their hands to be massacrey'd or desert the post now at ——, Either of which must be attended with fatal Consequences to the next Frontiers [illegible] well assured (under those dismall [illegible] authorized by me to any [illegible] er Divine Provid [illegible] any [illegible] into the Settlements, desire that our D [illegible], not to interfere with me in any [illegible] ation, and that [illegible] gement. [illegible] in your Wisd [illegible] hall direct, [illegible] your [illegible], where [illegible] as in duty bound Shall ever Pray.*

Edmund Atkin to George Croghan, 1757.

Winchester, the 8th June, 1757.

Sir,

When we parted at Philada, the 26th of March, I desired you not to fail of sending after me an account of the result of the Conferences you was then going to hold with the Susquehanna and other Indians, at Lancaster, or Harris's Ferry, in Pennsylvania. On the same Day, hearing the certainty of a large party of Cawtabas & Cherokees being got so far as the Virginia Settlements, in order to go against the Shawnesse, as the propriety of the making Peace or War between them, depended intirely on the result of those Conferences. I acquainted you therewith by Letter, (which Mr. Pemberton undertook to convey to you) and that I should not incline, when I reached Williamsburgh, to turn my back whilst those Cawtabas or Cherokees should stay, nor untill I should here from you, and therefore I prayed you to send me the earliest Intelligence you could for the determination of my conduct, wherefore, as I have not had the favour of a Line from you ever since, it hath given me not a little uneasiness.

When I reached this Colony I found it just on the Brink of Confusion and distraction, by means of the very Indians that had been drawn with great pains and expence to its assistance. For no person pretended to much knowledge or acquaintance with them and their affairs, the Persons employed as Conductors or Interpreters (there being no regulation entred into) carried them chiefly through the Heart of the Settlements, disorders were committed, and the Inhabitants terrified every where. There had then gone up, & were going to this Place and Fort Cumberland 124 Cawtabas, 148 Chero-

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* Signed by 21 persons. Read in Council, June 6, 1757.

kees, 57 Tusks and other Tributary Indians; 128, part of the said Cherokees, then on their way thro' Lunenberg County, not finding what Presents they expected there at the Court House, & extorting promisses, committed the most flagrant outrages and violence, frightening, plundering, and even ravishing one poor Girl & killing a Chickasaw in their Company for reproving them. In a word, as Col. Read wrote to Governor Dinwiddie, they behaved like Free Booters in an Enemys Country.—And though they received a Considerable Present at Bedford Court House, yet they bullied with Insolent Speeches the Commanding officer of Fort Loudon, at this Place, when they got to it after, to such a degree, that he promised them every thing they could want, and they made out accordingly the most extravagant *List* of their Demands before they would Stirr a Step to War; you must know that Wawhatchee, Chief of all the Southern Cherokee Towns, and another Captain, commonly called the Swallow, are the Leaders of all those Cherokees, except 13 over Hillpeople, under Yatahnou, called the Young Warrior of Tellasee; those lower Cherokees are from five Towns, the worst behaved in the Nation, and Wawhatchee, perhaps himself the greatest rogue among them, most certainly of unbounded avarice, well and long known to me in particular, & not having the least regard for the English, further than he can get Presents from them. Hints are given, that on failure of the Governor sending what they expected, they should turn back, pay themselves, and perhaps Scalp some people.

The Governor & Council being greatly alarmed, & dreading the Consequences, when so many different Indians were got together, requested me unanimously (while I was waiting for Lord Loudouns Directions) to come up hither, as being indispensably necessary for the Service in General. Just as I was ready to start out, the Cawtabas came all down to Williamsburgh, on their way homeward, the 11th of last month, except a small party of 11, who have gone home since greatly dissatisfied, & for Different reasons resolved to go home. I prevailed on them twice to consent to send back one or two parties, but it was as oft frustrated officious Interposition of others, who either affronted them or ridiculously coaxed them; So that at last they left the Town in such an ill humour that it has gave infinite uneasiness, and the Government gave me unlimited power to Satisfy them. I went after them to James Town Ferry, by a private agreement I made, where, after adjusting matters satisfactory in Behalf of the Virginia Government that sent for them, without Five pounds Expence, or any promise given of a farthing Value; I spoke to them in the name of the King, which produced all the good effect I could possibly desire, and I think I may venture to say they will be at my devotion. They have offered to send relieving Parties, to enter Virginia only by my Passports, with proper Conducters up hither, the direct Way by the old War path, the number limited and the reward to be ascertained and paid in proportion to the Service, & the time of Serving. This Government is resolved to strengthen my

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Hands, and enable me to bring their Indian Affairs under a proper regulation, being convinced they have no other way to put a stop to & reduce their present vast Expence, to render themselves quiet in their Settlements, & obtain a more Effectual assistance from the Indians. They have put their Presents in my sole disposal, & desired me to appoint a Commissary to take Charge of and deliver them, & Conductors or Interpreters, &c. And Proclamations having been issued in Support of my Commission, particularly warning all persons not to go unless authorized by me to any of the Indian Countrys, or to bring any Indians into the Settlements, nor to come themselves with them, nor to interfere with me in any part of my management.

I got to this place the 3^{d} Ins^{t}., where I found Wawhatchee with 46 of his people, (besides one woman) & Yatahnou, with his 13, waiting for me, after their return from Maryland & Pennsylvania, where Capt^{n} Paris, not pursuing the Orders he went out with, and baulking a particularly Service intended had carried them to offer their Services. This Governor Dinwiddie thought wrong, as the Indians were brought to the assistance of this Colony, & supported with great Expence to it, & Captain Paris was in its pay and Service by his Commission. Tho' had he not taken, as he did, another Commission from Governor Sharpe, I was impowered by Governor Dinwiddie to discharge him in his name, on account of the many ① Complaints he had received against him in other Respects. In my way to the Town, I was informed by an half Breed Cawtaba, that Wawhatchee's Party had formed a Resolution of going into all the White Peoples Houses in their way homeward and of taking whatever they liked, and that they even advised him to do the same. At my arrival, I was told they resolved to set off the next Day, a little while after I was in the House Wawhatchee came with most of his people to see me, I seem'd to take but little notice of him, & in a few minutes he said he wanted to hear what I had to say. I told him when I was ready to speak to him, I would let him know it. When would that be? I said I had given an answer already. Would it be to morrow? Then I told him it wou'd be whenever I pleased; whereupon, he started up as the rest did after him, and bolting out of the Room, he went to his Quarters & gave orders to his people to get every thing together to set off immediately. Yahtanou, who had not been present, being sent for by him, came and asked me what had offended him, & being told ridiculed it. He undertook, voluntarily, to diswade him from going off directly, & did so. In the mean time every one else seemed frightened; But I knew of how much importance it was to the Honour of this Government, the security of the Settlement. The Kings service in every thing else to come after & to my own Credit, that I should not be hurried as others have been. In the Evening I had Yatanou with me, in order to throw out some Things for him to work upon Wawhatchee, at Second Hand. While he was with me, Wawhatchee sent for him to Council, & soon after

sent word to him to tell me, that if I did not talk to him that very night he would set off in the morning early. I bid Yatawnau to tell him I would not, and he might go if he pleased. But he had best take care what he was about, for that if he would not stay and hear the Kings talk from me, I would follow him to his Country and make him hear me in presence of all the Nations. This had effect, for as he owned to others that he knew me at first sight; he was, in truth, afraid of me, knowing how near he was by my means to be put to Death in his own Town of Kuwee, for the protection he gave ~~to~~ the murders of M^{r}. George Haig, and he no doubt imagined I was come to call him to an account for what he and his people had committed in this Colony. The next morning, after waiting patiently, he took care to let me know at Second Hand, that if I had a mind to talk Cross, he could talk Cross too, But if I would talk good so would he; upon this overture I sent for him, Yatahnau & their Seconds, to a private Conference, in which I let him know the nature and design of my Commission.

"That I was sent by the King to manage every thing with them "and the other Southern Indians, and all the King's Children in "these four Southern Colonies, That I was his mouth between them "all, and henceforth they were to regard nothing but what came "from my Mouth, or they saw under my Seal, That they could "receive no more presents but from me, and that they had no more "to do with the Governors, who were only to mind the affairs of "the white people," (agreeable whereto I delivered a Letter under the Hand and Seal of the Governor of Virginia, expressing that he had left everything to me,) "That I should visit the Indians my-"self, and see into every thing that was amiss for their and our "mutual Good. That I knew many wrong things had been done "on both sides; but I was not come to look back, for that the King "had only sent me to join with their head men in wiping of the "Rust from the Chain between them, & in keeping it bright for "ever after. That the King had appointed another beloved Man, "Sir W^{m}. Johnson to be his Mouth with the Six Nations and other "Northward Indians, between you and all his other Children near "them, and to act in like manner, He and I were now Brothers, & "should let each other know everything. That I had a Belt and "Strings of Wampum from the Six Nations," &c., &c. During this Conference their Countenances visibly cleared up and grew Chearful. Wawhatchee declared he did not expect at first to hear any thing good from me for that he had been used to hear a great many different kinds of Talks. He might have hearkened to me, but shoud not have regarded me, let me come from what Province soever, especially Carolina, That he had not slept the night before, but that now he was easy and quite satisfied, being convinced I came directly from the King. He made Excuses for his Behaviour which he own'd was wrong, & owing to the Prejudice and ill Opinion he had conceived of me, but woud make amends by his Behaviour here-

after; and if I wou'd let him know in Time of my Coming to his Countrey, he wou'd Collect all the Head Men and Warriors of the Nation, & come about 100 or 150 miles to meet me, and carry me into their Towns, where they would hold me fast, & mind whatever I should say. I then told them that they were Strangers in these parts, and the People unacquainted with them. That from some Things I had heard in my Way to the Southward, I fear'd some Mischief wou'd happen which made me come out of the Way so far to talk with them. Upon which Wawhatchees second got up, and taking me by the Hand thanked me most heartily, for he said it was true there wou'd have been a great deal of Mischief which I had now prevented. Wawhatchee confirmed it, thanked me in like manner, as did the others. In the Evening I had another private Conference with them wherein I enquired into the Occasion of their coming here; told them that I wou'd see the Engagements of this Government fulfilled according to the Treaty made last Year with them & the Cawtabaws, & that for the future when this Service was wanted I would agree with them for their Reward before they came and wou'd perform my promisses. There should be no Disputes or uncertainties about their reward, Wawhatchee said he was glad to find they had now such a Friend, it did not signify to say much now here, their Towns being the most proper place. He was in haste before to go with the good News of the Kindness they received in Maryland, but now he was in more haste.

The next Morning being the 5th, just as I was going to deliver the Presents of this Government, and to cancel their Engagements, & then to hint to the Cherokees the Regulation intended by me, as I had done to the Catawbaw's, Captⁿ Paris shew'd me a Letter from you to him dated at Carlisle the 3d with a String of white wampum to invite the Cherokees under his Command to meet you with him at Fort Loudoun "in Pennsylvania to receive a present provided by "that Government, which had been before mention'd to them by "Colonel Armstrong, and to tell them the Mohawks had sent one "of their Chief men along with you to brighten the Chain of Friendship between them and the Cherokee Nation, but not to deliver "that Message until the Business transacting between them and "this Government should be finished." Without Doubt you had no notice of my being hereabouts, But you will be Sensible from what I said before, that Captⁿ Paris had no command here, having discharged himself by accepting of a Commission in another Government. He nor any other person could negotiate any matter with the Indians in my department without my Leave. (By the way he is a man whom I shall by no means ever Intrust with the Conduct of Indian concerns, tho' I believe he is a fit man to head a party in the Woods, & I have been obliged to make use of his Tongue, on this Occasion upon oath as Interpreter.) Tho' I gave all the Caution possible not to let the Cherokees know the Message, yet they

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were soon made acquainted with it by more than one for different Reasons and purposes.

The alteration was visible. Tho' they had not once before touched upon Presents with me, & were disposed to receive thankfully whatever I should have given them, yet when I came after to produce the presents of the Governor (more than sufficient to perform his Engagements, & by no means contemptible,) to be divided between the Cherokees now here, and those still out at War with the Swallow. Wawhatchee looked on them with disdain, said they were not worth dividing, wou'd rather leave them all for the Swallow & go up to go away. As this Government had it nearest Heart to get them away well satisfied, to prevent Mischief, I told him if he had the Conscience to take all and leave none for the Swallow and his People, he might, and he did so without Remorse, This will be an additional Expence to Virginia. Then I told him in a proper manner of the Letter & String of Wampum from you which I shou'd, and said if they were willing to stay and go out again to War, I wou'd send for you for that I would not promise them any Thing till I knew what I cou'd do from your own mouth. To this Wawhatchee & Yatanore seemed indifferent, not at all inclined to receive the String, but pretended afterwards they would this morning say something to me, But neither came, Instead thereof Yahtanore having got drunk set out early with his 13 overhill men Homeward. And all Wawhatchee's People (except seven or eight that staid with him, & the other prisoner a young Delaware,) pushed of towards Fort Fredrick without any men of Consequence among them, and without my Knowledge in their way, no Doubt to Fort Loudoun, That is Wawhatchee hath sent them to levy Contributions there, as he hath done all the Course of their Journey, and then post off homeward with the same before the Swallow & his people, (93 men) who I have sent for and are most likely to Stay & do Service can come and take part. For Wawhatchee's People go meerly to get the Presents, & walk of with the whole. At the same time they are to make me a Liar, after having first told them they are now only to talk with me, and can have no presents but from my Hands.

It was on purpose to prevent all partial & local Regard and the many ill Consequences arising by different Ways of talking, treating and acting with Indians that his Majesty was pleased for the Good of all his American Subjects without distinction, to appoint two Superintendants for the management of all the Indian Affairs divided into two Districts, free from any particular provincial Influence. Sir William Johnson and myself you know were to correspond with other, but neither of us meant to treat with or to give Presents to the Indians in the others District, which would tend to distroy entirely the proper Weight & Influence of each in his own Department, much less should any Colony Treat with or give Presents to them, and by outbidding each other lose the Benefit of the very Service they want, Enhance each others Expence as well as the Kings of

Consequence, & distract his Majesties Measures that is the General Service of the whole. The Giving Presents is so Essential a part of my office that without that Power in my Hands, it is impossible for me to do his Majesty any Service at all, & any interfereing wth me therein, as well as in talking, is striking directly at the Root of my Commission.

I know it is in my Power to serve effectually both Maryland and Pennsylvania, by the same measures I take for Virginia, if they will contribute their parts towards the Expence (on a Footing that may be done to their own intire satisfaction,) and I can do it at a vastly cheaper Rate, than they can possibly procure it themselves. It is my Desire to give them all the assistance in my power. But they will put it out of my power to give them any if they intermeddle with the Indians under my Direction, and will not be able to procure it themselves. On the Contrary tho' they do not see it, yet they are taking the only way to Tax themselves without Bounds, upon the whole in my opinion, it is absolutely necessary for his Majesty's Service, that you stop and send back to me the Cherokees now gone from hence to you, referring matters to me seeing I am here, and that you came over here as the Distance is but little, to consult and Confer with me on this Occasion, for I think every thing is at Stake in this District. It will give me great Pleasure to see you here as soon as possible, for which purpose I shall wait your answer, tho' much wanted to the Southward, hoping by that means to establish some Rule of proceeding at this Juncture, equally Beneficial to all the neighbouring Colonies, For it's impossible to transact a thing of this nature by writing only. I expect to see here daily Richard Smith, (an Excellent Interpreter,) with at least the Chiefs of the Cherokees now out at War between Fort Pleasant and Fort Cumberland: and that will be a good Opportunity for you to be here, with the Mohawk in your Company.

I am Sir,

Your very hble Serv^{t}., ④

EDM'D ATKIN.

9th P. S. I have warned Duning your Express (whom I have detain'd in the Hurry I am in till I could give you this detail,) not to carry over Powtomack Wawhatchee's people, who I understand are waiting for him or Paris, or both, untill he shall hear from you.

As I am informed by Duning, Col. Stanwix is at Carlisle, a copy of this for his Information, (too late to be sent to Lord Loudoun,) will be very proper (with my Compliments) and I wish you would send another to Sir W^{m}. Johnston, to whom I shall write soon myself.

George Croghan, Esq^{r}.

Indorsed.

Letter of Edmund Atkin, Esquire, Superintendent of Indian

Brig Gen. John Stanwix

Affairs in the Southern District, to Mr. Croghan. Inclosed in Col. Stanwix's Letter of 13th June. Laid before the Council, 23d June.*

LIST OF JUSTICES OF BUCKS COUNTY, 1757.

BUCKS COUNTY.

List of Justices of the Peace who have taken the Qualifications by Virtue of the last Comission of the Peace, Dated the 9th Day of June, Anno Domini, 1752.

Affirmed, Abraham Chapman, Dead.
Sworn, Mathew Hughes, very old and Infirm.
Sworn, Simon Butler.
Affirmed, Ennion Williams, scarce ever Comes to Court and refuses to give an oath.
Affirmed, Richard Mitchell.
Sworn, John Abraham Denormandie, In the Assembly.
Sworn, Alexander Graydon.
Affirmed, Thomas Janney.
Sworn, Richard Walker.
Sworn, John Jamison.
Affirmed, William Buckley, refuses to give an oath.
Sworn, John Hart, old, Impaired by apoplexy.
Affirmed, John Chapman.
Sworn, John Willson.
Affirmed, William Rodman, refuses to give the oath, &c.
Affirmed, Gilbert Hicks.

More named in the same Comission who have not taken the Qualification, viz^{t}.

Mahlon Kirkbride, refuses.
Langhorne Biles, refuses.
Septimus Robinson.
John Watson, Jun^{r}., refuses.
William Paxson, refuses.†

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* Referred to, Col. Rec. Vol. VII. p. 598.

† See Colon. Rec. Vol. VII. p. 437, also Vol. VI. p. 388, 573.

EDMUND ATKIN TO GOV. SHARPE, 1757.

Winchester, June 12th, 1757.

Sir,

I am very much obliged to your Excellency for your Favour of the 1st Instant, which came to my hand last Sunday, giving me a Copy of the Message or Letter sent to you from the Party of Cherokees, carried by Capt Pearis into Maryland the 29th of April last, and of the Transactions that passed afterwards at Fort Frederick on your Frontier, between them and the two Gentlemen whom you sent to hold a Treaty with them; imagining I was returned to South Carolina. It gave me much satisfaction, because it furnished me timely with the necessary Information that I wanted for my conduct, and put it in my power at the same time to send you some proper Remarks, which may be useful Hints for your own hereafter.

⑤

Permit me first to rectify an Error which you seem to be under, by saying you heard I was expected here in a few Days to hold a *Treaty* with the Indians that came to Virginia by Govr. Dinwiddie's Invitation; and to make them a present. My Business is to make a new Treaty in his Majesty's Name, in Behalf of all his Subjects without Distinction in North America, with every *Nation* of Indians in my Department, that are willing to be in Friendship with them; as the only Basis of the future Quiet & Security of the whole. This I was bending my Course to the Indian Countries to do in their Towns. The Impropriety of any particular Colony entering into a Treaty with Indians, for itself separately, will appear from hence at first view. But nothing can deserve the Name of a Treaty, that hath not certain Articles and Conditions stipulated to be performed on both Sides, by those who have a power to do it. Now his Majesty hath put a Stop to the Exercise of such a Power by the several Colonies, each for themselves, which could not but clash frequently with each other's Good; and taken it into his own Hands as his Prerogative, by appointing two Agents and Superintendents, to manage and transact all affairs with the Indians, divided into two Districts or Departments. And with Respect to the Indians, whatever particular Parties or Numbers of them may be brought, by Dint of Presents to say or promise for their Nation, when in our Settlements; yet their greatest men having no Power to do so when from Home, it hath in their own Sense of Things, no Validity further than their present Convenience, because according to Indian Polity, the Consent of their whole people is necessary before any thing can take Place effectually.—There is in your answer to that part of the Message you received from the Cherokees before mentioned, taking Notice, that upon coming to Fort Frederick, they found themselves no longer in Virginia but in another Government

a very just and proper Remark made to them; "that the Virginians "and your people were nevertheless one people; that the Inhabi-"tants of all the Colonies were Brethren, Subjects of the same Great "King; and that they who are Friends to some of them must be "Friends to all." The same Sentiment pursued a little further, might have pointed out the Propriety of one common Purse for the Good of all. Nothing is more easy than to make Indians sensible, that they ought not to expect to be paid by different Colonies for the same Service; But they have Sense enough also not to refuse it. And if their Assistance is put entirely on the Footing of presents, & not at all upon Friendship founded in a mutual Interest, and they have different Markets to go to for selling it, they will most certainly flock to the highest Bidder. One particular Colony may in such Case serve itself for a present purpose, but the King will be disabled from assisting his other Subjects; the Royal Purse itself being unequal at this Juncture to the copying the Example, in a District where there above 10,000 Indians that bear Arms. Whereas if the Indians therein can receive Presents only from one hand, in the Name of the King, and in Behalf of all his Subjects without Distinction, they must and will be content with what shall be given to as many as shall be wanted for Service; and will go where they are desired: and all the Colonies will reap equal Benefit.—There cannot be a better Instance given of the ill consequences arising by two Colonies treating or negotiating with the same Indians, or interfering with the King's Measures, with which they are unacquainted, than in the present case; whereof you will receive a sufficient Idea or Proof, by reading the inclosed Copy of a Letter which I wrote to Mr. Croghan, Sir William Johnson's Deputy in the Northern District, by way of answer to a Letter Capt. Pearis received from him by the same Express that brought your Packet, inviting the before mentioned Party of Cherokees to Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania, to receive a present provided for them by that Government, in Consequence of the Message they had sent to Govr Denny, offering their assistance to him also. In that Letter you will find all that is needful to be said further upon this Subject in general; together with a true State of the Indian Affairs in this Colony when I came into it, an account of my Transactions with the Catawbas, as well as with the said Cherokees, and my sincere Disposition to do any Thing in my Power consistent with my Duty, for the Service both of Maryland & Pennsylvania. You will see how fortunate my being at Williamsburg was, to prevent a Convulsion which must have otherways happened in this Colony, and shaken all the Colonies in its Consequences. How terrible that to us! and how favourable for the French just as Lord Loudoun embarked! and you cannot help seeing also, how unfortunately the Message of Invitation came from Pennsylvania, to put a Stop to my further Negotiations for the King's Service.

I consider Pearis as the Spring of this Mischief, who being then

(6)

in the Pay & Service of this Government, and in Breach of his Orders, turning his Back upon & baulking a Matter of Importance, (being certainly conscious of his intended Discharge for Misbehaviour,) carried Wawhatchee's said Party over Potowmack, in order to make a Merit with the Governments of Maryland and Pennsylvania, by offering their Assistance. And tho' they seem to have entertained a very grateful Sense of that Service, yet in Fact, he led them into a Difficulty, from which they cannot extricate themselves without my Help. There are many Strokes in Wawhatchee's Message to you, and in the Transactions at Fort Frederick, of his Impudence, Selfishness and avaricious views supported by an artful Way of bullying. He sent you even a List of what he wanted, (as he had done before here to Gov^{r}. Dinwiddie,) which he knows he never presumed to do to the Southward; promising to stay as long as there should be Use for him and his people, tho' he intended nothing less. He slighted the Present of £100, tho' he would not have left a less one behind him. He refused to give up the Scalps for the large Reward of £50 each, on pretence of a point of Honor, but in Truth, that he might receive the Virginia Reward also. This money might have been saved; because Paris knew that being then in the Pay & Service of this Colony, they were obliged to deliver those Scalps here, for £10 each. (In a few Days more the Reward will be, I hear, £40 for a Scalp, & £45 for a Prisoner,) And tho' I observe it is said in the Copy of the Transactions, that Wawhatchee did at last deliver the Scalps, yet he hath brought them here, and would no Doubt have got Payment for them again, had I not been here. In his Reply to your answer to his Message after receiving the Present, he discovers fully his real Intention; for he labours to let you know how large he intended to make the Path to you; that he would hold up your Belt to his young Men to freshen the Track, and would send for them to go to War with him (tho' he was really going home) and *to receive Presents as he and his had done.* That it was a *small* Present, being for a few he had killed, but when he should come again, he would kill more, and hoped to receive *a larger Present;* and that *as long as King George would furnish them with Cloaths,* he would continue to destroy his and their Enemies. This is not, according to Wawhatchee's views, consistent with the Cherokee Treaty made by their Deputies in England, 1730; whereby they were promised to be furnished with all Manner of Goods that they wanted, by the Carolina Traders; and one of the Conditions on their part was, that they should be always ready to fight against any white men or Indians whatever, that should molest or hurt the English; yet they ought undoubtedly to receive a reasonable Reward for their Time and Trouble, while taken from their Hunts to assist us.

On the 8th, most of Wawhatchee's Party stole away in the Morning privately, to get the Present intended at Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania. But Mr. Croghan who was to have delivered it, on a few Lines of Notification I sent by Express at their Heels, just to put

him on his Guard, resolved, before my other Letter at large reached him, not to transact any thing whatever with them. Pearis who the same Day asked Leave of me most earnestly, to go to his new Duty in Maryland, but promised solemnly he would not go, until Smith whom I had sent for should come to me, followed them the next Morning without saying a Word to me more; leaving me without an Interpreter to speak to those that remained in this Town.

I doubt not you will be sensible that the Regulation under my Passports and Directions only, which I established with the Catawbas, and purpose to establish also with the Cherokees, is the only Means of obtaining an effectual Assistance from them, on reasonable Terms and with the Quiet & Satisfaction of our Colonies. And if Maryland and Pennsylvania are so desirous as they appear to be, to partake of the Benefit arising by the Assistance of those Indians, they will surely think it but just to contribute their Part towards the Expence of it. And unless they do so, inasmuch as the Number of Indians that I shall send up this Way, will depend entirely upon my Stock of presents, to discharge my Engagements, they ought not to wonder if, contrary to my Inclination, I confine the Services of those I do send, to this Side of Potowmack River, within my own District.

I am Sir,
Your Excellency's very humble
and most obedient Servant,
(Signed) EDM'D. ATKIN.

To His Excellency, Horatio Sharpe, Esq^r.

ADMIRAL THOMAS COTES TO GOV. DENNY, 1757.

Marlborough, in Port Royal Harbour,
12th June, 1757.

Sir:

The Contractors for Victualling His Majesty's Ships on this Station, relying on the Supplys of Bread they have Ordered from Philadelphia, have omitted sending a Supply from England, by which means We are reduced to great Straits for want of Bread, and it will be impossible for me to Execute His Majesty's Orders, if the Vessells freighted with Bread for His Majesty's Ships here, are not permitted to Sail from your Ports; I must therefore, Sir, desire in the most pressing manner, that you will allow the Bread to be sent by the Contractors Agent, to enable me to keep the Sea with His Majesty's Ships, for the Protection of the Trade of this Island. My Squadron contains near 5000 Men, who are allowed one pound of Bread a Day for each man, So that our Demands are very great, and

can only be Supplyed from your Colony; And if we are disappointed by the Embargo being continued, His Majesty's Ships on this Station must lay Idle in Port, and the Enemy will be Masters at Sea and Destroy all our Trade.

The Reproach and Loss that will be to the Nation, I need not mention to your Excellency.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient Servt.
THOS. COTES.

COL. JOHN ARMSTRONG TO GOV. DENNY, 1757.

Carlisle, 19th June, 1757.

May it Please your Honr,

On the seventh Inst., ꝑ advice of Coll Stanwix, I set out with Mr. Croghan for Fort Loudon, carrying the Provincial Present for the Cherokees, under an Escort of Eighty Men, expecting, after the delivery of the Present, to have been join'd by Captn Parris & a party of the Indians, and to have reconoitred the Country towards the Alleghany Hill, as far as was possible with what Provision the Men cou'd carry on their Backs. On going to Loudon, Capt. Croghan recd a long Letter from Mr. Atkins,* (the Surperintendant for the Southern district, then at Winchester) letting him know that thirty three Cherokees had Stole away towards Pennsylvania without his knowledge, and without a Chief, for which he also blamed Paris, in first fetching them over Potomack, forbidding Mr. Croghan to send for, speak to, or give any thing to them, but immediately to come to him at Winchester, aledging that the Provinces were chargable with indiscretion, in not doing what they did thro' him, who was the Sole Agent over those Tribes. Mr. Croghan shew'd me the Letter and desir'd I would go with him, to which I readily agreed, thinking it the best Opportunity of Vindicating the Governmt so far as it had been concern'd. Doctor Ross, from Fort Frederick, at the same time representing the Province of Maryland. The Gentleman (tho' perhaps rather too nice in the conduct of his affairs at so critical a conjuncter) treated us politely, and was soon convinc'd that those Colonies had no design of neglecting his authority, knew nothing of his being at Winchester, nor had done any thing to or for the Indians, but what was very natural; only that future Presents must be put under his direction, which we presum'd was right, and wou'd be controverted by none. The Indians before mention'd having return'd to Winchester, and their Chief Wahatchy being dispos'd to go home, Mr. Atkins gave them something on acct of the Pennsylvania Present, which Mr. Croghan is to refund him out of it, keeping the residue for a part of the Eighty Indians who, with

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* See it page 175.

the Swallow Warrior, have been on duty betwixt Fort Cumberland & Fort Du Quisne, and were go within Twenty five Miles of Winchester on their return to see Mr. Atkins. Fourteen of those, under the immediate conduct of the Swallow, a few Miles from F. D—e, fell in with three or four French Subaltern Officers, and a few private men, who had been at the Head of a Party of Soldiers & Indians, whome, when return'd near the Fort, they had sent a Hunting. The Swallow fir'd first, knock'd down an Officer, and on springing up to Scalp him, was unfortunately Shot thro' the head; the party loosing their Chief was some what confounded, but kill'd and scalp'd two or three of the Officers, and has brought in an Ensign, prisoner. *One Captn Spotswood, who went out with an other Party of Cherokees is thought to be kill'd, two of his Men are fallen in at Fort Lyttleton, who say he desir'd them to do for themselves. Before this Time, yr Honour may have heard that Lieut Holliday, on the 8th Inst., with 25 Men, went into the Great Cove about Ten Miles from Fort Loudoun, where he and about Ten of the Men went into a Deserted house, the others at some small distance were drinking at a Spring, in which possition they were Surrounded & Surprized by a Party of Indians, who soon dispers'd them, kill'd the Lieut. and three of the Men, taking three others prisoners, with a number of Blankets and Arms. This is an unfortunate affair, the Men say, that the Lieut. finding himself surrounded & some of his Men scatter'd, desir'd the others to escape the best way they could, however some of the Men are to be punished, & five aquitted. More might be said on this affair, but is now needless. On Riding from Winchester to Shippensburg, with only Capt. Mercer & Capt. Armstrong in Compy, Mr. Croghan having waited the coming of the Indians with the French Officer, I was Inform'd that Indians were seen in Sundry parts of this County, and in waiting an Hour at Shippensburgh for a fresh Horse, receiv'd two Expresses from different parts of the neighbourhood, the latter said that some Men were at work in a Corn field, four Miles from that place, that a party of Indians Sprang out of a Field of Winter Corn, shot down one of the Men, the others escap'd to a House, from whence they were defending themselves; on both occasions I detach'd parties immediately, but have not heard further.

This Day Colonel Stanwix is to write your Honour of his preparation to March immediately from this place, having receiv'd Intelligence from Captn Dagworthy, at Fort Cumberland, that Six Cherokees that staid to view the situation of Duquesne, observ'd the French hurrying greatly and making preparation, as they thought, to March out an Army; accordingly, the Indians watched their motions, until, on the Tenth Inst., they saw a large Body cross the Monongehela, near the place where Genl Braddock was defeated, with wheel'd Carriages and Guns larger than any at Fort Cumberland, and Men, as the Indians phrase it, that cou'd not be counted.

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* See Colon. Rec. Vol. VII, p. 598-601.

Capt^{n} Dagworthy thinks they are coming against that place, (which indeed is most probable) where they have but 180 Men, raw troops from Maryland. Col^{l} Washington told me, if he came without Erecting something by the way, that it was not in his power to be early enough to assist the Garrison, nor wou'd all his men be more than a Breakfast to the French & their Indians.

I have order'd Spys from Fort Lyttleton to the Alleghany Hills, least the whole, or any part shou'd be Destin'd to this Province. Colonel Stanwix has ordered me to join him with at least 250 men, his first object is Winchester, except future intelligence prevent or alter his Rout. He has allow'd us two Waggons, we have but little Baggage, having but a few Tents, and not enough of Kettles, Blankets, nor Arms. I have frequently mention'd the number of Arms, and Blankets that were wanted, now they are more of course. Our Flints are very bad, no person is yet appointed to make the necessary Contracts, nor Money given to defray Contingent expences, such as the Carriage of Stores from Harris's to this Place, transporting of Amunition and Provisions from one Garrison to another, sending Expresses on Sundrie occasions, &c., which services require ready pay, or they will not be done. The Provisions of this Garrison was so roten that the Men lived at their own expence for meat, the space of Ten Days, and thro' necessity eat Frequently when the Meat was unsound; after sundry applications being made to no purpose, I was obliged (the Men being ready to Mutiny) to apply to Col^{l} Stanwix, who sent his Doctor to inspect the Meat, which he entirely condemned, upon which the Colonel gave orders that it should be imediately hove out, carry'd away and buried, which was perform'd with great difficulty on acc^{t} of the smell. M^{r}. Hoops then being in Town, gave us some fresh Meat, Mr. Buchanan does not give himself any trouble in supplying the defects, or replacing the Meat. Hoops, yesterday, was unwilling to give any more until he had your Hon^{rs} or the Commissioners orders, upon which I was again oblig'd to apply to Col^{l} Stanwix, who immediately order'd M^{r}. Hoops to supply us. The Meat is generally safe at the other Garrisons but very salt, we have some dry'd Meat here which is kept for the Woods. I suppose M^{r}. Hoops, or M^{r}. Buchanan, will write on the subject of Provisions.

I am, Honoured Sir,
Your most obed^{t}
Humbl. Serv^{t}.
JOHN ARMSTRONG.

Pennsylvania, a History, Vol II - Donohoo Ed., et al (1926) R974.8 P413MPL

Re: PEARIS (This book does not mention Capt. Richard Pearis--few of any of the mere captains. It gives credit to Atkin for the Cherokee troops but maintains they were burdens rather than assets!)

Washington wrote to the Speaker of the House of Burgesses, Robinson, on the 1st of September, from Fort Cumberland: "The conduct of our leaders, if not actuated by superior orders is tempered with something I do not care to give a name to. Nothing now but a miracle can bring this campaign to a happy issue."

On September 23 General Forbes, then at Raystown, writes to Colonel Bouquet:

> Col. Stephens writes Col. Washington that he is told by everybody that the road from Loyal Hannon (Ligonier) to the Ohio and the French fort is now impracticable. For what reason, or why, he writes thus I do not know; But I see Col. Washington and my friend Col. Byrd, would rather be glad this was true than otherways, seeing the other road (their favorite scheme) was not allowed out. I told them plainly that, whatever they thought, yet I did aver that, in our prosecuting the present road, we had proceeded from the best intelligence that could be got for the good and convenience of the army, without any views to oblige any one Province or another; and added that those two gentlemen were the only people that I had met with who had shewed their weakness in their attachment to the province they belong to, by declaring so publicly in favor of one road without their knowing anything of the other, having never heard from any Pennsylvania person one word about the road; and that, as for myself, I could safely say—and believed I might answer for you—that the good of the service was the only view we had at heart, not valuing the provincial interest, jealousys, or suspicions, one single two-pence; and that, therefore, I could not believe Col. Stephen's descriptions untill I had heard from you, which I hope you will very soon be able to disprove. I fancy what I said more on this subject will cure them from coming upon this topic again.

On July 31 Forbes had written to Bouquet, after a conference with Washington:

> I have had an interview with Colonel Washington, to ascertain how he conceives the difficulties could be overcome: I got no satisfaction from it; the majority of these gentlemen do not know the difference between a party and an army, and overlooking all difficulties, they believe everything to be easy which flatters their ideas.
>
> (The various letters of Washington quoted in this section are from Sparks' "Life and Writings of Washington." Some of them are found, in part, in Loudermilk's "History of Cumberland," 238, etc.)

There is no question whatever, but that General Forbes was absolutely unprejudiced in his selection of the old Indian trail to the Ohio, as the nearest and best route for his expedition. The one chief difficulty which Braddock had to contend with was the great trouble he had in getting supplies of food to Fort Cumberland and then over the road to his camps. That was one reason why he attempted to have a road cut from the rich farming region of Pennsylvania, to join his road at Turkey Foot. General Braddock wished to do the very thing which General Forbes did, that is, have a road from Pennsylvania to the Ohio. There is no doubt but that if General Braddock had made as careful a study of the matter as had General Forbes and Colonel Bouquet, that he never would have taken the course which he did. In fact, he realized as soon

as he had started on the expedition that the road which Sir John St. Clair had chosen, was the wrong one. And Sir John, after his previous experience, was still in favor of the old road, as the course for the expedition of General Forbes. But this general was of a different type. He had a "head of iron" and when he saw a thing, he did it regardless of what others might think.

The very condition of affairs at Fort Cumberland when Washington was there, and still urging the Braddock road, was the best argument against taking that course, which could be offered. At that time about one fifth of the men were sick, they had no provisions, they were without salt, and everything was at a low ebb because of this condition of want. One of the first things which Washington did when he reached Raystown on September 16 was to tell General Forbes of this condition, who then ordered Major Halket to send a convoy of provisions to Fort Cumberland, which was done the next day. Thus proving, at the very outset of the expedition, that Raystown was a better base of supplies, because it was nearer the source of supplies than Fort Cumberland was or ever had been. Even Braddock had to depend upon Pennsylvania for the supply of horses, cattle, wagons, flour and other provisions which had to be taken around the longer way from the mouth of the Conococheague to Fort Cumberland, and then over the mountains. Even to-day the Lincoln Highway is a more direct course to Pittsburgh, from the Atlantic seaboard, than is the National Pike.

Another problem with which General Forbes had to deal was the one related to the subject of Indian allies. Braddock had been much blamed because he did not have Indians with him. Forbes made an attempt to remedy this condition by making use of Indians on his expedition. Edmund Atkin, a member of the Council in South Carolina, was appointed by the king as superintendent of Indian affairs for the southern provinces on the 13th of May, 1757. Through him a number of Cherokee and Catawba had been brought north for taking part in the expedition of General Forbes. At different times, there were small parties of these southern Indians at Fort Cumberland, Forts Loudon and Littleton and at Carlisle. The presence of these southern Indians caused a great deal of trouble in the peace efforts with the Delaware and Shawnee, as stated in a previous chapter (XXIV).

The Cherokee were used as scouts by the commanding officer at Fort Cumberland before they were used for the same purpose by the officers at Fort Loudon and Fort Littleton. They were very valuable in this service as they were thoroughly familiar with the methods which would be used by the Indian allies of the French at Fort Duquesne.

General Forbes, in a letter to Governor Dobbs, of North Carolina, written from New York, in March, 1758, says: "As I am given to under-

sent word to him to tell me, that if I did not talk to him that very night he would set off in the morning early. I bid Yatawnau to tell him I would not, and he might go if he pleased. But he had best take care what he was about, for that if he would not stay and hear the Kings talk from me, I would follow him to his Country and make him hear me in presence of all the Nations. This had effect, for as he owned to others that he knew me at first sight; he was, in truth, afraid of me, knowing how near he was by my means to be put to Death in his own Town of Kuwee, for the protection he gave ~~to~~ the murders of Mr. George Haig, and he no doubt imagined I was come to call him to an account for what he and his people had committed in this Colony. The next morning, after waiting patiently, he took care to let me know at Second Hand, that if I had a mind to talk Cross, he could talk Cross too, But if I would talk good so would he; upon this overture I sent for him, Yatahnau & their Seconds, to a private Conference, in which I let him know the nature and design of my Commission.

"That I was sent by the King to manage every thing with them and the other Southern Indians, and all the King's Children in these four Southern Colonies, That I was his mouth between them all, and henceforth they were to regard nothing but what came from my Mouth, or they saw under my Seal, That they could receive no more presents but from me, and that they had no more to do with the Governors, who were only to mind the affairs of the white people," (agreeable whereto I delivered a Letter under the Hand and Seal of the Governor of Virginia, expressing that he had left everything to me,) "That I should visit the Indians myself, and see into every thing that was amiss for their and our mutual Good. That I knew many wrong things had been done on both sides; but I was not come to look back, for that the King had only sent me to join with their head men in wiping of the Rust from the Chain between them, & in keeping it bright for ever after. That the King had appointed another beloved Man, Sir Wm. Johnson to be his Mouth with the Six Nations and other Northward Indians, between you and all his other Children near them, and to act in like manner, He and I were now Brothers, & should let each other know everything. That I had a Belt and Strings of Wampum from the Six Nations," &c., &c. During this Conference their Countenances visibly cleared up and grew Chearful. Wawhatchee declared he did not expect at first to hear any thing good from me for that he had been used to hear a great many different kinds of Talks. He might have hearkened to me, but shoud not have regarded me, let me come from what Province soever, especially Carolina, That he had not slept the night before, but that now he was easy and quite satisfied, being convinced I came directly from the King. He made Excuses for his Behaviour which he own'd was wrong, & owing to the Prejudice and ill Opinion he had conceived of me, but woud make amends by his Behaviour here-

and by the French commander of the attacking force,

First Explorations of Kentucky — J Stoddard Johnston (1898)

F455.J72

Appendix A.

Stepp's Miscellany, made up from Bradford's Notes on Kentucky, says: "In the year 1750 Doctor Thomas Walker, Colby Chew, Ambrose Powell, and several others from the counties of Orange and Culpeper, in Virginia, set out on a western excursion; they traveled down Holston River, crossed the mountain into Powell's Valley, thence across Cumberland Mountain at the Gap, where the road crosses, proceeded on across what was formerly known as the Wilderness until they arrived at Hazel Patch. Here the company divided; Doctor Walker with a part continued north until they came to Kentucky River, which they named Louisa or Levisa River. After traveling down the excessive broken or hilly region some distance they became dissatisfied and returned, and continued up one of the branches to its head and crossed over the mountains to New River, at a place called Walker's Meadows."

NOTE BY MR. DRAPER.— Marshall says it was 1758. Mr. H. Taylor thinks Doctor Walker told him it was in 1752, but Colonel Shelby states implicitly that in company with Doctor Walker on Yellow Creek, a mile or two from Cumberland Mountain, the Doctor observed, "Upon that tree," pointing to a beech, "Ambrose marked his name and the date of the year." I examined the tree and found "A. Powell, 1750."

("This book includes Walker's Journal + Gist's Journal)

SKETCH OF CHRISTOPHER GIST.

CHRISTOPHER GIST, who was one of the earliest and most intelligent explorers of the country west of the Alleghanies, was the son of Richard and Zipporah (Murray) Gist, and was a native of Maryland. His father was surveyor of the western shore of Maryland, and one of the Commissioners for laying off the City of Baltimore. His grandfather, Christopher Gist, was from England, and died in Baltimore County, Maryland, in 1691. Little is known of his early life, but the evidences he has left in his journals, his maps, plats of surveys, and correspondence indicate that he enjoyed the advantages of an education superior to that of many of his calling in those early days. His signature and manuscript are characterized by the neatness and uniformity of a copy plate, while his plats and surveys are models in their mathematical exactness and precision in drawing. To this evidence of scholarly order and professional skill he added the hardy qualities of the pioneer and backwoodsman, capable of enduring the exposure of long journeys in the most rigorous weather. In him were combined the varied talents which made him at once an accomplished surveyor, an energetic farmer

1752, brought about by his mission to the Ohio Indians the year previous, by which the treaty of Lancaster in 1744, ceding the lands afterward granted to the Ohio Company, was confirmed, Colonel Gist was present as a representative of the company, and his name appears on the treaty as one of the witnesses. After this service he made a settlement west of the Alleghany Mountains, between the Youghiogheny and Monongahela rivers, and not far from Redstone Old Fort, now Brownsville, Pennsylvania. He was there engaged in founding a home in the wilderness when he was called upon to perform another service which has linked his name with that of Washington in a critical period of his career. The threatening attitude of the French brought from the Ohio Indians and traders an appeal to Governor Dinwiddie, who selected Washington, then in his twenty-second year, as a Commissioner to visit the French Commander at Venango, on the Upper Alleghany River, and remonstrate with him against the pretensions of France. On his way he met Gist at Will's Creek, who agreed to accompany him, and whose skill as a woodsman and knowledge of the country rendered him an invaluable companion and guide. During the trip Gist twice saved Washington's life. The journals of both, giving the details of this perilous journey made in midwinter, form a valuable record of the initial events which preceded the war with the

French, in which Washington found the military school which fitted him for his great career as Commander of the Armies of the Revolution, and in which Gist was found as his most trusted friend and guide. He was with him in his victory at Great Meadows and in his disaster next day, July 4, 1754, at Fort Necessity, when Washington surrendered to the French in superior numbers with the honors of war. At the battle of Braddock's defeat, July 9, 1755, he was present with two sons, Nathaniel and Thomas, and afterward raised a company of scouts in Maryland and Virginia, and did good service. In 1756 he went to the Cherokee country, now East Tennessee, to enlist Indians of that tribe in the English service, and later was Indian agent. His death occurred from smallpox in 1759.[1]

The family of Colonel Gist, whose wife was Sarah Howard, consisted of three sons, Nathaniel, Richard, and Thomas, and two daughters, Anne and Violette. Richard was killed at the Battle of King's Mountain, and Thomas, after service in the French and Indian War, lived the quiet life of a farmer in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, where he died in 1787. Nathaniel was a Colonel in the Virginia line, and rose to important command.

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[1] Christopher Gist's Journals, &c., by W. M. Darlington, Pittsburgh, 1893, page 88. In a sketch on Canewood, the home of Nathaniel Gist, written for the Lexington Illustrated Kentuckian by Judge James Flanagan, Christopher Gist is stated to have been killed at the battle of Braddock's defeat.

He did valuable service in the war against the Cherokees in East Tennessee, who, having been faithful allies of the Virginians against the French, became their most formidable enemies during the Revolutionary War, requiring the vigilance of Sevier, Gist, Evan and Isaac Shelby, Christian, and Campbell to that line of the revolutionary defense, while to the northward such officers as George Rogers Clark, Logan, the Todds, and their scant force of pioneers held the line of Kentucky against the British and their Indian allies. But posterity will not readily ascribe to Nathaniel Gist the credit he deserves for his service in that southern field, since the historians of Tennessee and North Carolina who have recorded his brave deeds have handed him down as Nathaniel Guest. During the latter part of the war he was in command of the fort at Old Redstone, and after the peace settled as a planter in Virginia, east of the Blue Ridge, in possession of a large estate. In the spring of 1793 he removed to Kentucky by the old route by which his father guided Washington to Redstone, and thence by family boat to Maysville, Kentucky, and settled on a tract of seven thousand acres of the most fertile lands in Bourbon County, received for his services in the French and Indian War. Here he built the famous homestead known as Canewood, long noted for the hospitality dispensed there.

He, however, survived but a short time, leaving a family of two sons, Thomas Cecil and Henry Clay, descendants of whom still live in that part of Kentucky, and seven daughters. Of these, Judith became the wife of Doctor Joseph Boswell, of Fayette County, Kentucky, and their daughter was the first wife of Governor Luke P. Blackburn; Sarah married Honorable Jesse Bledsoe, who was Secretary of State under Governor Scott, member of both houses of the legislature, circuit judge, and United States Senator, and their daughter was the first wife of Judge Mason Brown, of Frankfort, and the mother of B. Gratz Brown, Governor of Missouri and Democratic candidate for Vice-President in 1872; Maria was the first wife of Benjamin Gratz, of Lexington, Kentucky, and the mother of Colonel Howard H. Gratz, present editor of the Lexington Gazette; Eliza married Francis P. Blair, and among their children were General Frank P. Blair, Democratic candidate for Vice-President in 1868, and Montgomery Blair, Postmaster-General under Mr. Lincoln; Anne married Captain Nat Hart, brother of the wife of Henry Clay, who lost his life at the Battle of Raisin, January 22, 1813. One daughter, Davidella, died unmarried.

General James Taylor, in an unpublished autobiography, who met Colonel Gist at Redstone in 1793 when

([illegible]
vol 55
Arch MD)

the Governor of Virginia, that it was the Desire of our Father King George, that we would join the English in War against the French and their Indians. On hearing this News, we immediately took up the Hatchet against the French and their Indians, and hold it fast till we make use of it, which I expect will be in a few Days. We intend to set out immediately from this Fort, and immediately on our Return expect to meet you our Brother here, to make ourselves acquainted with you. If you can't come yourself, you will send one of your beloved Men with your Talk, which we will look upon as from your own Mouth. I hope you will let the Province of Pennsylvania know, that I am come this Length to War, and if they are in Need of our Assistance, I have Men plenty at home, and will not think it troublesome to come and fight for our Brothers. I set off from home with 150 Men, Part of which is gone to Fort Cumberland, Forty more by this is come to Winchester. Our People will be so frequent among you, that I wish you may not think us troublesome. Our Hearts ache to see our Brothers Bones scattered about the Country; but you will hear in a short Time we have got Satisfaction for our Brothers; and in Confirmation of what I have spoke, I have sent you these few white Beads to confirm my Regard to this Province: Likewise I have sent you these black Beads to convince you, that I have taken up the Hatchet against all the English Enemies. We intend to stay as long amongst our Brothers as there is Use of us. I hope our good Brother will not be backward in providing Necessaries for us. I have sent you a List of what is useful for us; and has got our good Friend Mr. Ross to carry this Letter to you, which we shall always acknowledge as a particular Friend to us. As we expect to see you soon, we will add no more at present; but remain

L. H. J.
Liber No. 48
May 5

p. 430

Your loving Brother,
his
Wahachy —^— of Keeway.
Mark.

This is the Truth, taken from the Head Warrior.
Richard Pearis.

To the Catawbas.

Brothers,

Yesterday I came to Fort Frederick, and this Morning I received an Account of your bad Success at War last Winter when you went out; you lost all your White Men, now I understand you have lost Seven more, which I look upon you ought not to rest long till you go again, and have Satisfaction. I am informed you are going home, but I desire, as you are like my own People, that you may not go home till we have Revenge for our Brothers the English. I expect in a few Days to overtake the Party of Enemy that has committed the Murders here: They kill'd 9 White Men since they kill'd the Jacks. The next News I expect to acquaint you with, that we have got Satisfaction for the Murders they have committed; and will join you, with the rest of my People, as soon as possible. I remain,

L. H. J.
Liber No. 48
May 5

Your loving Brother,
his
Wahachy —^— of Keeway.
Mark.

Pennsylvania, a History, Vol II - Donohoo Ed., et al (1926) R974.8 P413MF

Re: PEARIS (This book does not mention Capt. Richard Pearis--few of any of the mere captains. It gives credit to Atkin for the Cherokee troops but maintains they were burdens rather than assets!)

Washington wrote to the Speaker of the House of Burgesses, Robinson, on the 1st of September, from Fort Cumberland: "The conduct of our leaders, if not actuated by superior orders is tempered with something I do not care to give a name to. Nothing now but a miracle can bring this campaign to a happy issue."

On September 23 General Forbes, then at Raystown, writes to Colonel Bouquet:

> Col. Stephens writes Col. Washington that he is told by everybody that the road from Loyal Hannon (Ligonier) to the Ohio and the French fort is now impracticable. For what reason, or why, he writes thus I do not know; But I see Col. Washington and my friend Col. Byrd, would rather be glad this was true than otherways, seeing the other road (their favorite scheme) was not allowed out. I told them plainly that, whatever they thought, yet I did aver that, in our prosecuting the present road, we had proceeded from the best intelligence that could be got for the good and convenience of the army, without any views to oblige any one Province or another; and added that those two gentlemen were the only people that I had met with who had shewed their weakness in their attachment to the province they belong to, by declaring so publicly in favor of one road without their knowing anything of the other, having never heard from any Pennsylvania person one word about the road; and that, as for myself, I could safely say—and believed I might answer for you—that the good of the service was the only view we had at heart, not valuing the provincial interest, jealousys, or suspicions, one single two-pence; and that, therefore, I could not believe Col. Stephen's descriptions untill I had heard from you, which I hope you will very soon be able to disprove. I fancy what I said more on this subject will cure them from coming upon this topic again.

On July 31 Forbes had written to Bouquet, after a conference with Washington:

> I have had an interview with Colonel Washington, to ascertain how he conceives the difficulties could be overcome: I got no satisfaction from it; the majority of these gentlemen do not know the difference between a party and an army, and overlooking all difficulties, they believe everything to be easy which flatters their ideas.
>
> (The various letters of Washington quoted in this section are from Sparks' "Life and Writings of Washington." Some of them are found, in part, in Loudermilk's "History of Cumberland," 238, etc.)

There is no question whatever, but that General Forbes was absolutely unprejudiced in his selection of the old Indian trail to the Ohio, as the nearest and best route for his expedition. The one chief difficulty which Braddock had to contend with was the great trouble he had in getting supplies of food to Fort Cumberland and then over the road to his camps. That was one reason why he attempted to have a road cut from the rich farming region of Pennsylvania, to join his road at Turkey Foot. General Braddock wished to do the very thing which General Forbes did, that is, have a road from Pennsylvania to the Ohio. There is no doubt but that if General Braddock had made as careful a study of the matter as had General Forbes and Colonel Bouquet, that he never would have taken the course which he did. In fact, he realized as soon as he had started on the expedition that the road which Sir John St. Clair had chosen, was the wrong one. And Sir John, after his previous experience, was still in favor of the old road, as the course for the expedition of General Forbes. But this general was of a different type. He had a "head of iron" and when he saw a thing, he did it regardless of what others might think.

The very condition of affairs at Fort Cumberland when Washington was there, and still urging the Braddock road, was the best argument against taking that course, which could be offered. At that time about one fifth of the men were sick, they had no provisions, they were without salt, and everything was at a low ebb because of this condition of want. One of the first things which Washington did when he reached Raystown on September 16 was to tell General Forbes of this condition, who then ordered Major Halket to send a convoy of provisions to Fort Cumberland, which was done the next day. Thus proving, at the very outset of the expedition, that Raystown was a better base of supplies, because it was nearer the source of supplies than Fort Cumberland was or ever had been. Even Braddock had to depend upon Pennsylvania for the supply of horses, cattle, wagons, flour and other provisions which had to be taken around the longer way from the mouth of the Conococheague to Fort Cumberland, and then over the mountains. Even to-day the Lincoln Highway is a more direct course to Pittsburgh, from the Atlantic seaboard, than is the National Pike.

Another problem with which General Forbes had to deal was the one related to the subject of Indian allies. Braddock had been much blamed because he did not have Indians with him. Forbes made an attempt to remedy this condition by making use of Indians on his expedition. Edmund Atkin, a member of the Council in South Carolina, was appointed by the king as superintendent of Indian affairs for the southern provinces on the 13th of May, 1757. Through him a number of Cherokee and Catawba had been brought north for taking part in the expedition of General Forbes. At different times, there were small parties of these southern Indians at Fort Cumberland, Forts Loudon and Littleton and at Carlisle. The presence of these southern Indians caused a great deal of trouble in the peace efforts with the Delaware and Shawnee, as stated in a previous chapter (XXIV).

The Cherokee were used as scouts by the commanding officer at Fort Cumberland before they were used for the same purpose by the officers at Fort Loudon and Fort Littleton. They were very valuable in this service as they were thoroughly familiar with the methods which would be used by the Indian allies of the French at Fort Duquesne.

General Forbes, in a letter to Governor Dobbs, of North Carolina, written from New York, in March, 1758, says: "As I am given to under-

MPL 974.8 P41a5

PA Arch. (5th Series 1:295)(1906)

Capt.—John Singleton, April 25, 1759.
Lieut.—William McDowell, April 27, 1759.
Ensign—George McDowell, April 24, 1759.

Capt.—Robert Boyd, April 26, 1759.
Lieut.—William Boyd, April 23, 1759.
Ensign ———Simerel, April 25, 1759.

Capt.—James Sharp, April 27, 1759.
Lieut.—Sir Collingwood Flemming, April 24, 1759.
Ensign—Samuel Lindsey, April 21, 1759.

Capt.—Samuel Nelson, April 28, 1759.
Lieut.—John Nelson, April 26, 1759.
Ensign—John Brisbane, April 26, 1759.

Capt.—John Bull, April 29, 1759.
Lieut.—William Ewing, May 1, 1759.

Capt.—David Hunter, April 30, 1759.
Lieut.—Andrew Finley, May 2, 1759.
Ensign—James Sinkler, May 3, 1759.

Capt.—Thomas Hamilton, May 1, 1759.
Lieut.—William Clinton, April 22, 1759.
Ensign.—Hugh McKean (McKeen), May 1, 1759.

Capt.—John Clark, May 2, 1759.
Lieut.—Samuel Scott, May 3, 1759.
Ensign—Robert Lowry, April 27, 1759.

✓ Capt.—Richard Pearis, May 3, 1759.
Lieut.—William Work, May 4, 1759.

Capt.—Evan Shelley, May 4, 1759.
Lieut.—Reason Bell, May 10, 1759.
Ensign—Evan Shelley, jr., May 7, 1759.

Capt.—Samuel Jones, May 5, 1759.
Lieut.—George McKnight, May 5, 1759.
Ensign—John Mullen, April 28, 1759.

Capt.—Andrew McDowell, May 6, 1759.
Lieut.—James Bambridge, May 9, 1759.
Ensign—Ratchford Duffield, May 5, 1759.

Capt.—Samuel Grubb, May 7, 1759.
Lieut.—James Massey, May 6, 1759.
Ensign—Rees Howell, April 29, 1759.

Capt.—Joseph Richardson, May 8, 1759.
Lieut.—Samuel West, May 7, 1759.
Ensign—Josiah Harper, April 30, 1759. [From Lancaster county, recommeded by Thomas Boude, James Arbuckle and others.]

Capt.—Samuel Postlethwait, May 9, 1759.
Lieut.—James Fulton.

Capt.—Richard Gardiner, May 10, 1759.
Lieut.—Charles Ford, May 8, 1759.
Ensign—John Potts, May 1, 1759.

Capt.—William Johnston, May 11, 1759.
Lieut.—David McAllister, April 20, 1759.
Ensign—Menucan Hughes, May 2, 1759.

Capt.—Francis Price, May 12, 1759.
Lieut.—John Shelly, May 12, 1759.

Capt.—James Armstrong, May 13, 1759.
Lieut.—John Forster, May 11, 1759.
Ensign—Benjamin Polstain, May 6, 1759.

Capt.—Samuel Price, May 18, 1759.
Lieut.—Charles Stuart, May 13, 1759.
Ensign.—John Foulke, May 4, 1759.

Captains—Old Levies.

John Prentice, May 14, 1759.
Samuel J. Atlee, May 15, 1759.
Charles Brodhead, May 16, 1759.
James Hyndshaw, May 17, 1759.

Lower County.

Captains—John McClughan, May 21, 1759. Comm. revoked.
    French Battell, May 22, 1759.
    Henry Van Bibber, May 23, 1759.
    John Wright, May 24, 1759.
Lieuts.—Benjamin Catin, May 21, 1759.
    Archibald Towney, May 22, 1759.
    William Conwell, May 23, 1759.
Ensigns—William McMeehan, May 21, 1759.
    Ryves Holt, May 22, 1759.
    Jonathan Caldwell, May 23, 1759.

Permore, Godfrey, 37, Ger., May 25, tinker.
Porterfield, Joshua, 20, Penn'a, Ap. 26, lab.
Ryan, Timothy, 40, Ir., June 15, lab.
Savage, Benjamin, 18, Penn'a, Ap. 26, cordwainer.
Shea, John, 22, Ir., Ap. 26, lab.
Sim, Andrew, 18, Penn'a, Ap. 29, cordwainer.
Smith, John, 35, Ir., Ap. 27, lab.
Stammers, John, 28, Penn'a, Ap. 30, lab.
Stuart, John, 20, Ir., Ap. 30, lab.
Thompson, John, 35, Penn'a, Ap. 24, sailor.
Thornton, Joseph, 30, Ir., Ap. 28, carpenter.
Vanderwit, Conrad, 26, Ger., May 14, lab.
Walker, Samuel, 21, Penn'a, May 8, lab.
Waters, William, 19, Penn'a, Ap. 26 ,lab.
Workman, Andrew, 17, Penn'a, May 10, lab.
Workman, Joseph, 24, Penn'a, Ap. 22, lab.
Workman, Stephen, 16, Penn'a, May 5, lab.

"RETURN OF RECRUITS RAISED BY CAPT. RICHARDSON, OF THE THIRD BATTALION, IN THE PROVINCIAL SERVICE UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE HON'BLE WILLIAM DENNY, ESQ.," 1759. (a.)

[Name, age, where born, date of enlistment and occupation.]

Baker, Jacob, 18, Phila., Penn'a, April 30, lab.
Berry, Thomas, 20, Phila., Penn'a, Ap. 28, lab.
Bird, Jacob, 18, Jersey, Ap. 30, lab.—heigh 7 ft. 7½ in.
Brownholtz, Frederick, 18, Ger., Ap. 30, lab.
Cassiday, William, 21, Chester, Penn'a, Ap. 20, carpenter.
Davis, Nehemiah, 23, Wales, May 6, lab.
Edwards, John, 19, Bucks, Penn'a, Ap. 25, lab.
Finley, Archibald, 21, Bucks, Penn'a, May 4.
Fogerty, Patrick, 31, Ir., Ap. 27, lab.
Gordon, Philip, 20, Bucks, Penn'a, May 8, lab.
Griffith, John, 23, Wales, Ap. 30, lab.
Ground, Nicholas, 18, Ger., Ap. 30, lab.
Heah, Andrew, 24, Ger., Ap. 28, lab.
Heiser, Henry, 21, Ger., Ap. 25, lab.
Imbolt, Peter, 27, Ger., May 8, baker.
Jones, John, 39, Bucks, Penn'a, Ap. 27, cooper.
Keith, George, 23, Md., May 8, cooper.
Kough, Conrad, 28, Ger., Ap. 28, lab.

McDaniel, James, 30, Tyrone, Ir., Ap. 28, lab.
Moore, William, 18, Ir., Ap. 27, lab.
Meyer, Jacob, 18, Ger., May 7, lab.
Nagle, Casper, 22, Ger., May 14, lab.
O'Gabing, Owen, 35, Donegal, Ir., Ap. 30, lab.
Osman, William, 22, Jersey, Ap. 25, lab.
Pugh [Pough], Elias, 23, Phila., Ap. 26, wheel-wright.
Robinson, Joel, Phila., Penn'a, May 12, blacksmith.
Schoch, Jacob, 22, Ger., May 13, weaver.
Seville, Thomas, 18, Lancaster, Penn'a, May 3, lab.
Sims, William, 27, Ir., May 4, lab.
Thomas, Cornelius, 25, "on the high seas," May 10, lab.

A LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE NEW LEVIES & THE DATES OF THEIR COMMISSIONS—1759. (a.)

Colonel.

William Clapham.

Surgeon.

William McMeehan, May 7, 1759.

Chaplain.

Andrew Bay, May 1, 1759.

Adjutant.

William Ewing, May 30, 1759.

Capt.—William Clapham, April 21, 1759.
Lieut.——— ————, April 28, 1759.

Capt.—John Mather, April 22, 1759.
Lieut.—Ezekiel Dummey, April 21, 1759.
Ensign—Cearly Campbell, April 21, 1759.

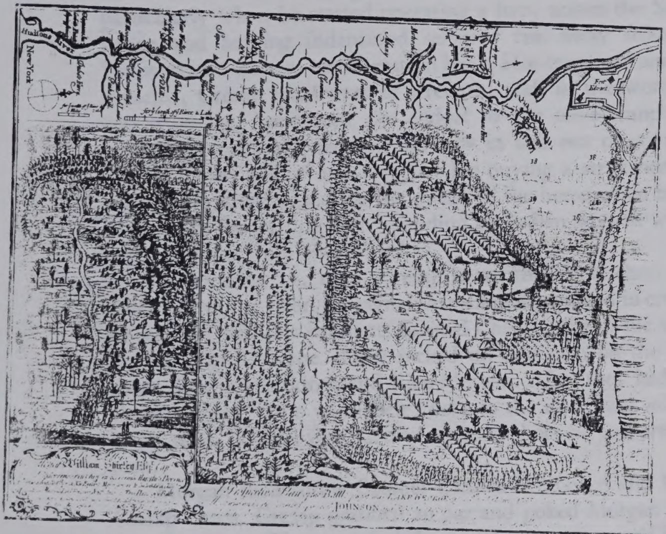
Capt.—Robert Curry, April 23, 1759.
Lieut.—William Darragh, April 29, 1759.
Ensign—David Peasly, April 22, 1759.

Capt.—John Haslet, April 24, 1759.
Lieut.—David McCay, April 30, 1759.
Ensign—Alex. McDowell, April 23, 1759.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THE FRONTIER IN 1750

By 1750, a handful of frontiersmen were trading in western Pennsylvania and Ohio on land claimed by the French. This led the French to build a chain of forts south of Lake Erie on land claimed by Virginia. In May 1754, a skirmish in the Pennsylvania woods became the first battle of the French and Indian War.



New York Public Library

This plan of the Battle of Lake George in the French-Indian war in 1755, drawn by an eyewitness, shows "our men breaking their order and hastily running," as well as the manner "in which a great number of the enemy (chiefly Indians) ran naked, for it is their manner to fight without any other covering than a flap over those parts it is decent should be concealed."

A volley fired by a young Virginian in the backwoods of America set the world on fire.

HORACE WALPOLE

In the 1750s, something extraordinary happened on the American frontier: a handful of little-known frontiersmen started a chain of events that led to history's first authentic world war, fought in America, Europe, Asia, and India. The British called it the Great War for Empire, while in America it is remembered as the French and Indian War. Involving the principal powers of Europe, it was the last great conflict to take place before the American Revolution.

The war began with friction in the unsettled trans-Appalachian west, claimed by the French, where American traders were making inroads upon the tribes in Pennsylvania and Ohio. The French in 1749 and 1750 undertook to fortify their water routes south of Lake Erie, between Erie and Pittsburgh, with a series of forts. But this Pennsylvania land was also claimed by Virginia, which set the stage for collision.

The opening of hostilities came in 1749, when a French military detachment marched into Ohio to oust the American traders. No one could imagine that these skirmishes in the wilderness would spread to Europe and the rest of the planet, but they did. For by 1755, the war had escalated in Pennsylvania, and both the British and the French were sending reinforcements across the Atlantic. That June, Admiral Edward Boscawen captured two French ships off Cape Breton Island, north of Nova Scotia. This naval action inflamed the French, who carried the war to Europe after spending eleven months maneuvering for allies.

In the choosing of sides, France, Austria, and Russia lined up against Britain and Prussia, opening a second front that was called the Seven Years' War (it lasted from 1756 to 1763). There was fighting in Minorca, in Calcutta, in the Philippines, fighting all over the globe, on land and on sea. On the North American front, the war lasted until 1760 and led to the expulsion of the French. Elsewhere, many places on the map changed hands, notably the subcontinent of India, which was won by the British from the French.

The French and Indian War was the final struggle between the French and the British-run American colonies for control of the

North American continent. In this struggle, a small number of frontiersmen played major roles, helping to disprove the assumption that history was made in the chancelleries of Europe. Men like Thomas Cresap, George Croghan, Conrad Weiser, and Christopher Gist were the instigators of these events, and it is with them that the story should begin.

Thomas Cresap arrived in Maryland in 1718, at the age of fifteen. First settling near today's Havre de Grace, he heard opportunity knock in the ongoing border dispute with Pennsylvania. Cresap obtained a dirt-cheap five-hundred-acre Maryland land grant in a contested zone where the Calverts were looking for settlers to help bolster their claims. It was on the western bank of the Susquehanna, at today's Wrightsville, across the river from present-day Columbia, Pennsylvania, west of Lancaster.

From the start, Cresap was at odds with the Pennsylvanians, particularly when he started operating a ferry across the Susquehanna and helping indentured servants run away from their Pennsylvania masters on the eastern bank. Hot-tempered and hard-muscled, Cresap liked tests of strength, and, in the words of a contemporary, "preferred the cudgel to the olive-branch." He made a number of enemies, and was in and out of court—for calling a man a thief and a rogue; for buying a stray horse and rebranding it; for assaulting the owner of the horse when he came to claim it; for beating and wounding an Indian woman who had taken an apple from his orchard.

On October 31, 1730, Cresap heard three rifle shots on the other side of the river, the signal that someone wanted to cross. He rowed over with his assistant, Samuel Chance, one of the servants he had helped escape. They picked up two men on the eastern shore, Edward Beddock and Rice Morgan. After they had rowed about seventy yards with their backs to the men, one said in an angry tone, "Damn you, Cresap, turn to shore or you are a dead man."

Morgan then threw Samuel Chance overboard and knocked Cresap down. Cresap grabbed an oar and poked Morgan with it, throwing him off balance, but the two men overpowered him and threw him overboard too. He hung on to the side of the boat as they banged on his hands to pry them loose. "Do you intend to murder me?" he asked, and they said they did. By then, the boat had been carried by the current to shallow water. Cresap felt rocks under his feet and, while his boat was carried downstream on the current, waded to an island, where a friendly Indian helped him get home. The incident seems to have been an attempt, by a competing ferry several miles up the Susquehanna or by the Pennsylvania authorities, to get rid of a troublesome borderer.

The Pennsylvanians were determined to oust Cresap, the northernmost of the Maryland claimants, from his land, and he was equally determined to resist them. In 1733, a group of vigilantes surrounded his house and ordered him to come out. When he refused, they forced his front door off its hinges. Cresap was waiting for them with a rifle. He killed Knoles Daunt, the first man to cross his threshold, which gave the sheriff of Lancaster, Samuel Smith, cause to arrest him, though he didn't set out to do it until 1736. By that time, Cresap had fortified his house and hired six men to help him defend it.

On November 24, 1736, Sheriff Smith and twenty-three men surrounded his house and told him to come out. Cresap called them "damned Scotch-Irish sons of bitches" and "damned quirking dogs and rogues." Smith offered immunity to any of Cresap's men who surrendered. One of the six made his way up the chimney. Cresap opened fire, and the sheriff set fire to his house.

Cresap was captured and brought in irons to Philadelphia. "Damn it," he cried, "this is one of the prettiest towns in Maryland!" He was kept in jail until May 1738, when there was an order from the king in council that each province should release the prisoners they had taken from the other. Now Cresap decided to put some distance between himself and lawmakers. He obtained a grant on the Potomac and moved to an ancient Indian crossroads and rendezvous, which he called Oldtown.

In 1747, fifteen-year-old George Washington visited Cresap on his surveying rounds, after taking what he called "the worst road that ever was trod on by man or beast." He stayed five days, during which he saw an Indian dance and observed, "The best dancer jumps up as though awakened out of a sleep and jumps about ye ring in a most comical manner."

There were always Indians at Oldtown, but they didn't trust Cresap, who was known as a person "of hot resentment and great acrimony." Whenever he felt wronged, his first reaction was to reach for his gun. In 1749, he complained to the governor of Maryland, Samuel Ogle, that some of the Indians were "very insolent and saucy." The more he gave them, the more they wanted. When

he fed them, they demanded a cow. When he refused the cow, they killed some of his hogs.

Three years after Cresap's release from prison in 1738, a twenty-one-year-old Dubliner named George Croghan left Ireland during one of the potato famines and came to Pennsylvania. He settled across the Susquehanna from Harris' Ferry, near today's Carlisle. Croghan set up as an Indian trader, sending his pack trains along the rivers toward the Alleghenies. He had a tannery to process deer hides and a store that sold goods to the Indians, and by 1744 he was on Lake Erie, trading with the Senecas at the site of today's Cleveland. Croghan had his faults—he was slow to pay debts and vague about keeping promises—but if you needed someone to negotiate with the Indians or carry out any frontier assignment he was your man. He got along with the red man, and as a result he became an Indian agent for both Virginia and Pennsylvania.

At this time, the English and the French were competing for the allegiance of the tribes south of Lakes Erie and Ontario. In 1747, some Lake Erie Indians sent a belt of wampum and a French scalp to Philadelphia via Croghan as a sign that they would not be averse to an English alliance. Croghan became the architect of the diplomatic shift.

In 1748, the Pennsylvania Assembly voted to send a present of two hundred pounds' worth of goods to these Indians. Commissioned to deliver it to them, Croghan sent the Assembly a hefty bill covering wampum, tobacco, rum, transportation, and wages for his men. Around the same time, in June 1748, the Six Nations came to Lancaster and signed a treaty of friendship. The interpreter on that occasion was Conrad Weiser, another frontier diplomat.

Born in Württemberg, Germany, in 1696, Weiser had come to America with his father in 1710. They were part of a group of palatines who rented land on the vast Livingston estate on the Hudson. In 1714, they moved to Schoharie, forty miles west of Albany, in Mohawk country, where Conrad learned Indian ways. In 1729, he moved to Lancaster with his wife and five children, and established himself as an Indian expert.

So, in August 1748, Weiser was sent with Croghan to deliver the present to the large Indian village and trading center of Logstown, situated on the Ohio River, about eighteen miles above today's Pittsburgh.

They reached the Ohio on August 25, and came to the site of Pittsburgh, then an Indian village called Shanopin's Town, on the 26th. The next day, they arrived at Logstown, where there were reciprocal gun salutes. About twenty English traders were present, and the mood was festive. There was a lot of ceremonial firing and drinking. Weiser raised the Union Jack on a long pole, and they all drank to the king's health.

Familiar with Indian ways, Weiser met with each tribe separately. The Wyandots, settled around Detroit, said they had fallen away from the French because of hard usage: the French took their young men like slaves to make war. Weiser gave them some tobacco and whiskey.

Then he met with the friendly Senecas, who said that some of their warriors had been taken captive in Carolina. Weiser said he would see what he could do about getting the warriors released. Another Seneca complaint was that the traders were bringing too much rum into their towns. "It appears you love it so well that you cannot be without it," Weiser replied. He felt that rum was an Indian problem. On September 19, he left, having reached a better level of understanding with a number of tribes.

All this activity among the tribes was viewed with alarm by the French. The English traders had extended their routes across Pennsylvania and into western Ohio, as far as the trading post of Pickawillany, at today's Piqua, Ohio (the underwear capital of America), 120 miles south of Toledo. They had spread all over lands claimed by France. Complaints from the governor of New France to the governors of the various colonies were useless. The marquis de la Galissonière, who became governor in 1747, wrote home urging a bold advance into the Ohio Valley to consolidate French holdings and win over the Indians. The idea was to keep the English traders east of the Alleghenies. In June 1749, to implement this policy, a French military expedition of more than two hundred men started down the St. Lawrence under the command of Captain Pierre-Jacques de Céloron de Blainville. Their method was to find a series of linked waterways and portages from Lake Erie to the Ohio River. At today's Barcelona (on the southern shore of Lake Erie, about eighty miles west of Buffalo), they portaged to Lake Chautauqua. "This road is very difficult," Céloron wrote in his journal.

It took them three days to cover twelve miles, carrying canoes, supplies, weapons, and merchandise for gifts over rocky, hilly ground that had to be cleared before it could be walked. By July

29, they had reached the Allegheny, after burying a lead plate as a mark of possession. On the 30th, they reached the Indian village of Paille Coupée (Cut Straw). Céloron gave the locals a *coup de lait* (shot of milk—i.e., brandy) and read a message from the marquis de la Galissonière. "This land," he wrote, "belongs to me and the English cannot come here without being chased away." Céloron was shocked to see a cabin for the use of English traders. The Indians promised that the house would serve "only to amuse our youth."

The Indians asked Céloron for permission to keep the English gunsmith who came regularly to prepare their rifles for hunts. "If thou makest the English retire . . . ," they said, "we would be without help and exposed to die of hunger. . . . Have pity on us."

Continuing down the Allegheny, Céloron came to Venango, at its juncture with French Creek, at today's Franklin. Here, he had been told, were an English merchant and another gunsmith, but they had fled. He traveled on down the river like a circuit-riding evangelist, spreading the gospel of friendship with the French. On August 6, he came upon a village where six English traders had stopped with their fifty horses and nearly 150 packs of peltry. They said they were on their way to Philadelphia. Céloron told them that he would treat them with humanity this time. But if he ever saw them again, he warned, he would seize their goods.

On August 7, he came to Queen Alliquippa's village, the site of Pittsburgh. "She is entirely devoted to the English," he wrote of the queen. Six English traders were there, "who came before me trembling." They said they were only trying to make a living.

Céloron continued on to Logstown. Word of the French expedition had evidently preceded him, for the villagers, hedging their bets, flew one English and three French flags. "This mixture of flags is not seemly," Céloron told them. They said the English flag "was only placed for show, and to divert the young men." He told them to lower it or he would pull it down himself. The Indians assured him that "our heart is entirely French." Céloron had his doubts.

Céloron continued down the river, across southern Ohio and what today is Indiana, to a point west of Evansville, where the Wabash runs into the Ohio. He buried lead plates, gave speeches, and distributed presents. It was a good-will tour: the idea was to win over the Indians, not start fights. By September 19, he was back at Niagara, heading for Quebec to report. He had the distinct impression that the French could not hold on to the area on the forks of the Ohio without establishing a military presence there.

Besides the French and the Pennsylvanians, there was a third party interested in the forks of the Ohio. In 1747, a group of prominent Virginians, including the Fairfaxes, Lees, and Washingtons, had formed the Ohio Company and petitioned the crown for five hundred thousand acres in what is today western Pennsylvania. In 1749, Governor William Gooch was directed to make an initial grant of two hundred thousand acres, and the company built a storehouse at Will's Creek, Maryland (today's Cumberland). They asked Thomas Cresap, who lived nearby, to open a road to the Youghiogheny River, about thirty-five miles to the west.

In 1750, the Ohio Company asked the frontiersman Christopher Gist, who lived on a farm on the Yadkin River in North Carolina, to do a little exploring and reconnoitering on the lands they had been granted. So little was known about the area that his instructions were to "go out westward of the great mountains . . . and look for good level land." He set out on October 31 from his friend Cresap's place at Oldtown, but by the time he got to Shanopin's Town (Pittsburgh) in November, he had the fever. He sweated himself in the Indian manner until it abated.

On November 17, Gist reached Logstown and learned that he had just missed Croghan, who had been there trading the week before. The news was that the Ottawas were no longer safe to trade with. The Logstown Indians asked him what he was doing there, since he had no trading goods. When he gave evasive answers, they began to suspect him of coming to scout their land, and it was suggested that he might not get home safely. Gist said he was carrying a message from the king, which "obtained for me quiet and respect. . . . Otherwise I doubt not they would have contrived some evil against me."

By December 14, Gist had arrived at a Wyandot village of a hundred families at the juncture of the Muskingum and the Tuscarawas, where Coshocton, Ohio, now stands. He was told that the French had lately been there and had captured four English traders—making good on Céloron's earlier threat. The English colors were hoisted, in spite of the French attack, and Gist stayed for a while in the village, where Croghan arrived on January 14, 1751. After he gave the Wyandots four chains of wampum, he and Gist proceeded to the juncture of the Scioto and Ohio rivers, at today's Portsmouth, Ohio.

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Croghan told the Indians in council that the French had placed a price on his head, if alive; on his scalp, if dead. In each village, Gist and Croghan did the same kind of missionary work Céloron had done, asking the tribes to be their allies against the French.

On March 3, 1751, Croghan went his own way to Logstown, to give the Indians a present. He was there on May 21, 1751, for the arrival of the French frontiersman Philippe Joncaire, who lived among the Senecas at Niagara and picked up money portaging goods around the falls.

When Joncaire told the Indians in council to turn away from the English, a chief of the Six Nations rose and said: "You are always threatening our brothers what you will do to them and in particular to that man," pointing to Croghan. "Now if you have anything to say to our brother tell it to him, if you be a man as you Frenchmen always say you are. . . . Our brothers are the people we will trade with and not you."

In spite of this rebuff, Joncaire stayed on good terms with Croghan, and asked him not to think too badly of his speeches, for he was under orders from the governor of New France. Even though he knew that the Indians of the Six Nations would not side with the French, he still had to try.

Joncaire was getting the worst of it. One of the Six Nations chiefs, stamping the ground with his foot and shaking his finger under Joncaire's nose, said: "Is this not our land?" Then the chief told Croghan that it was their custom to have their guns, kettles, and hatchets mended when they went to council, and Croghan promised to see to it. This meant that he had a treaty of alliance with the Logstown Indians.

A year later, in June 1752, Croghan and Gist took some Virginia commissioners to Logstown to negotiate with the Iroquois, Delaware, Shawnee, Wyandot, and Miami tribes. The Virginians were given permission to settle in the area south of the forks of the Ohio. They were allowed to build two trading houses on the river, one at the site of today's Pittsburgh and the other at Redstone Old Fort, about twenty miles south of Pittsburgh on the Monongahela, at today's Brownsville. By this time, Croghan's trading business had gone broke. He was always gambling, always in debt, always promising, "I won't owe a groat by Christmas." He vanished into Indian territory to avoid his creditors.

Around the time of the Treaty of Logstown, the French launched another military effort to contain the English. Pickawillany was a particular annoyance, because it was so far west. There were sometimes as many as fifty English traders there, guests of the Twightwees and their chief, who was so pro-English he was known as "Old Britain."

On June 21, 1750, a force of 240 Frenchmen and Indians marched from Detroit under the command of Charles de Langlade. They surprised the Pickawillany residents, killing one trader and taking five prisoners. The traders' storehouses were destroyed, and fifteen Indians were killed—including "Old Britain," who was boiled and eaten by the pro-French Indians.

The new governor of Canada, the Marquis Duquesne, reported to Versailles: "I trust that this blow, added to the complete pillage suffered by the English on this occasion, will discourage them from trading on our lands."

He was right. The French attack ended English influence in "Pick's Town," which had been known far and wide as "the village where George Croghan trades." Croghan returned to his plantation at Pine's Creek, four miles above the forks of the Ohio.

By this time, there was a new governor of Virginia: Robert Dinwiddie, who supported western expansion and was an investor in the Ohio Company. In December 1752, Dinwiddie heard that a large party of French had landed on the southern bank of Lake Erie and had begun to build a string of forts there. He wrote the Board of Trade that the forts "will, in time, much annoy our back country."

A thousand men, under the command of Captain Pierre-Paul Marin, had taken Céloron's route from Lake Ontario to the southern shore of Lake Erie. Marin continued down the lakeshore until he reached a peninsula with a good natural harbor, today's Erie, Pennsylvania—Presqu'Ile to the French. From Erie, there was a ten-mile portage to French Creek, which ran into the Allegheny, with its linkage to the Ohio and the Mississippi. Here, south of Lake Erie, the French started building a chain of forts that would serve as their boundary with the English. One fort was located on the lake at Presqu'Ile. Another, Fort LeBoeuf, lay twenty miles down, where the portage reached French Creek. A third, Fort Venango, was situated about forty miles farther down French Creek, where it ran into the Allegheny. Impressed by this show of force, the Twightwees shifted their allegiance to the French, and the English traders had to pull back.

An English response was in order, but the Pennsylvania As-

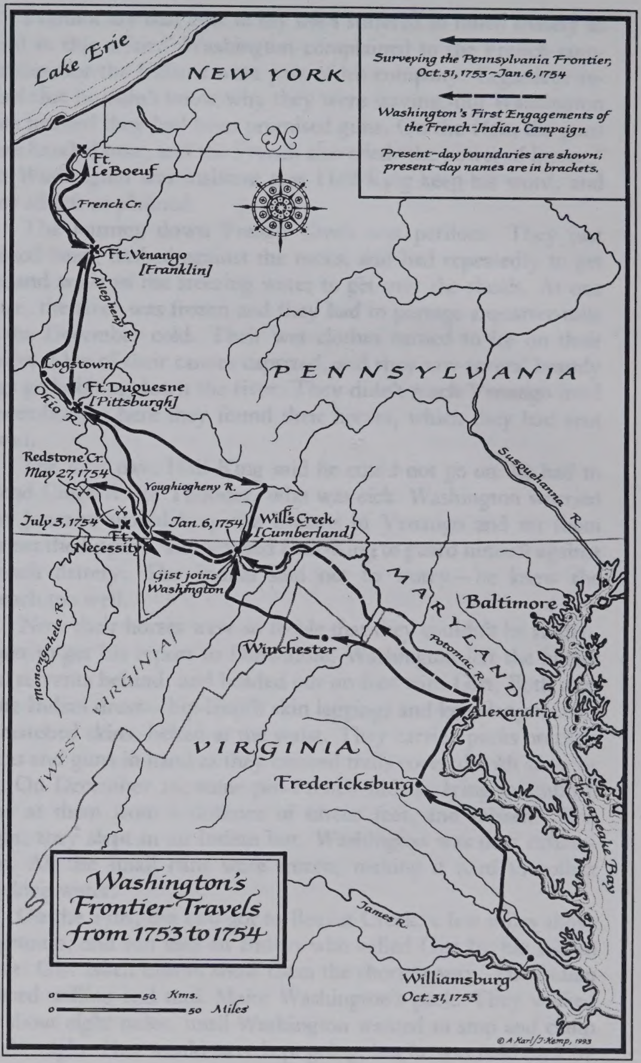
sembly would not vote funds for the construction of a fort, so it was left to the Virginians. Motivated by both his patriotic zeal and his shares in the Ohio Company, Governor Dinwiddie resolved to send an emissary to confer with the French. He first sent William Trent, Croghan's partner and brother-in-law, who turned tail the minute he saw a French flag.

Dinwiddie then decided to send a young but energetic adjutant who had some backcountry experience as a surveyor for Lord Fairfax. On October 31, 1753, twenty-one-year-old George Washington was promoted to major and given orders to go to the forks of the Ohio, present a letter to the French officer in charge, ask for a reply, and gather intelligence. He left Williamsburg that day for Fredericksburg, where he picked up a French-speaking Dutchman, Jacob Van Braam, as interpreter. They went north to Alexandria for supplies, and west to Winchester for baggages and horses. They then continued westward to Will's Creek (Cumberland, Maryland), where their guide, Christopher Gist, was waiting.

It was a bad time of the year to be traveling. The valleys were flooded, and the hills were already covered with snow. On November 14, the day Washington arrived at Will's Creek, the soldiers were restricted to quarters. Gist—a veteran frontiersman, survivor of many wilderness trips—thought the young man would require a lot of coddling.

Gist led the way across territory he knew well. They traveled due west to the forks of the Youghiogheny, then bore northwest toward the Monongahela. Because of the weather, it took them from the 15th to the 22nd to reach John Frazier's place at the mouth of Turtle Creek and the Monongahela. Having been ousted from his trading post at Venango, Frazier had relocated. Gist borrowed a canoe from him, for the rivers were impassable.

On November 23, they paddled across the Monongahela, swimming their horses over. Next they headed north to Logstown, where Gist found his old friend the Indian chief Half-King (so known because of his subordination to the Iroquois). When Gist told Half-King that they were headed for Venango, the Indian asked to come along; he wanted to return the wampum the French had given him. Gist knew that this represented the breaking of ties. The Half-King said he had already been to Venango and had told the French to get out, but that the French commander had rebuffed him, saying: "I am not afraid of flies or mosquitos, for Indians are


Washington's Frontier Travels from 1753 to 1754
Surveying the Pennsylvania Frontier, Oct. 31, 1753–Jan. 6, 1754
Washington's First Engagements of the French-Indian Campaign
Present-day boundaries are shown; present-day names are in brackets.
Lake Erie
NEW YORK
N
Ft. LeBoeuf
French Cr.
Ft. Venango [Franklin]
Allegheny R.
Logstown
Ft. Duquesne [Pittsburgh]
Ohio R.
PENNSYLVANIA
Susquehanna R.
Redstone Cr. May 27, 1754
Youghiogheny R.
July 3, 1754
Ft. Necessity
Jan. 6, 1754
Will's Creek [Cumberland]
Gist joins Washington
Monongahela R.
[WEST VIRGINIA]
MARYLAND
Baltimore
Potomac R.
Winchester
Alexandria
VIRGINIA
Fredericksburg
Chesapeake Bay
James R.
Williamsburg Oct. 31, 1753
0 50 Kms.
0 50 Miles
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such as those. . . . My force is as the sand upon the sea shore. . . . Child, you talk foolish; you say this land belongs to you, but there is not the back of my nail that is yours. . . . It is my land, and I will have it."

On November 30, 1753, Gist and Washington left Logstown with Half-King and three other chiefs. Venango was about sixty miles to the north. They reached it on December 4 and saw the French colors hoisted. Who should be in command of the small fort but Daniel Joncaire, brother of Philippe, who in 1751 had been at Logstown with Croghan to try to win over the Indians.

Daniel Joncaire was as welcoming to Gist and Washington as Philippe had been to Croghan. He invited them to dinner. "The wine," Washington recorded in his journal, "as they dosed themselves pretty plentifully with it, soon banished the restraint which at first appeared in their conversation and gave a license to their tongues to reveal their sentiment more freely." Joncaire said it was their plan to take possession of the Ohio and by God they would do it. They had a right to the river, because of the discoveries made by La Salle, and they already had a fort on Lake Erie and another on French Creek. They knew the English could raise twice as many men but felt confident that their rivals had lost the initiative.

The next day, December 5, Joncaire called in the Indians and asked them why they had not come to visit, since they were so close by. He offered presents, and plied them with brandy until the Indians were too drunk to leave. Washington and Gist had to stay an extra day, leaving on December 7 for Fort LeBoeuf. It was forty miles north from Venango to LeBoeuf, but the weather was so bad, and the creeks so difficult to cross, that it took them five days to get there. Washington presented his letter from Dinwiddie to the French commander, Legardeur de Saint-Pierre, whom he described as "an elderly gentleman, [who] had much the air of a soldier."

While the French drafted their reply to the letter, Washington took a look around, and saw that the rectangular fort on the western fork of French Creek had twelve-foot-high bastions, sharpened at the top, with eight six-pound pieces in each bastion. There were about a hundred men in the fort, and 120 canoes.

On the 14th, the reply was ready, and the French helped to load Washington's canoes with food and brandy. Washington realized, however, that they were trying to draw Half-King and the other Indians away, "to prevent their going after our departure. . . . I cannot say that ever in my life I suffered so much anxiety as I did in this affair." Washington complained to the French commander, for the Indians were part of his company. Legardeur replied that he didn't know why they were staying, but Washington soon learned they had been promised guns. On the 16th, the guns were handed over, and the French also tried "the power of liquor," but Washington was insistent that Half-King keep his word, and they all left as planned.

The journey down French Creek was perilous. They just missed being dashed against the rocks, and had repeatedly to get out and wade in the freezing water to get over the shoals. At one place, the river was frozen and they had to portage a quarter-mile in the December cold. Their wet clothes turned to ice on their bodies. One of their canoes capsized, and they saw several brandy kegs go bobbing down the river. They didn't reach Venango until December 22; here they found their horses, which they had sent ahead.

The next day, Half-King said he could not go on: he had to attend Chief White Thunder, who was sick. Washington worried that Joncaire would keep the Indians in Venango and set them against the English, and warned Half-King to guard himself against French flattery. The Indian said not to worry—he knew the French too well.

Now their horses were so feeble that they couldn't be ridden. Eager to get his report to Dinwiddie, Washington left the horses and servants behind, and headed out on foot with Gist. Both men wore Indian dress—hip-length skin leggings and knee-length coats of matched skins, belted at the waist. They carried packs on their backs and guns in hand as they crossed trails covered with snow or ice. On December 26, some pro-French Indians lying in ambush fired at them from a distance of fifteen feet, and missed. That night, they slept in an Indian hut. Washington was near exhaustion. All the small runs were frozen, making it hard to collect drinking water.

On the 27th, the two got to Beaver Creek, a few miles above Logstown, and ran into an Indian who called Gist by his Indian name. Gist asked him to show them the shortest way. The Indian seemed willing and took Major Washington's pack. They walked for about eight miles, until Washington wanted to stop and camp for the night. Gist would have kept going, but he was held back by the greenhorn.

The Indian asked Gist if he could carry his gun, although he had a rifle of his own. When Gist refused, the Indian grew sullen. He said he would go his own way, warning that there were Ottawa Indians in the woods who would scalp them if they stopped.

"I thought very ill of the fellow," Gist wrote in his journal, "but did not care to let the Major know I mistrusted him."

As they walked on, Gist suspected that the Indian was taking them in the wrong direction. The Indian insisted, however, that he was within two whoops of his own cabin. Then Major Washington said they should stop at the next water. When they came to a snow-covered meadow, the Indian wheeled around and fired his rifle at them. "Are you shot?" the astonished Washington asked Gist. He replied that he wasn't. The Indian hid behind a big white oak, but they grabbed him before he could reload.

"I would have killed him," Gist wrote, "but the Major would not suffer me to kill him."

Pretending that he and Washington intended to sleep there, Gist asked the Indian to make a fire by a little stream. Washington didn't realize that the Indian, having been allowed to go free, would now hold them in contempt and try to kill them in their sleep. Gist explained: "As you will not have him killed, we must get him away, and then we must travel all night."

He then told the Indian, "I suppose you were lost, and fired your gun." The Indian said he was not far from his cabin. "Well," Gist said, "do you go home; and as we are much tired, we will follow your track in the morning; and here is a cake of bread for you, and you must give us meat in the morning." When the Indian started off, Gist followed him until he was out of earshot. Then he and Washington walked about a half-mile in the other direction, made a fire, set their compass, fixed their course, and traveled all night. The next morning, December 28, they landed a couple of miles above Shanopin's (Pittsburgh) and continued eastward until they reached the Allegheny.

There was no way to cross except on a raft, but making one with only a hatchet in the freezing cold was a full day's work, and they didn't get it launched until sunset on the 29th. Gist's fingers were frostbitten from lashing the logs together. They had poles to steer them across the swift-running river, but before they were halfway across, Washington wrote in his journal, "we were jammed in the ice, in such a manner that we expected at every moment our raft to sink and ourselves to perish."

Losing his balance, Washington fell into the ice-packed Allegheny, but saved himself by catching hold of the edge of the raft. They tried again to pole to the other shore, but could not, and were forced to abandon the raft and clamber to a small island (today called Herr's Island).

For the young officer, it was a rehearsal of hardships to come. They spent a sleepless, freezing night, wondering how they could cross with their raft gone. "But the cold did us some service," Gist wrote, "for in the morning it was frozen hard enough for us to pass over on the ice." The worst was over, and they were back at Will's Creek on January 6, 1754.

Washington was in Williamsburg with his report on January 16. It had been, he concluded, "a most fatiguing journey," with nothing but cold, wet weather, and only one day when it did not rain or snow incessantly. Without Gist to guide him and make the right decisions, the twenty-one-year-old major's life might well have been cut short. As it happened, it was Gist who did not have long to live: he died of smallpox in 1759, and was given a footnote in history, for twice having saved a great man's life.

In January 1754, Dinwiddie ordered William Trent to build a fort at the forks of the Monongahela and the Ohio, on the site of today's Pittsburgh, about sixty miles from the nearest French fort at Venango. Trent got there on February 17 with forty men and went to work, but early in April he went off again to fetch more men and supplies. He left the fort in command of Ensign Edward Ward, who happened to be George Croghan's half-brother.

Meanwhile, upon Major Washington's return, the Virginia Assembly voted ten thousand pounds to form a regiment, to be commanded by Colonel Joshua Fry, Dinwiddie's old friend and a professor at William and Mary. Washington, who had turned twenty-two in February, was commissioned a lieutenant-colonel on March 31 and made second in command. His orders were to proceed with a detachment to the forks of the Ohio and reinforce the unit that was building the fort. Fry would follow and build a second fort at Redstone Creek (today's Brownsville).

Washington set out on April 2, 1754, from Alexandria with 165 men and two wagons, reaching Thomas Cresap's Oldtown on April 20 and Will's Creek on April 23. Cresap, in the meantime, had blazed a sixty-mile trail with the Indian Nemacolin, from Will's Creek to Redstone Creek.

On the forks of the Ohio, Ensign Ward and his men were

building their humble but grandly named Fort Prince George when, on April 17, they saw a large French force in sixty bateaux and three hundred canoes full of painted Indians moving toward them on the three-hundred-yard-wide Allegheny. The two groups landed near the uncompleted fort, marching in step until they were a gunshot away. Captain de Contrecoeur, the French commander, sent an officer to the fort with an interpreter called Mingoes the Owl and two drums. The officer told Ensign Ward that he had an hour to surrender, and must come to the French camp with his answer in writing. Ward then spent a half-hour in council with Half-King, who had left Venango and sided with the English. Half-King advised him to tell the French that he was but a lowly ensign, unfit to make such an important decision, and they must wait until a higher-ranking officer arrived.

When Ward went to the French camp to try to buy time, Captain de Contrecoeur said that he must give his reply at once or the fort would be taken by force. Looking around, Ward estimated the number of French and Indians to be roughly one thousand. Since he had only thirty-three men, he surrendered. A few days later, Ward arrived at Will's Creek, where he gave Lieutenant Colonel Washington a belt of wampum from Half-King and reported that the fort he was to have reinforced had fallen and was now in the hands of a French force far superior to his own. They had renamed it Fort Duquesne.

What should Washington do, now that he was unable to carry out his orders? He decided to march into Pennsylvania on the trail blazed by Cresap and start building a fort at Redstone Creek, forty miles from the French. On May 24, he crossed the Youghiogheny and reached Great Meadows, about ten miles southeast of today's Uniontown. His were the first wheeled vehicles and artillery to cross the Alleghenies. That day, he received a message from Half-King that a detachment of French were on the march and "are resolved to strike the first English they see."

On May 23, Joseph Coulon de Villiers, sieur de Jumonville, had left Fort Duquesne with thirty men, carrying orders to seek out the English and give them a summons if they were found "on the lands of the [French] king." So here were a French and a British detachment heading for exactly the same spot. Jumonville followed the Monongahela, which the French called the "Mal-Engueulée," to the north of Redstone Creek, forty miles away. Washington too was heading for Redstone Creek.

Christopher Gist joined Washington on May 27. Another message arrived from Half-King: "they had seen along the road the tracks of two men which went down into a gloomy hollow, and . . . he imagined that the whole party was hidden there." Washington had several reasons to be suspicious: Had not the French themselves, their tongues loosened by wine, told him five months before at Venango that they intended to take the Ohio, whatever the cost? Then there was the message from Half-King that the French were "resolved to strike the first English they see." If their intentions were peaceful, why were they taking such precautions to camp in an out-of-the-way, hidden glen? Washington resolved to go after the French before they came after him, since his orders said that he should meet force with force.

That night, he took forty of his men along a narrow trail, in rain that fell in such sheets they had trouble keeping their powder dry. They "frequently tumbled one over the other," Washington wrote Dinwiddie, "and were so often lost that a 15 or 20-minute search would not find the path again." But the Indian guides picked up the French tracks, and on May 28, at sunrise, they reached the Indian camp where Half-King was waiting.

After holding council with Half-King, Washington decided to confront the French. Half-King led them to the French camp. Here is where accounts begin to differ. The French insisted that Jumonville, upon seeing the British, waved his arm to indicate that he had a letter to convey, and was stopped by a rifle shot in the head. The French officer Drouillon, who was taken prisoner, wrote Governor Dinwiddie that, when Washington and his men attacked, "neither we nor our own men took to arms. . . ." Washington, leading his men in single file toward the French, later wrote Dinwiddie: "I was the first man who approached them, and the first whom they saw, and immediately upon it [they] ran to their arms and fired briskly till they were defeated."

In the ensuing battle, Washington had one man killed and three wounded, while the French had ten killed and one wounded. The French powder was dry, protected by the bark huts they slept in, but the British powder was damp from the night's rain. It is possible, as Washington said, that the French opened fire, causing the English casualties, and then the British shot or bayoneted the French at close range. The English deserter Denis Kaninguen told the French that Half-King hovered over the fallen Jumonville and said, "You are not dead yet, my father," striking him in the head

with his hatchet. Despite his dislike of the procedure, Washington had to stand by and watch his Indian allies scalp the French dead.

The French version was that a peaceful mission, with orders to treat the British courteously, had been bushwhacked. Captain de Contrecoeur wrote Governor Duquesne: "I think, sir, that you will be surprised at the shameful way the English are acting; this is something which has never been known, even among the most uncivilized nations, striking at ambassadors by assassination."

It was Washington's first taste of battle, and he wrote his brother that "I have heard the bullets whistle, and believe me, there is something charming in the sound." Upon which George II, who had been at Dettingen, is said to have observed: "He would not say so if he had been used to hear many."

Sir William Johnson, the highly respected superintendent for Indian affairs, felt that Washington had acted rashly. "I wish Washington had acted with the prudence and circumspection requisite in an officer of his rank," he wrote. "He should have avoided an engagement until our troops were all assembled. . . . I can without much of a prophetic spirit foresee the ruin of this country very shortly without the immediate interposition of His Majesty and Parliament."

Johnson was right in thinking that this would not be an isolated incident; in fact, it was the opening of the French and Indian War. Retribution was not long in coming. In June 1754, Washington started building the fort he called Necessity, in a waterlogged creek bottom with the woods on three sides and a bare hill on the fourth. Reconstructed on its exact site on the basis of digs, Fort Necessity stands today between Farmington and Chalkhill. This so-called fort was nothing but some logs carved to points and stuck in the ground side by side. Instead of placing his fort on the hill, Washington had chosen a clearing surrounded by woods, showing no understanding of position or strategy.

On June 6, Washington heard from Gist that Joshua Fry was dead in a fall from his horse, and that he was now in command. Reinforcements arrived, until he had a total of 293 officers and men, plus nine swivel guns, but on July 3, a French force twice the size attacked Fort Necessity, led by Louis Coulon de Villiers, who had arrived from Montreal to avenge his brother, Jumonville. After a nine-hour battle in the rain, the French, firing from forest cover, killed thirty of Washington's men, and he surrendered at midnight. His disarmed men were allowed to march back to Virginia with their flags flying, but he had to promise that Virginia would not build another fort on the Ohio for a year, and to turn over two officers as hostages in exchange for the twenty-one prisoners he had taken in the attack on Jumonville.

The worst humiliation for Washington, however, was having to sign a capitulation agreeing to the immediate return of the French prisoners taken "when he assassinated sieur de Jumonville." He later said he didn't understand what he was signing. Washington had not personally killed Jumonville: the French officer was killed by Half-King. Governor Duquesne, however, wrote: "Washington was stupid enough to admit it in his capitulation."

Whatever Washington's distress at being designated a war criminal, it was peripheral to what was now a full-fledged war between France and England in North America. This time, the frontier had dragged the hinterland into war, for the Fort Necessity defeat led the English crown to send General Edward Braddock with instructions to drive the French out of the Ohio.

With Washington's defeat, British power at the forks of the Ohio collapsed, and George Croghan pulled back to Aughwick Creek, forty miles west of Carlisle. Conrad Weiser came to visit in September 1754 and saw two hundred Indians there, still loyal to the British in spite of French successes. Croghan was keeping them happy at his own expense, and had planted twenty-five acres of corn for them. Around this time, Half-King, their old ally, died of alcoholism, convinced that the French had put a curse on him for scalping Jumonville.

Indians drifted in from the French zone, bringing news of Fort Duquesne, which Croghan passed on to Philadelphia. He complained to Weiser that Pennsylvania was doing nothing to defend its western lands, and that its "slow moshuns" would result in the desertion of the Indians. He did what he could to keep them happy, with a keg of rum once a month for a frolic, and believed that he had rallied the only bunch who were fit to fight the French. "If the French build more forts," he told Weiser, "I don't know what will become of the back parts of Cumberland county."

As if in answer to Croghan's prayers, the man the county was named for, the duke of Cumberland, son of George II, convinced his father to send troops to America. General Braddock, a short and stout sixty-year-old veteran of forty years in the army, was appointed commander of British forces in America, and arrived at Williamsburg with two regiments on February 23, 1755. He

Company, and by the French commander of the attacking force, Coulon de

marched his men to Will's Creek, that old staging ground, where Fort Cumberland had been built for his operations; a seventeen-gun salute of four-pounders announced his arrival on May 10. There his thousand redcoats were joined by George Washington and eight hundred colonial militia, as well as by Croghan and about a hundred braves from Aughwick, who brought their wives and children.

Soon the fur-and-feather-clad warriors were dancing in the moonlight, while the squaws fraternized with the regulars, proudly turning over the proceeds of their amours to their husbands. Richard Peters, secretary to the Council in Pennsylvania, said, "Their squaws [were] bringing them money in plenty, which they got from the officers, who were scandalously fond of them." This was bad for discipline, and Braddock ordered the women and children sent home. When they left, the men left with them, except for eight who remained as scouts.

Braddock's objective was Fort Duquesne, the French fort on the Ohio, about 110 miles from Will's Creek. He was glad to see Washington, who had actually been to the forks of the Ohio, and who knew how to draw a map. Braddock also met Thomas Cresap and enlisted him as a supplier, until he decided that he had been "deceived and met with nothing but lies and villainy" from the man. Among Braddock's officers, Cresap was known as "the rattlesnake colonel."

The two-thousand-man army got going on June 7, 1755, along the path blazed by Cresap and Chief Nemacolin. Among the recruits, besides Washington and Croghan, was a twenty-one-year-old wagon driver in the North Carolina company named Daniel Boone.

By June 16, they had reached Little Meadows, at today's Grantsville, Maryland. In ten days, they had advanced about twenty-three miles. Braddock had three hundred axmen widening the trail so that it could accommodate artillery and supply wagons. His army on the march formed a line four miles long, hauling cannons and tons of supplies.

Washington, who recorded that Braddock "halted to level every mole-hill and to erect bridges over every brook, by which means we were four days in getting twelve miles," suggested they might push on more rapidly with a flying column of twelve hundred men and a minimum of artillery. Braddock agreed, despite his barely veiled contempt for colonials. These so-called Americans, he thought, who had sold him lame horses and rotten meat, were worse than useless. On July 3, Christopher Gist went on a reconnaissance and said the way was clear. His scouts had approached to within a half-mile of Fort Duquesne and scalped a French officer.

Company, and by the French commander of the attacking force, Coulon de Villiers.

On July 9, 1755, after cutting one hundred miles of road, this force of light infantry crossed the shallow Monongahela twice, on the outskirts of today's Pittsburgh, in the Turtle Creek Valley. Braddock ordered his men to march as if on dress parade, in colorful uniforms and with flags flying, drums beating, and music playing. They were ambushed a quarter-mile farther on, by a band of two hundred French and four hundred Indians led by Daniel Beaujeu, who was killed early in the battle and replaced by Lieutenant Dumas.

Croghan, who was at the front of the column, saw French officers signaling with their hats for their men to open fire. The French fired down on the British from a forested hill. Washington's Virginia troops took heavy losses as flanking scouts. Many were killed by friendly fire. Braddock insisted on massed men and orderly volleys, even though they could not see their assailants. He discovered that platoon firing was ineffective on a twelve-foot-wide trail in the middle of the woods. There was panic in the British ranks, which broke and fell back, creating an accordion effect, with the front lines pushing up against the advancing center. Dumas deployed his men "like ants around a caterpillar." Braddock was wounded and ordered a retreat. It became a rout.

Croghan saw the redcoats run, not one stopping to carry off their gravely wounded general, not even when Washington offered a fifty-guinea reward. He helped Washington lift Braddock into a wagon. The general tried to seize Croghan's pistols so that he could die in the field. He died on July 13, one of the 977 killed and wounded in his army, and was buried by the side of the road as Washington read the burial service. His dying words to Washington were: "We shall better know how to deal with them another time."

Croghan was appalled at the English tactics. "Many of our people fired 24 rounds and never saw the enemy," he said. He believed that, "had we had 50 Indians instead of eight, we might in a great measure have prevented the surprise." The Indian scout Scarouady said of Braddock: "He was a bad man. He looked upon us as dogs; and would never hear anything what was said to him.

. . . He never appeared pleased with us, and that was the reason that a great many of our warriors left him." William Johnson had warned Braddock that "a delicate conduct" was necessary with the Indians, but the warning had fallen on deaf ears.

Company, and by the French commander of the attacking force, Coulon de
of Page One and the signatures on Page Three.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE FRENCH DEPARTURE

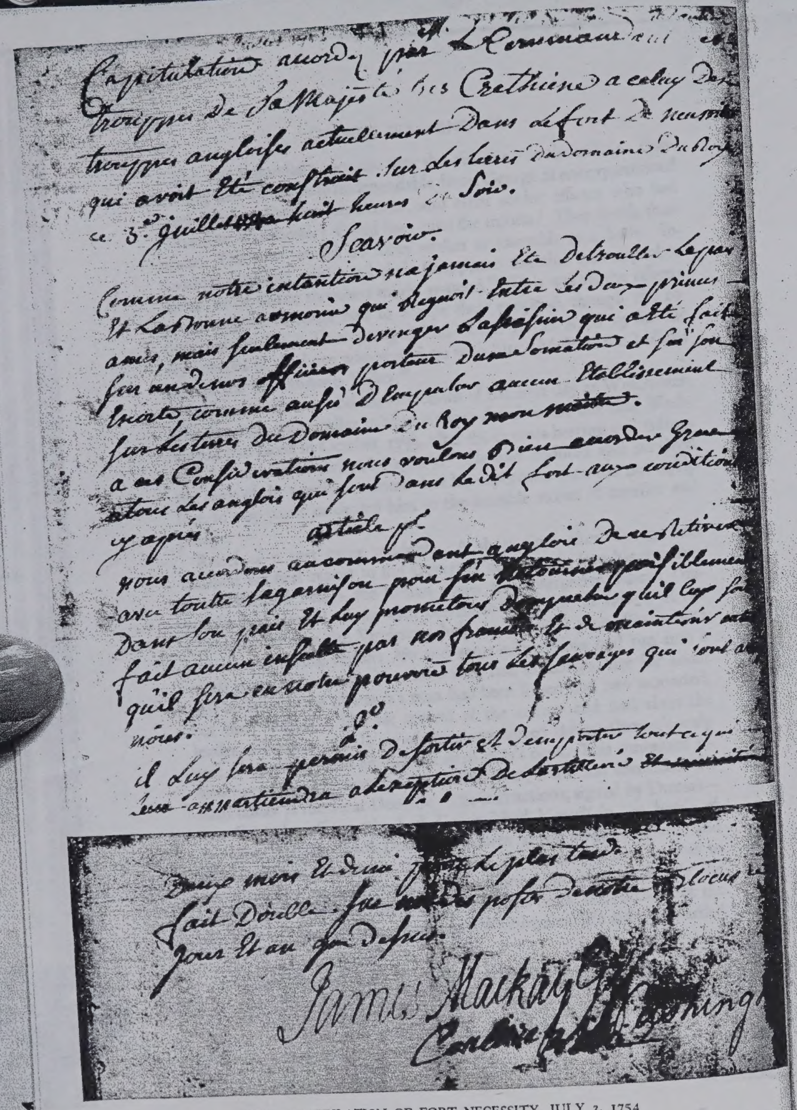
After Braddock's defeat, the British brought in more regulars and in 1759 defeated the French decisively on the Plains of Abraham. France was evicted from North America. England won Canada, and Spain, as the result of a secret treaty with France, acquired the Louisiana Territory. But no sooner was the Seven Years' War over, in 1763, than Pontiac and his Indian warriors attacked British forts in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Michigan and had to be turned back.

Heart of oak are our ships, heart of oak are our men:
We are always ready, steady! boys, steady!
We'll fight and we'll conquer again and again.

DAVID GARRICK

With Braddock's defeat came the dawn of skepticism concerning British military prowess. On the frontier, British prestige was completely eroded, and the settlers were tense. Some of them cut loopholes in the walls of their cabins, and some of them fled east. The western frontiers of Maryland and Pennsylvania became a no-man's-land where Indian marauders tied scalps to their wampum belts.

The atrocities began with Braddock's defeat, when pro-French Indians tied twelve redcoats to stakes and burned them alive, and continued until the French and Indian War ended in 1763. The smoke of burning plantations darkened the skies. German settlers were massacred at Penn's Creek, near the settled regions along the Susquehanna. Carlisle and Lancaster were in danger. "The roads are full of starved, indigent multitudes," Richard Peters wrote Thomas Penn on November 8, 1755. "Not one twentieth man has



Capitulation accordée par le Commandant des
troupes de Sa Majesté très Chrétienne a celuy des
troupes angloises actuellement dans le fort de necessité
qui avoit été construit sur les terres du domaine du Roy
ce 3e juillet a huit heures du soir.

Scavoir.

Comme notre intention n'a jamais été de troubler la paix
et la bonne armonie qui regnoit entre les deux princes
amis, mais seulement de venger l'assassin qui a été fait
sur un de nos officiers porteur d'une sommation et sur son
escorte, comme aussi d'empecher aucun établissement
sur les terres du domaine du Roy mon maître.
a ces considerations nous voulons bien accorder grace
a tous les anglois qui sont dans le dit fort aux conditions
cy après

article 1er

nous accordons au commandant anglois de se retirer
avec toute la garnison pour s'en retourner paisiblement
dans son pays et luy promettons d'empecher qu'il luy soit
fait aucune insulte par nos françois et de maintenir autant
qu'il sera en notre pouvoir tous les sauvages qui sont avec
nous.

2e

il luy sera permis de sortir et d'emporter tout ce qui
leur appartiendra a l'exception de l'artillerie

Deux mois et demi pour le plus tard.
Fait double sur un des postes de notre blocus le
jour et an que dessus.

James Mackay [illegible]ashington
Coulon [illegible]

THE CAPITULATION OF FORT NECESSITY, JULY 3, 1754

This document, preserved in the archives of the District of Montreal, is rain-blotted and in several places is erased and corrected. It is signed by Washington, by James Mackay, commander of the British Independent Company, and by the French commander of the attacking force, Coulon de Villiers. Shown here are part of Page One and the signatures on Page Three.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

A BIOGRAPHY

By

Douglas Southall Freeman

VOLUME TWO

YOUNG
WASHINGTON

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1948

George Washington, A Biography

W I SHS E312 F82 (v. 2)

The sole immediate recourse was the old one—to the militia. Concerning that notoriously undependable force, George at once questioned Lord Fairfax, County Lieutenant, and other senior officers who had hurried to Winchester: Could they raise the militia? They shook their heads. The men would not obey orders to assemble as a body. Individual Captains might call their Companies together and appeal to them. Some of the members might respond.[22] This was all the officers could suggest. George had to accept their proposal, though the indifference of the militia outraged him. Later he set April 15 for the rendezvous of all those who would go with him and drive the Indians out of the Shenandoah Valley.[23]

Such were the acts and the reflections of the first day at Winchester. The situation was similar in almost every detail to the one that Washington had faced in October, 1755, after the express bearing evil tidings had found him at Colonel Baylor's.[24] He had endured and survived the raids of the previous autumn, but his experience then did not equip him to stop panic or deafen him to the horrible stories of murder and pillage.

Relief of a sort came suddenly. A short time after George had finished his first report to the Governor on the 7th, into his quarters strode Richard Pearis, the Indian trader and interpreter, whom Dinwiddie had blamed, along with Governor Glen, for the failure of the Cherokees to give the Virginians help the previous year. Pearis now made a redeeming report: He and some companions had run into a small party of Indians with whom they had exchanged fire for about half an hour. One of Pearis's men had been killed and two wounded, but the Virginians had hit several of the enemy and had slain the leader, a Frenchman. In proof, Pearis produced the gentleman's scalp and a bag taken from around the dead man's neck. This contained instructions from the commander at Fort DuQuesne and identified the slain officer as the Sieur Douville. The instructions, signed by Dumas—a well-known officer who had distinguished himself in the battle of the Monongahela—bade Douville conform to the usages of honor and humanity, and to restrain the savages. At the same time, he was to undertake to burn the magazines at Conococheague, far inside the settlements. The very boldness of this design made the outcome of the first skirmish all the more pleasing to Washington. He duly forwarded

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[22] 1 *G. W.*, 300.
[23] 1 *G. W.*, 307, 311, 312.
[24] See *supra*, p. 124.

Douville's scalp to Dinwiddie, with the recommendation that the men who took it be rewarded as Indians would have been for the same feat.[25] The Colonel next proceeded to send out scouting parties and to direct such feeble defensive measures as his limited forces permitted,[26] but the killing of Douville appeared to have discouraged, and perhaps to have scattered, the hostile raiders. Although frightened settlers continued to flee, no additional murders were reported for several days.

George took advantage of this breathing spell to plan for the future: At the earliest possible date, he would bring 100 men down from Fort Cumberland and with these soldiers and men raised around Winchester, he would undertake a swift and sharp offensive.[27] To succeed in this, he must have the aid of courageous savages immediately. "Indians are the only match for Indians," Washington repeated, "and without these we shall ever fight upon unequal terms."[28] George had heard, on reaching Winchester, that Andrew Lewis's expedition against the Shawnee towns had failed and that the Cherokees who had accompanied the Major had returned to the Virginia settlements.[29] Washington at once urged that these red warriors be prevailed upon to join him.[30] Even if they were few in number, they would be invaluable.

Looking beyond the instant crisis to the adequate, continuous defence of the frontier, Washington reasoned that troops of the type of his own Virginia Regiment had to be the backbone of any permanent force. As he did not think it possible to procure volunteers, he reasoned that the new draft should be of able-bodied marksmen for a term of eighteen to twenty months. By the end of that period, George somewhat grimly observed, two campaigns would have brought "matters nearly to a crisis one way or other."[31] The General Assembly was expected to vote £20,000 and to authorize an increase of his command, by means of the draft, to 2000 men. All these troops George wished to incorporate into a single Regiment, under his own direction, rather than to see them organized into two Regiments, with someone else as Colonel of the second. "I had no other motive in proposing this scheme," Washington was careful to affirm, "than the pleasing hopes of serving my country."[32]

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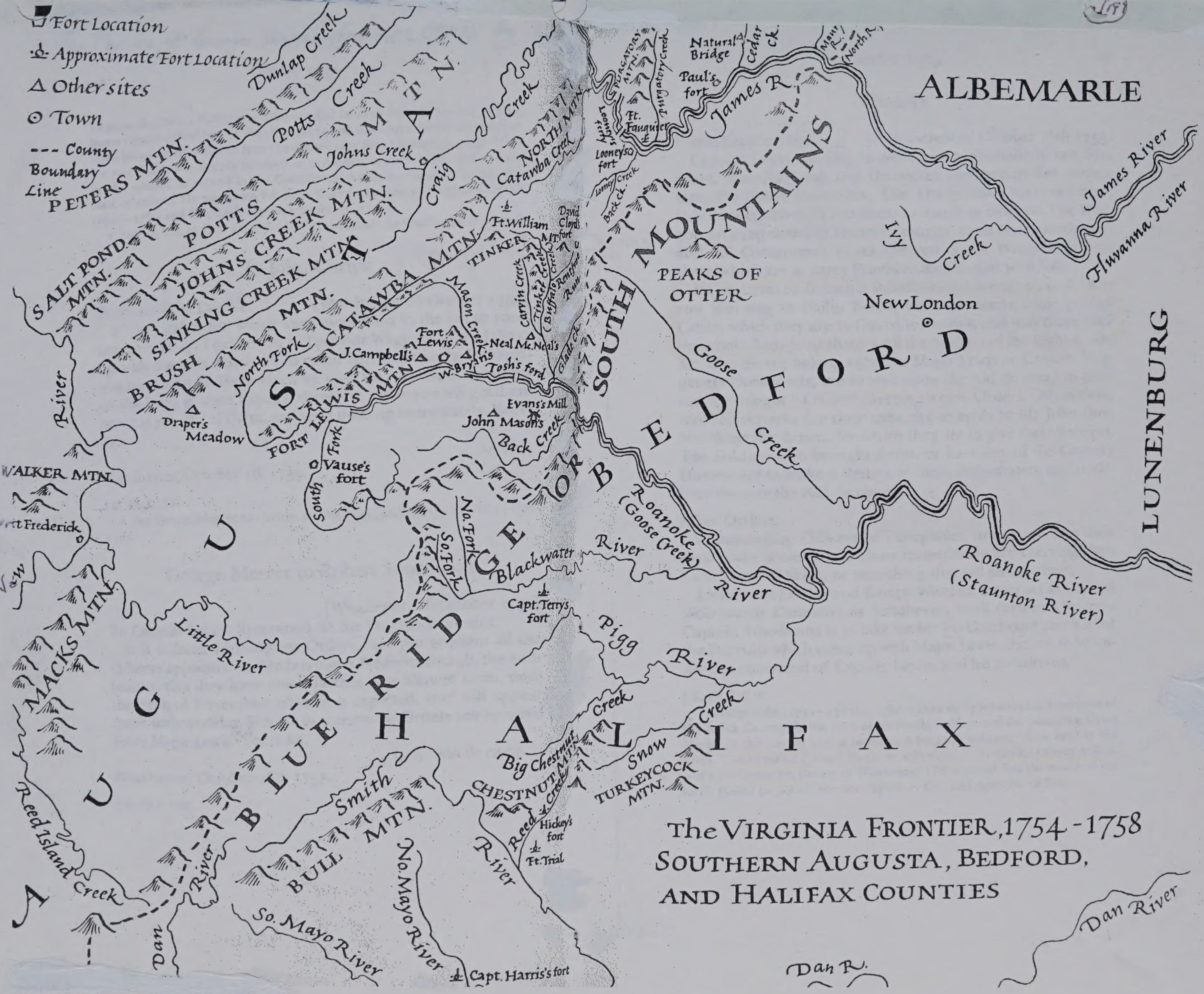
[25] 1 *G. W.*, 302; 1 *Sharpe*, 409; 2 *Sparks*, 137 n; 2 *Penn. Arch.*, 600; *Penn. Gazette*, Apr. 29, 1756; *Md. Gazette*, May 6, 1756.
[26] 1 *G. W.*, 303, 306–07, 309, 310.
[27] 1 *G. W.*, 300.
[28] To Speaker Robinson, April 7, 1756; 1 *G. W.*, 305.
[29] For the expedition and the return, see 1 *Hamilton*, 208, 212, 227, 228; 2 *Din.*, 383, 387–88, 389, 397, 413; *Md. Gazette*, May 6, 1756.
[30] 1 *G. W.*, 301.
[31] 1 *G. W.*, 305.
[32] Letter of April 16, 1756, to Dinwiddie; 1 *G. W.*, 313.



The Virginia Frontier, 1754-1758
Southern Augusta, Bedford, and Halifax Counties

Fort Location
Approximate Fort Location
Other sites
Town
County Boundary Line
AUGUSTA
BEDFORD
HALIFAX
ALBEMARLE
LUNENBURG
PETERS MTN.
SALT POND MTN.
POTTS
JOHNS CREEK MTN.
SINKING CREEK MTN.
BRUSH MTN.
CATAWBA MTN.
NORTH MTN.
TINKER MT.
FORT LEWIS MTN.
SOUTH MOUNTAINS
PEAKS OF OTTER
PURGATORY MTN.
BLUE RIDGE
WALKER MTN.
MACKS MTN.
SMITH
BULL MTN.
CHESTNUT MTN.
TURKEYCOCK MTN.
Dunlap Creek
Potts Creek
Johns Creek
Craig Creek
Catawba Creek
North Fork
South Fork
Mason Creek
Carvin Creek
Tinker Creek
Buffalo Creek
Renfroe Run
Glade ck.
Back Creek
Back ck.
Looney Creek
Purgatory Creek
Cedar ck.
Maury R.
North R.
James R.
James River
Fluvanna River
Ivy Creek
Goose Creek
Roanoke (Goose Creek) River
Roanoke River (Staunton River)
Blackwater River
No. Fork
So. Fork
Pigg River
Snow Creek
Big Chestnut Creek
Reed Creek
River
Little River
New River
Reed Island Creek
Dan River
Dan R.
So. Mayo River
No. Mayo River
Natural Bridge
Paul's fort
Ft. Fauquier
Looney's ferry
Looney's fort
David Cloyd's fort
Ft. William
Neal Mc.Neal's
Fort Lewis
J. Campbell's
W. Bryans
Tosh's ford
Evans's Mill
John Mason's
Draper's Meadow
Vause's fort
Fort Frederick
Capt. Terry's fort
Hickey's fort
Ft. Trial
Capt. Harris's fort
New London

The Papers of George Washington Vol 2 (1983) by W. W. Abbott, Editor, et al   at SHS - E312.72   copied 6/23/1998 mjg

Virginia Regiment, Bullitt was commended in 1758 for his bravery at Col. James Grant's defeat before Fort Duquesne and was criticized for his conduct when his company suffered heavy casualties near Fort Ligonier in 1759. After the war Bullitt was deeply involved in surveying western lands, and during the Revolution he served in the Continental Army, eventually reaching the rank of colonel. He was from Fauquier County, the son of Benjamin Bullitt (1700–1766) and Elizabeth Harrison Bullitt (d. 1742).

[2] See Orders, 10 Oct. 1755, for GW's instructions to Peachey on this head.

To John Carlyle

To Major John Carlyle. [Winchester, 16 October 1755]

If the Clothes &c. which were mentioned in the last to you,[1] are not sent up, I desire you will provide Waggons to send them up with the men which are to come up, immediately. Inclosed, you have a list of Tools which we want very much, as the Boots on the Road all want Repairs; therefore desire you will get them or what you can of them, and send them up immediately. Yours &c. G:W.

Winchester, October 16, 1755.

LB, DLC:GW.

[1] See George Mercer to Carlyle, 10 Oct. 1755, and Carlyle to GW, 17 Oct. 1755.

George Mercer to Robert Spotswood

[Winchester, 16 October 1755]

To Captain Robert Spotswood, of the Virginia Regiment.

It is Colonel Washingtons Orders, that you acquaint all the Officers appointed to Rendezvous at Fredericksburgh, the 20th instant, that they have now a farther time allowed them, until the 15th of November; when it is expected, they will appear there without delay. You are to observe the Orders you received from Major Lewis. Yours &c.

G:M. Aid de camp.

Winchester: October 16th 1755.

LB, DLC:GW.

Orders

Parole Cumberland Winchester: October 16th 1755.

Captain Lewis the Day, to-morrow. One Subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corporal, one Drummer, and twenty-five private men, the Guard to-morrow. The Troops now Quartered here, to hold themselves in Readiness to march to morrow. The Waggon ordered down to Fredericksburgh, to set out immediately; and the Commissary to see the rest of the Waggons (except three which are to carry Provision &c.) loaded with Salt.

Major Lewis to Detach a Subaltern and twenty men, to morrow morning to Philip Bebbs, there to receive some publick Cattle, which they are to Guard to Pearis's, and wait there until the whole Body joins them—All the Soldiers of the Light-horse, &c. who do not belong either to Major Lewis or Captain Waggeners Commands, are to wait upon the Aid de camp to morrow morning at 8 O'Clock, to receive their Orders. Officers who want Haversacks for their men, are to apply to Mr John Dow, Merchant, for Linen, for which they are to give their Receipts. The Soldiers who brought down, or have any of the Country Horses, are to make a Return of them immediately, and to deliver them to the Aid de camp.[1]

After Orders.

Commanding Officers of Companies, are to see that their men make some contrivances immediately for carrying their Cartridges; of Skins, or something that will secure them.

Lieutenant Lowry, and Ensign Weedon, are to act in Captain Woodwards Company as Subalterns, until further Orders—Captain Woodward is to take under his Command one half of the Recruits which came up with Major Lewis; the rest to be under the command of Captain Lewis, and his Subalterns.

LB, DLC:GW.

[1] Philip Babb (1731–1762) and John Dow (d. 1763) were both residents of Frederick County. At the time of his death, Babb owned the plantation Great Marsh in the county and a house and lot in Winchester; Dow lived in the town. The home of Robert Pearis, an officer in the Frederick County militia, was a few miles northwest of Winchester. GW ordered that the march of the cattle guard be put off for one day on 17 Oct. and again on 18 Oct.

Robert

✓

also see p 334

Robt 119, 236

Richd 159, 161, 334-6
345-7

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Cumberland." The stores at Conococheague and Maidstone were on either side of the river at Watkins's ferry.

2. George McSwane (McSwaine), of Cumberland County, Pa., arrived in Williamsburg later in the month to receive the £20 bounty for the two scalps he had taken in this encounter with the Indians. For an account of his escape, see *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), 21 Nov. 1755.

From Adam Stephen

Sir, Winchester Novr 7th 1755

Last night the Detachmt marchd with only Eight waggons at last;[1] There is no more Salt here, of which I have acquainted Mr Dick, and desir'd him to forward the Quantity necessary, while the weather favourd us So much.

The Cattle from Carolina fall away much, and unless They are Slaughterd soon, they will not be worth while—I have procurd Several Cooper's Tools here, and mentiond what we want to Mr Dick. I am to told Shepherd herds the Cattle Sent us by Govr Dobb's at £60 ꝑ month.[2] The Cattle from Augusta are all Save at Fort Cumberland; and as soon as Conveniences for Salting can be made The Rest shall be ordered up—I wait here to See the Detachmt from Frebg which is expected today, and to give Some necessary Orders, when I follow the Convoy which will halt at Edwards this night. I have found it necessary, to prevent the people from Abandoning This Valley on this Side the blue Ridge, to Send a party of men to Henry Enoch's on Cape Capo—and promise a party to Watkins Ferry to guard the Magazine of provisions there. I hope this will meet with your approbation, when you hear that the Pannic which prevails, is so great as to make them leave their plantation on Opecan.

If a party is not Stationed on Cape Capo, The Enemy may come within four miles of Winchester before they are heard of, and indeed to Secure that Frontier properly Maryland ought to have 100 men at Cressops, 100 at the Conallaways—wt. a party at the Mouth of Little Cape Capo, another at Enoch's, and another at the Mouth of Back Creek or Watkins Ferry.[3] However, a proper Number at Fort Cumberland; and a Fort with a Garrison of 1000 Men near to Raes Town[4] in pennylvania, would render all this a great deal less necessary.

The Inhabitants of Pennsylvania are more scared than hurt. I can hear of no person that has seen this large Body of French & Indians—and am of Opinion that the Intelligence is not to be depended on—tho' by Govr Morris Letter to you it Seems he believes it, But McSwine would certainly have heard Something of the Matter if Such a Number had come on this Side the mountains.[5]

Capt. Woodward is returned with the party from Raes Town; without Seeing the Enemy; They Stayd too short a time; The Indians being disappointed in their Attacks, did not return so soon as they propos'd.[6]

You See by the inclosd from Mr Callender that the French leave no Stone unturnd to secure all the Indians, on Susquenhanna, and their Emmisarrys are, at this instant among the Cherokees[7]—I have reason to believe His Honr the Govnr has been much Abus'd by the five Indians, who pretended all to be of the Cherokees Nation—I have reason to believe that they were straglers[.] There are only two Cherokees—The fellow who pretended to be Chief is a Shanoe, one was an Adopted Catawba, another a Mingo.[8]

While Traders are employd on these important Affairs nothing to our Advantage is to be Expected, and if ever we Secure an Interest among the Savages it will be Accomplishd by men of weight and Integrity—I must own I look upon this to be so important to the Colonies that no Expence, No pains, even by the Persons of greater Abilities is to be thought too much. Paris pretensions to bring in the 200 Cherokees, appears to me by Advice from a Rational person to be only a trick, to procure forgiveness, and recover the Govrs Countenance, after so many charges as had been justly lodged agt him by Mr Gist. By a particular & intimate Acquaintance of Paris's, it has been acknowledged that he was the principle Cause of our not having the Cherokees Last Spring.[9]

This moment arrived here Capt. Caton from Cannigochigoe, who inform that 150 Marylanders, and 350 Pennsylvanians have marchd towards the head of that Creek, but in the greatest disorder, without Command or knowledge of what they were about.[10] There is not above ten men killd or taken which has occasioned all the Confusion in Pennsylvna—Sweringhame was orderd out last tuesday with 100 Men, to reconnoitre towards Sleepy-Creek, and the Warm Springs; but is not gone

yet[.] He & Caton cannot make up the Nu[mbe]r between them, so many have run off. The Inhabitants are dastardly, and in a proper temper to have any joke impos'd upon them. This argues the necessity of Compleating your Regimt.[11]

Would the three provinces join, we could destroy the Kittanan & Shanse towns this winter[12]—This Vigorous Step would most Effectually Secure our Frontiers. If Paris &c. go agt the Shanose town they will Certainly be beat. I have learned the French have a Fort at that place—I am with Respect Sir, Your

Adam Stephen

Please to Order up a Doctr immediatly.

ALS, DLC:GW.

[1] See Stephen to GW, 6 Nov. 1755, n.1.

[2] On 22 Sept. 1755 Charles Dick entered an agreement with Andrew Shepherd of North Carolina to deliver to Winchester 15 head of cattle at an agreed price and "three Hundred head more to be delivered him for wich the said Shepherd gives his Receipt sent by Governor Dobbs from North Carolina at the rate of Sixty pounds pr Month and at the Delivery of all the said Cattle at Winchester the said Shepherd obliges himself to Deliver them at Wills Creek" (DLC:GW). These cattle from North Carolina were initially intended for Braddock's expedition. See Dinwiddie to GW, 18 Oct. 1755, n.5. Some of the Carolina cattle were at Winchester by 20 Oct. On 11 Nov. GW ordered Thomas Walker, who had recently replaced Dick as chief commissary for the expedition, to go to Winchester to deal with the cattle problem. Walker found the Carolina cattle unfit for use and made arrangements for their wintering (Walker to GW, 26 Nov., 4, 17, 26 Dec. 1755).

[3] Back Creek flows north into the Potomac River above Winchester to the west of the mouth of Opequon Creek and to the east of the mouth of Cacapon River. Tonoloway Creek runs into the Potomac from the Maryland side a few miles west of where Back Creek joins the Potomac.

[4] Raystown was northeast of Wills Creek on a tributary of the Juniata River.

[5] See Robert Hunter Morris to GW, 31 Oct.–1 Nov. 1755. For the adventures of George McSwane, see Stephen to GW, 6 Nov. 1755.

[6] Capt. Henry Woodward was among the party of over 100 volunteers who left Fort Cumberland for Raystown in pursuit of the Indians who had murdered some settlers and carried off George McSwane as prisoner. The authorities at Fort Cumberland had received information that the Indians would shortly return to Raystown.

[7] The "inclosd" from Robert Callender, the Indian trader, has not been found.

[8] Dinwiddie wrote to Arthur Dobbs, 18 Sept. 1755: "I lately had five of the Cherokees with me the Head Man was the son of Old Hop. I rec'd them properly entertain'd them well & gave them Presents they promis'd to be on our Frontiers with 150 Warriors all this Winter" (ViHi: Dinwiddie Papers).

[9] The joint venture of Richard Pearis (c.1725–1794) and Nathaniel Gist to engage in trade with the Cherokee and Catawba Indians in Carolina in 1754 had ended in a quarrel between the two traders. In a letter to Pearis on 26 June 1755 Dinwiddie blamed their quarrel for the failure of either tribe to send warriors to join General Braddock who was then on his march to Fort Duquesne. Pearis's present claims were not a "trick," however: on 24 Nov. Pearis wrote Dinwiddie that he had 130 Cherokee braves ready to take part in the proposed expedition against the Shawnee towns, and in Feb. and Mar. 1756 he served as captain in charge of this party of Indians in Maj. Andrew Lewis's unhappy Sandy Creek expedition. Dinwiddie and GW continued to make use of Pearis, particularly in their dealings with the Cherokee, until, on 8 June 1757, GW noted that "Captn Paris has got a Commission in the Maryland Force" (Memoranda, 8 June 1757).

[10] Horatio Sharpe wrote to Cecilius Calvert on 20 Oct. 1755: "I have posted two small Companies of Men on the Frontiers & have ordered a Party of 30 Men from each County on this Side the Bay to range on the Frontiers during the Space of one Month from their Arrival there. two of the Parties are already marched & that from hence will march Saturday Morning. This Step will I hope hinder more of the People from leaving their Plantations beyond Conegogee" (Browne, *Sharpe Correspondence*, 1:293–97).

[11] Both Thomas Swearingen and Thomas Caton lived on the Potomac to the north of Winchester in that part of Frederick County which later became Berkeley County. Swearingen had just established a ferry across the river at his place near what was later called Mecklenburg, and Caton lived at or near Maidstone across from the storehouse at Conococheague. The county lieutenant, Lord Fairfax, apparently had ordered the two militia captains, Swearingen and Caton, to secure 100 militiamen to serve in the present emergency as rangers in the exposed parts of the county. Swearingen, one of the early settlers in the Shenandoah Valley, became a justice of the peace shortly after Frederick County was formed in 1743, served on the parish vestry, and in 1755 outpolled GW by a large margin in the Frederick County burgess election, only to lose his seat in the House to GW by an even larger margin in 1758. Both Swearingen and Caton, who also was a magistrate, seem to have been contentious men: the officers of the Virginia Regiment stationed in the area were in frequent conflict with one or the other. See William Hughes to Robert Stewart, 12 Feb. 1756 (enclosed in Stewart to GW, 20 June 1756), GW to Stewart, 8 May 1756, Stewart to GW, 20, 23 June 1756, GW to Lord Fairfax, 29 Aug. 1756, Lord Fairfax to GW, 1 Sept. 1756, and GW to Dinwiddie, 9 Oct. 1757.

[12] Kittanning was the name of an important Delaware Indian town, located on the east side of the Allegheny River in Pennsylvania, about 40 miles above Fort Duquesne. After Braddock's defeat this town became the rendezvous for parties of Delaware and Shawnee. The river, the trails, and Braddock's Road provided easy access from there to the scattered inhabitants in

To Peter Hog

[Winchester, 27 December 1755]

To Captain Peter Hogg of the Virginia Regiment.

I wrote you fully the 28th ultimo; since when I have only received two returns; one of the twenty-sixth, the other of the twenty-ninth of November; by which I find you still want men to complete your Company.[1] The present allowance for Recruiting is two Pistoles per man, and eight-pence per day subsistance from the time of their attestation, until they are received at Quarters; and no men are allowed for, but those who shall be actually reviewed and passed.

Lieutenant McNeil received two hundred pounds from the Commissary to pay for your Provisions &c. which I expect will be very punctually accounted for. As to your mens complaints about the stoppages &c. they are groundless and unnecessary; it is the custom of the army; and what the Soldiers here submit to with chearfulness.

I think it will be advisable to detain both Mulatto's and Negroes in your Company; and employ them as Pioneers or Hatchet-men.

You will receive by this conveyance the late Act of Assembly against Mutiny and Desertion; and you are to have the Deserters punished accordingly.

Major Lewis, who is ordered there to take upon him the command of three Companies of Rangers, which are to be joined by your Company and the Cherokee Indians, for certain purposes; will give you his advice and assistance in this affair.[2]

I never received any Letter even mentioning of John Johnston, but that of the 29th of November, speaking of him among other Deserters.[3]

By Major Lewis you will receive an hundred and fifty-seven pounds, thirteen and three pence, pay for your company for the months of December and January. And he will also settle with them and pay off their arrears. The money that he brings will be more than sufficient for two months pay; so that you are to keep regular pay-rolls, and transmit to me or the pay-master, regular accompts of your disbursements, signed by your self and Officers, and Receipts from each noncommissioned Officer and Soldier for their months pay. Another receipt you are always to keep yourself, regularly entered into a Book for that purpose.

You must also transmit to the Commissary an accompt of money expended for Provisions, &c. signed as above. These Directions I received from below. The Governor complains of your laying in provisions for twenty months, instead of the twelve, which I ordered; and takes notice of an extraordinary charge of ten pounds, for a Trough, which amazes me: the like sure never was heard of.[4]

If the Carpenters are kept closely to their work, you may allow them one shilling per day besides their Soldiers pay; but you are to be cautious how they are employed; and not throw away the Countrys money idly: neither are they to receive extraordinary pay for any work, which shall be deemed Soldiers duty. As to Smiths work, you can not have a great deal to do; therefore agree upon the most reasonable terms. If you have not got the Tools from Fredericksburgh, you must try to get them made in Augusta; or purchase from the country people if they are to be had.

You will let Ensign Fleming know that Captain Bell will be with him in a few days to settle his accompt for Recruiting; when that is done, he will receive the arrears of his pay.

I am sorry to find Mr Chew still dissatisfied for his Servant; and did not expect such Behaviour from an Officer. I hope therefore you will make him immediate restitution, or expect to answer it in a more disagreeable way.[5] I am &c.

G:W.

Winchester, December 27th 1755.

P.S. I have sent you General Recruiting Instructions which you are to observe, when you want men to complete your company.[6]

LB, DLC:GW.

[1] Both returns were enclosed in Hog's letter of 29 Nov., to which this letter is a response. Hog reported 3 officers, 3 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 50 rank and file, with 3 men "wanting to Complete" (DLC:GW).

[2] The difference in the wording of GW's orders here to Hog and to Andrew Lewis (27 Dec.) about the command of the Sandy Creek expedition perhaps contributed to the uncertainty about who was in command that plagued the expedition.

[3] See Hog to GW, 29 Nov., n.5, and 17 Dec. 1755, for the background to GW's confusion about the case of John Johnson.

[4] Dinwiddie raised the question about provisions and the "Trough" in a

into the thick settled parts of the Country. Were this done, they could not be cut off by small parties—and large ones could not subsist without provisions.

It seemed to be the Sentiments of the House of Burgesses when I was down, that a chain of Forts should be erected upon our Frontiers for the defence of the people: This expedient, in my opinion, will never, without an inconceivable number of men, answer their expectations.

I doubt not but your Honor has had a particular account of Major Lewis's unsuccessful attempt to get to the Shawneese Town—It was an Expedition, from the length of the march, I own, I always had little expectation off; and often expressed my uneasy apprehensions on that head. But since they are returned with the Indians that accompanied them, I think it would be a very happy step to prevail upon the latter to proceed as far as Fort Cumberland. It is in their power to be of infinite use to us; and without Indians, we shall never be able to cope with those cruel Foes to our Country.

I would therefore beg leave to recommend in a very earnest manner, that your Honor would send an Express to them immediately, for this desirable end. I should have done it myself, but was uncertain whether it might prove agreeable or not. I also hope, your Honor will order Major Lewis to secure his Guides; as I understand he attributes all his misfortunes to their misconduct—Such offences as those, should meet with adequate punishment, else we may ever be misled by designing Villains. I am your Honors &c.

G:W.

Winchester, April 7th 1756.

Since writing the above, Mr. Paris,[4] who commanded a Party, as per enclosed list, is returned; who relates that, upon the North-River he fell in with a small body of Indians which he engaged, and after a dispute of half an hour, put them to flight—Monsieur Donville, commander of the party, was killed and scalped, and his Instructions found about him; which I enclose.[5] We had one man killed, and two wounded—Mr Paris sends the Scalp by Jenkins; and I hope, although it is not an Indians, they will meet with an adequate reward, at least, as the Monsieurs is of much more consequence.[6]

The whole party jointly claim the reward; no person pretending solely to assume the merit.

Your Honor may in some measure penetrate into the daring designs of the French by their Instructions; where Orders are given to burn, if possible, our Magazine at Conogochieg, a place that is in the midst of a thick settled Country.

I have Ordered the party there, to be made as strong as time, and our present circumstances will afford,[7] for fear they should attempt to execute the Orders of Dumas. I have also ordered up an Officer and twenty Recruits to assist Joseph Edwards and the people on those waters.[8] The people of this Town are under dreadful apprehensions of an attack; and all the Roads between this and Fort Cumberland, are much infested. As I apprehend you will be obliged to draught men, I hope care will be taken that none are chosen but active, resolute men—men, who are practised to arms, and are marksmen. I also hope, that a good many more will be taken than what are requisite to complete our Numbers to what the Assembly design to establish; as many of those we have got are really, in a manner unfit for Duty; and were received more through necessity than choice; and will very badly bear a re-examination. Another thing I would beg leave to recommend; and that is, that such men as are Draughted, should be only taken for a time: by which means we shall get better men, and which will in all probability stay with us.

LB, DLC:GW.

[1] The original letter and enclosures have not been found. In a message to the House on 13 April, Nathaniel Walthoe, clerk of the General Assembly, reported: "The Governor has commanded me to lay before Your House, a Letter from Colonel *Washington* dated at *Winchester* the 7th Instant, inclosing a Letter to him from Lieutenant Colonel *Stephen*, from Fort *Cumberland* of the 4th Instant, also an Account of a late Engagement with a small Party of *French* and *Indians*, together with a Commission and Instructions from *Dumas*, the Commandant of the *French* Forces at Fort *Du Quesne* to Monsieur Donville who commanded the above Party, and who was killed" (*JHB, 1752–1755, 1756–1758*, 366). See also Adam Stephen to GW, first letter, 29 Mar. 1756, n.1.

[2] The "Exhortation," which has not been found, failed to accomplish its purpose: only 15 men showed up at the "appointed Time" on 15 April (GW to Dinwiddie, 16 April 1756). Thomas, Lord Fairfax, who lived at Greenway Court 12 miles southeast of Winchester, was county lieutenant of Frederick County.

[3] See GW to Adam Stephen, 7 April 1756.

4. This was, according to a report in the 6 May 1756 *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Capt. Robert Pearis, who was an officer in the Frederick County militia. It may, however, have been Richard Pearis, frontier scout and trader, who had recently returned from Maj. Andrew Lewis's Sandy Creek expedition in which he served as captain of a company of Cherokee.

5. See the enclosure, Dumas's Instructions for Douville, 23 Mar. 1756.

6. A description of the fight written by an officer in Winchester appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia) on 29 April: "The Indians have returned in greater Numbers, I imagine, than ever, and have drove in all the Inhabitants on the Frontiers for Fifty Miles, but have not killed many of them. They have had the Assurance now to advance within Twenty Miles of this Place, to commit their Depredations. On Wednesday last a Party of about Twenty-three Volunteers (Countrymen) went in Pursuit of, and came up with, them. The Indians at first endeavoured to surround them, but they luckily proved too nimble for them, and took Possession of an Eminence, when a pretty hot Fire ensued on both Sides. They saw only fifteen or sixteen Indians. The Commanding Officer of the Party was killed and scalped; he had his Orders tied round his Neck, in a little Leather Bag; I send you a Copy of them. I dare say, you will not be a little surprized when you read them, to find he was ordered to burn our Magazines at Conecocheague, which is a thick settled Place, and Sixty or Seventy Miles within our Frontiers. If they advance in this Manner in the Beginning of the Campaign, what may we expect they will do in the End of it? I am in hopes upon the Death of the Sieur his Party returned; as we have had no certain Intelligence of them since, tho' there have been Commands constantly in Search of them; but they very dextrously avoid large Parties, while they make a Prey of the smaller Ones, so great is their Cunning in warlike Matters."

7. See GW to Adam Stephen, 7 April, and to David Bell, 8 April 1756.

8. See GW to John Blagg, 7 April 1756.

Enclosure

Jean-Daniel Dumas to Alexandre d'Agneau Douville

[Fort Duquesne, 23 March 1756]

Dumas Capitaine d'infanterie Commandt—De la Belle Riviere Et ses dependances.

Il Est Ordonnie au sieur douville Enseigne En second de partie à la tête d'un detachement de Cinquante sauvages pour aller observer les mouvemens des Ennemis sur les derrieres du fort Cumberlan.

Il Satachera à harceler leurs Convois et tentera de Bruler leurs magazins de Canagiechuic si Cette Expédition Est practicable. Il ne négligera Rien pour faire quelques prisoniérs qui puissent nous Confirmer Ce que nous savons dèja des dessins de Lennemi.

Le Sieur douville Employera touts ses talents et tout son Crédit à Empecher Les sauvages duzes d'auccune Cruauté sur Ceux qui tomberont Entre leurs mains L'honneur Et Lhumanité doivent En Cela vous servir deguide.

Fait au fort Duquesne Le 23 Mars 1756

Dumas

DS, DLC:GW.

Jean-Daniel Dumas came to Canada in 1750 as a captain in the French marines. He participated in the Braddock massacre, taking over command of the French and Indian forces in the early stages of the battle after Beaujeu was killed. He was at this time commandant at Fort Duquesne. Douville may have been Alexandre d'Agneau Douville. Several members of the Canadian Douville family were in the colonial service. The copy GW sent to Dinwiddie has not been found.

To John Robinson

[Winchester, 7 April 1756]

To John Robinson Esquire, Speaker.
Dear Sir,

I arrived here yesterday and though not a little fatigued, and incessantly hurried[1] by the afflicting news from the back inhabitants, who are hourly importuning me for assistance, which is not in my power to give—I can not omit this favourable opportunity to give some account of the gloomy aspect that things bear at present. And I am sorry to say, that unless there are speedy and vigorous measures taken by the Assembly, I fear things will still assume a more melancholy appearance! I have transmitted to the Governor sundry accounts which have arrived here since I did, which I hope he will lay before you, as I have not had time to copy them. The people in general are greatly intimidated, and so apprehensive of danger, that I really believe the blue ridge Mountains will in a little time become the Frontiers of Virginia. If the fears of the people do not magnify numbers, those of the Enemy are not inconsiderable. They have made many ineffectual attempts upon several of our Forts; destroyed Cattle, burned Plantations; and this in de-

my Judgement till I hear from You. I desire You will keep them properly employ'd in Patroling the Woods & if possible to scalp some of the barbarous Enemy to prevent & discourage the inhuman Murders in our back Settlements. Majr Lewis & his Men are return'd having done nothing essential. I believe they did not know the Way to the Shawnesse Towns; I expect him in Town to give a proper Acct of his March &ca. I wish You Health & hope to see You here soon. I remain Sir Your Friend & humble Servt

Robt Dinwiddie

LS, DLC:GW; LB, ViHi: Dinwiddie Papers.

[1] See Dinwiddie's commission for GW, 7 April 1756, and GW to Dinwiddie, 18 April 1756.

[2] For GW's indignant reaction to these charges, see his letter to Dinwiddie of 18 April. For reference to current gossip about GW himself at this time, see Charles Carter to GW, 22 April 1756, n.2.

Orders

Parole Bedford. Winchester: Friday, April 9th 1756.

A Regimental Court Martial to sit immediately to enquire whether John Hogan, and William Bond, are guilty of the crimes laid to their charge—and to try the Sentinel, who let William Field, who was confined for desertion, escape from the Guard. Captain Peachy, President.[1]

The Officers to see that the Recruits now in Town are exercised twice every day: They are to order all the men to appear under arms at Retreat[2] and Revilé Beating; to have the Rolls called and see that they have their arms and ammunition in good order. The Troops now in this Town are to receive three days provision, at ten of the clock this Day. John Bruner, of the Troop of Light Horse, having deserted, and procured another man to serve in his stead, is discharged.

LB, DLC:GW.

[1] A William Field served in Capt. George Mercer's company during the Fort Necessity campaign. A 40-year-old Irishman by that name enlisted in John Ashby's company of rangers in Sept. 1755. The sentinel was probably Richard Denny. See GW's Orders, 10 April 1756. No record of the proceedings of the court-martial has been found.

[2] Retreat was the beat of drums at sunset.

To Robert Hunter Morris

Dear Sir [Winchester, 9 April 1756]

I had scarce reachd Williamsburg, before an express was after me with news of the French & Indians advancing within our Settlements, and doing incredable mischief to the Inhabitants which obligd me to postpone my business there, and hurry to their assistance with all expedition: when I came to this place I found everythings in deep confusion: and the poor distressd Inhabitants under a general consternation. I therefore collected such force as I coud immediately raise, and sent them in such parties, and to such places as twas judged most likely to meet with the Enemy:[1] one of which, under the command of Mr Paris, luckily fell in with a small body of them as they were surrounding a small Fort on the No. River of Cacapehon;[2] whom they engagd, and (after half an hour's close firing) put to flight with the loss of their commander Monsr Donville (killd) & three or four more mortally wounded. The accident that has determined the fate of Monsieur; has, I believe, dispers'd his Party: for I dont hear of any mischief done in this Colony since, thô we are not without numbers who are makeing hourly discoverys.

I have sent you a copy of the Instructions that were found about this Officer:[3] that you may see how bold and enterprising the Enemy have grown, how unconfind are thes ambitious design's of the French: and how much it will be in their power, (if the Colonys continue in their fatal Lethargy) to give a final stab to liberty, & Property.

Nothing I more sincerely wish than a union to the Colonys in this time of Eminent danger: and that you may find your assembly in a temper of mind to act consistently with their preservation. What Maryland has, or will do I know not: but this I am certain off, that Virginia will do every thing that can be expected to promote the publick good.

I went to Williamsburg fully resolved to resign my Commission, but was disswaded from it, at least for a time.[4] If the hurry of business in which I know your honour is genlly engagd: will admit of an oppertunity to murder a little time in writing to me. I shoud receive the favour as a mark of that esteem, which I coud wish to merit, by shewing at all times when its in my

power, how much I am Dear Sir Yr honours most Obt & most Hble Servt

Go: Washington

P.S. A Letter this instant arriving from Williamsburg, informs, that our Assembly have voted 20,000£s more and that their Forces shd be increas'd to 2000 Men.[5] a laudable example this, and I hope not a singular one.

The inclosed to Colo. Gage[6] I beg the favr of you to forward.

ALS, CSt; two copies, PHi: Penn Manuscripts. The letter is undated. GW could not have written it before receiving news of Douville's death on 7 April (GW to Dinwiddie). Written on Morris's copy of the letter after GW's postscript are the words "endorsed April 1756." GW's letter is printed in *Pa. Archives*, 2d ser., 1:620, between letters dated 9 April and 10 April, and Ford, *Writings of Washington*, 1:239–241, dates it at Winchester on 9 April. For the possibility that this letter was not sent or even written until 14 April, see note 6.

1. According to his letter to Dinwiddie of 7 April, GW arrived in Winchester on 6 April and got word of Robert Pearis's encounter with Douville the next day.

2. The North River, the largest tributary of the Cacapon, runs northward into the Cacapon several miles above Joseph Edwards's house.

3. See Dumas's Instructions to Douville, 23 Mar. 1756, enclosed in GW to Dinwiddie, 7 April 1756.

4. GW apparently became piqued when he learned on his way to Williamsburg from Boston in March that Gov. Horatio Sharpe of Maryland had been put in command of all the forces to be raised in the southern colonies. By the time he wrote Morris, however, he had not only decided against resigning but had even written to Sharpe asking for his favor. On 10 April 1756 Sharpe wrote Governor Shirley: "The inclosed Letter I am desired to forward to yr Exllency from Colo Washington & to request you to commissionate & appoint him Second in Command in case these Colonies shall raise a sufficient Number of Troops for carrying on an Expedition or making a Diversion to the Westward this Summer; As Mr Washington is much esteemed in Virginia & really seems a Gentln of Merit I should be exceedingly glad to learn that your Excellency is not averse to favouring his Application & Request" (Browne, *Sharpe Correspondence*, 1:389). See also Adam Stephen to GW, first letter, 29 Mar. 1756, n.6.

5. The letter has not been found. The House of Burgesses resolved on 6 April 1756 that both a poll and a land tax be levied for 2 years "towards raising the said Sum of £20,000 for the Protection of our Frontiers," but it was not until 24 April that the House passed "An Act for raising the Sum of £25,000, for the better protection of the Inhabitants on the Frontiers of this Colony" (*JHB, 1752–1755, 1756–1758*, 356, 382).

6. The letter has not been found, but on 10 May 1756 Thomas Gage wrote to GW thanking him for his "Favor of the 14th of April" with "the good News . . . of The Defeat of a Body of Indians, by one of your Partys." This must have been the same Pearis affair that GW describes here in his letter to Morris. It is possible that GW in the midst of a crisis wrote Gage on or shortly before 9 April and again on 14 April, but it is also possible that Gage misstated the date of his letter from GW, that GW misdated his letter to Gage, or that GW did not send his letter of 9 April to Morris until 14 April when he enclosed his letter of that date to Gage.

Orders

Parole Cumberland. Winchester: Saturday, April 10th 1756.

The Sentence of the Court-Martial, whereof Captain Peachy was President, is approved: and Richard Denny[1] is to receive his punishment at Retreat-Beating to night.

LB, DLC:GW.

1. Richard Denny (born c.1730), a soldier in Capt. William Bronaugh's company, enlisted in Feb. 1756 and was from Northumberland County. Denny was probably the sentinel mentioned in GW's Orders, 9 April, who had let the deserter William Field escape.

To David Bell

[Winchester, 10 April 1756]

To Captain David Bell of the Virginia Regiment.

As the Inhabitants of the place[1] seem much alarmed, and under continued apprehensions of being attacked—It is my Orders, that you keep out constant Scouting Parties of the Light Horse, &c. in order that you may receive timely notice of the approach of the Enemy; which you are immediately to communicate to the Inhabitants. If you think you can strengthen the place where you are, by throwing up more works, you are immediately to set upon it; in order to be well prepared in case of an attack. You are to be careful not to weaken your Detachment, by sending out too large parties on the Scout; and that your men are exercised daily. Given &c. April 10th 1756.

G:W.

LB, DLC:GW.

1. GW ordered Bell to Conococheague (Maidstone) on 8 April.

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2. GW countermanded these orders to Peyton 16 and 17 May. See also GW to William Cocks, 12 May 1756, n.1.

To Henry Peyton

To Colonel Peyton [Winchester, 12 May 1756]
Sir,

You are desired with the Detachment under your command, to proceed (on your arrival at the mouth of Patterson's-Creek) as Escort to Governor Innis, to Fort Cumberland. Yours

G:W.

LB, DLC:GW.

Letter not found: to Adam Stephen, 12 May 1756. On 19 May 1756 Stephen wrote to GW: "I reced yours of the twelveth."

Memorandum respecting the Militia

[Winchester, 13 May 1756]

May 13th An express came from Colo. Peyton informg that a Sergt & 14 Men deserted last Night from him at Paris's Fort[1] and desireing a Reinforcement I was oblig⟨d⟩ to Countermand the Order's to the King George Militia & to, then send them to join him with order's to remain in Ashbys Fort and they accordingly Marchd 29 in number under Lieutt Nugent the rest were Sick & deserted.[2] and this N: 4 out of the 29 also March'd off.[3]

Many complaints from the Officer's of Militia abt the insufficiency of the allowance of Provisions for their Men (tho. they have a 1 lb. of Meat and the like quantity of flour pr day wch is the same that the Soldrs have) obligd me to order the Comy to deliver the Officer's allowance to the Private Men in order to appease their clamours this I did to prevent increasing the allowance & settg bad examples. but this proveing insufft also I was obligd to order the allow[anc]e to be increasd to 1¼ of Flour & as much flesh pr Day.

AD, DLC:GW. See Memorandum respecting the Militia, 1–2 May 1756.

Robert

[1] Pearis's (or Paris's) fort was probably the home of Capt. Robert Pearis of the Frederick County militia. Pearis owned land and a substantial house a few miles west of Winchester near a gap in the mountains. The fort was, according to GW's After Orders of 24 Sept. 1756, near "the new road to Hog-creek," a tributary of Back Creek (DLC:GW). The 1794 printing of the Fry-Jefferson map shows "Paris" in this area.

[2] See both sets of orders from GW to Henry Peyton, 12 May 1756, and also GW to Thomas Newgent, 13 May 1756, n.1.

[3] It would seem that four of Newgent's twenty-nine men deserted at noon on 13 May after leaving Winchester.

Orders

Parole Normandy. Winchester: Thursday, May 13th 1756.

Colonel Washington has heard that the Soldiers are uneasy about their Pay—He takes this method to acquaint them, that they shall receive their full pay, so soon as the Pay master can come down, or they march to, Fort Cumberland.

A Regimental Court Martial to sit immediately, for trial of John Robinson, Aaron Paul, and John Grant.[1]

LB, DLC:GW.

[1] According to GW's orders on 15 May, James Clark had accused John Robinson and Aaron Paul of robbing him. During the summer of 1756 there were four John Robinsons listed in various companies of the Virginia Regiment: a 30-year-old English sailor in William Peachey's company; an otherwise unidentified man in Lt. Col. Adam Stephen's company; and in GW's company a 20-year-old Scottish farmer and a 21-year-old English carpenter. Aaron Paul was in Joshua Lewis's company at this time. He is listed on Lewis's 13 July 1756 size roll as a 26-year-old English laborer who had enlisted in the regiment in January 1755 at Winchester. John Grant, in Thomas Cocke's company 13 July 1756, was a 20-year-old man from Ireland who enlisted 5 Dec. 1755.

To Thomas Newgent

[Winchester, 13 May 1756]

To Lieutenant Thomas Newgent. of the King-George-County Militia.
Sir,

You are hereby Ordered, with the Detachment under your command, to proceed to join Colonel Henry Peyton and his party of Militia, with the utmost expedition; and take your Orders from him.

RP 391, 426, 445-6

Rogers 122-3, 230, 384

Ostenaco (240, 446)

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Orders

Parole, Resolution. Winchester: Sunday, June 27th 1756.

The Troops are not to march until to-morrow morning at six o'clock[1]—They are to be served with five days provisions for their march—and to be served with Biscuit. The Commissary is to have the waggons loaded this Evening; and they are to apply to the Officer of the Guard, for Centries to be placed over them. The Officers must make out the Returns for Provisions, immediately.

After Orders.

A court martial to sit immediately for trial of William McLeod, John Robinson, John Harris, and James Harris.[2] Any Soldier who is taken above a mile from town, without leave from his Officer—shall be tried as a Deserter.

LB, DLC:GW.

[1] See GW's Orders, 26 June 1756.

[2] William McCloud of William Bronaugh's company in the Virginia Regiment was 24 and a tailor by trade. John Harris, 18 years old and a carpenter, was in Charles Lewis's company. Both McCloud and Harris were May draftees from Hanover County and were native Virginians. No James Harris has been found, but a Reuben Harris from Hanover County was in Charles Lewis's company on 13 July 1756. There were several men in the regiment named John Robinson. See Orders, 13 May 1756.

Letter not found: from John McNeill, 27 June 1756. On 21 July 1756 GW wrote to McNeill: "I have yours of the 27th ultimo."

Orders

Parole, Success. Winchester: Monday, June 28th 1756.

The Troops are not to march until to-morrow morning at five o'clock[1]—It is expected that every thing will be in readiness at that time, that no further delays may happen. A Court of Enquiry, to consist of all the Captains in town and Subalterns, to sit immediately, to examine into the dispute between Adjutant Livingston and Commissary Rutherford—Ensign McCarty and Mr Paris:[2] All Evidences to attend—The Court will sit at ten of the clock.

Robert

After Orders.

The Officers who are to march with the troops to-morrow, are to see that they have their arms in good order, and are well provided with ammunition and Flints—as they shall answer the contrary: For Colonel Washington will examine them himself on the march to-morrow: and if he finds this order neglected; the Officer to whom the men belong, will be immediately put under an arrest.

LB, DLC:GW.

[1] See GW's Orders, 26 and 27 June 1756.

[2] Although it is not known what was at issue in the dispute or how the men divided, it is not surprising that Denis McCarty was involved. He clearly was the most contentious officer in the Virginia Regiment from the time he became a volunteer in the fall of 1755 until he resigned his commission in November 1756.

From Thomas Walker

Sr Winchester June the 30 1756

As I am very unwell and our numbers decreasing here I propose going home tomorrow, & Shall go to Fredericksburg as soon as I am able to Settle my affairs there.[1] I have given Mr Rutherford 216.17.8 in gold and paper which sum is as much or more than I had in my hands of the Publick money[.] when that is gone any sum may think proper to supply him with for the publick Service I will be answerable for. I have ordered him to engage a young Man to assist him. Seven of the Militia Deserted last night & I am doubtfull many more will follow them as some Gentemen below have been so imprudent as to offer for a Small Consideration to defend them aganst any dammage for Deserting. I am your most Humble Servt

Thomas Walker

ALS, DLC:GW.

[1] Dr. Thomas Walker had extensive landholdings and business interests throughout Virginia, but by this time he seems to have been settled at Castle Hill in the Southwest Mountains of Albemarle County. This was part of a vast estate which had come under Walker's control by his marriage in 1741 to Mildred Thornton Meriwether, widow of Nicholas Meriwether. Part of the house now standing was built by Walker in 1765, but there was undoubtedly an earlier house somewhere on the tract.

his Spirit & Behavior may recommend him to Preferment, in proper Course upon any Vacancy.[1]

I have Acct that a number of French & Indians have invaded Augusta & committed horrid Murders &ca[2] as usual I have order'd out Part of the Militia of four Counties to oppose them & to repell their Violences, & I am in hopes they will be able to drive them over the Mountains; but I think we shall be in continual Alarms of this kind, unless an Expedition is undertaken to drive them from the Ohio. I have wrote fully to Lord Loudon on this Subject;[3] I believe he is arriv'd at N. York tho' I have not any acct thereof as yet.[4]

I wish You Health & Success in all Your Operations & I remain Sir Your most humble Servant

Robt Dinwiddie

LS, DLC:GW.

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[1] Henry Timberlake (d. 1765), a young Virginian, perhaps from Hanover County, decided to enter GW's regiment after his experiences earlier in the summer as a member of the brief expedition to Winchester of the "Association of Gentlemen," or "Patriot Blues." GW refused to give Timberlake a commission but expressed his willingness to accept him as a volunteer to "wait, as others have done, his turn" (GW to Dinwiddie, 4 Aug. 1756). Timberlake decided to return home, however. In 1758 Col. William Byrd made him an ensign in the 2d Virginia Regiment, and Timberlake subsequently served as an officer in the 1st Virginia Regiment. Shortly before his death in 1765 Timberlake completed the writing of his memoirs, which included a full account of his experiences in the Cherokee country in 1761–62 while he was in the 1st Virginia Regiment as well as of his voyage to England in 1762 with the Cherokee chief Ostenaco and two other men of the tribe. See *The Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake* . . . (London, 1765).

[2] A party of more than one hundred Indians and about twenty-five French Canadians, led by François-Marie Picot de Belestre, attacked Ephraim Vause's fortified house near the headwaters of the Roanoke River on 25 June 1756. The defenders, no more than twenty-five men led by Capt. John Smith, were soon forced to surrender, and the place was burned to the ground. Smith, whose son Lt. John Smith, Jr., was killed in the affray, was carried into captivity with, among others, his son Joseph, Ens. Peter Looney, and Ephraim Vause's wife, two daughters, and four servants. Vause himself was away from home at the time of the attack. The fullest accounts of this incident are two unsigned and undated drafts of letters or reports written shortly after the event and directed to Dinwiddie. One was from the senior officer of the Augusta County militia, John Buchanan, and the other was from Capt. William Preston, who arrived on the scene with a party of men on 26 June too late to come to the aid of the people in the fort. Nearly a year later at Niagara, N.Y.,

Looney escaped from his captors. He reached Albany, N.Y., on 12 July 1757, "from whence he proceeded to this City [Philadelphia], and is now gone to Virginia, where his Parents live. He was born in this Town, and is about 23 Years of Age. Captain Smith, he said, was given to the French, and sent to Canada in the Spring" (*Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia], 28 July 1757). John Smith was later sent to England in an exchange of prisoners. He returned to Virginia early in 1758. His son Joseph died in captivity.

[3] Dinwiddie wrote to Loudoun, on 1 July 1756, about the need to launch an offensive against the French and Indians in the Ohio Valley, not about the loss of Vause's fort.

[4] Loudoun did not arrive in New York until 23 July. See Thomas Gage to GW, 10 May 1756, n.4.

Orders

Parole Epsom. Fort Cumberland [Md.] Tuesday, July 13th 1756.

Officers commanding Companies to examine their mens arms, ammunition, &c. and see they are in good order: That each man has one good spare flint; and that their flints be fixed in with lead, as it will preserve them much.

Those who go on command to the South-Branch are to take with them a *barrel*, or as many as will complete each man to ten.

Several men since Colonel Washington came here have made their complaints to him, and say that their own Officers refuse to redress them—There is a particular article of war concerning this, even where an Officer does a Soldier an injury: and Colonel Washington expects that for the future, the Officers will listen more to the complaints of their men (for whom else ought they to apply to?) and if they find they have just cause, to bring the offender immediately to punishment.

A Return to be given in immediately from the several companies, certified by the Surgeon, of the men who ought to be discharged. The men must wait upon Colonel Washington, at four o'clock, to receive their Discharge.

After Orders.

The party that is to march up the South Branch, to take with them all their necessaries; as they will not return to this place soon *again*.[1]

The Quarter-Master is to deliver to this party two barrels of

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only a moderate quantity to each man per day, and that at reasonable rates; as great complaints have been made of the demands for Liquor.

The General court martial ordered yesterday, is not to meet until further Orders.

Parole, Chichester. Winchester, Tuesday 31st August, 1756.

Parole, Damascus. Winchester, Wednesday 1st September, 1756.

The General court martial to sit, according to the Order of the 29th august—Ensign Milner to sit in the room of Lieutenant Blagg—They are to try all Prisoners that be brought before them.

LB, DLC:GW.

[1] See Orders, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 Aug. 1756.

From Thomas, Lord Fairfax

Sr Sep. the 1st 1756

Yours I receivd last night wth the melanchollly account of the People on Potomack deserting their Plantations;[1] I had orderd Captain Paris to releive Cap. Caton with Thirty six Men from several Companies of these parts,[2] as I had notice of the disagreement between him & Captain Sweringen, who has alway done every thing in his power to occasion confusion if his advice was not taken in every thing.[3] Cap. Paris is to meet his detachment at Mr John Hytes on Friday next to proceed to Potomack;[4] if any farther assistance is wanting nothing shall be omitted in the Power of Sr Your humble Servant

Robert

Fairfax

ALS, PHi: Gratz Collection. Lord Fairfax was probably writing from Greenway Court.

[1] See GW to Lord Fairfax, 29 Aug. 1756.

[2] Fairfax was referring to the southern part of Frederick County, farther removed from the Indian threat. Captain Pearis is probably Robert Pearis of the Frederick County militia; Richard Pearis was in the Cherokee country at this time.

[3] In taking note of the friction between Thomas Swearingen and Thomas Caton, officers of the militia in northern Frederick County, Fairfax seems to put the onus on Swearingen, but he is careless with his pronouns and he may have been picking up GW's hints about Caton's unpopularity. See note 1. See also Robert Stewart to GW, 20 June 1756, and Enclosure.

[4] John Hite's place was to the south of Winchester, about midway between the town and Fairfax's residence at Greenway Court.

Orders

Parole, Eden. Winchester, Thursday September 2d 1756.

LB, DLC:GW.

From Beverley Robinson

New York 2d Sepr 1756.

Dr Sir

Your favour inclosing the address of your Regiment I Received, and immediately sent the address Covered by a line or two of my own to Capt. Cuningham first Aid De Camp to Lord Loudoun, and two Days ago Received the following Answer from him (Viz.) "I Received your Lettr with Col. Washingtons Address inclosed, to which my Lord will Return an Answer Very soon. We are so much Hurried that I have no time to send you any Accot of what is going on here.["][1] as soon as the Answer comes to my hands shall forward it to you with all Dispatch.

You no doubt will have heard before this Reaches you, of the fatal Stroke America has had Lately in the Loss of Oswego which is no Longer a doubt, we have no perticulars about it as yet & can't tell in what manner or by Whom Whether french or Indians it was taken or what Numbers they had; I have Lately had a Lettr from a good hand at Albany who says. "Oswego Scandalously gone, Provincial Army Very Low Spirited & Sick. Very Small hopes of any good.["][2] by this you may Judge our Scituation to be Very bad[.] Lord Loudoun is greatly perplexted finding our affairs in so bad & Confused Condition[.] I don't doubt but he will put them in a better way if time will permitt but am afraid that will be too Short for this Campaign.[3] the Provincial Army which was once 7000 do not make 4000 Effectives at present and Declining every day by Sickness & Desertion.

Remember me to Mercer Steuart[4] & all friends & believe me to be Dr Sr your Assured friend

Bev: Robinson

of the people; who complain of these Grievances in the most sensible manner; and urge, that they are more oppressed by their own people, than by the Enemy. Were there a limitation given, the officers might, but the Soldiers would not observe any; and all strays whatever got, would be said to come within limited bounds. However, if you think you can put the Garrison of Fort Cumberland under proper restraints in this particular, I would rather that they be benefited by any advantages of this kind than the Enemy—or those who have no pretence, shou'd take them off. Therefore suffer no Horses to be deemed strays, or taken up as such, which run any where below the Flatts, either on the virginia or maryland side: and if any are caught above, if it is not known to whom they belong, let them be appraised by *indifferent* officers, upon their Honor; and the valuation, with the marks and brand be registered in a book for that purpose: Then let the person who takes such horses up, and claims them by this right, deliver to the owner, if any should come, the valuation—if such horses should be sold, or in his use & service—or else to deliver up the Horse. But if the horse should die, be killed or stray away from the Fort, in that case the person who takes him up, not to be answerable for the horse or valuation. No person tho' is under any pretence to take up, with a view of keeping and detaining as his property, Horses where the owner is known. I will by no means consent, that any horses below the Flatts shall be taken upon the above terms—lest the property of people be affected, when they may have better chances of securing their own. In the above I have given you my sentiments—which you may, in a Court of Officers put under proper articles and heads, and made publick to, and strictly practised in the Garrison, under very severe penalties on Officers, and heavy corporal punishments on the Soldiers.

One thing more I think necessary, before any Officer or Soldier can pretend to lay just claim under the aforesaid articles: that is; to advertise in the nearest publick places in maryland and virginia; such as Winchester & Frederick-Town, Any horses so taken up, that the real owners upon procuring attested proof, may receive their Creatures by coming or sending for them. You will receive herewith a cask of Shoes, containing 14 dozen

pairs; which are to be distributed among the needy of the Soldiers; taking care that account is kept to whom they are delivered; so that the price may be stopped from their pay, at the usual rates of 7/6 per pair—and let me be immediately advised of their delivery and payment. You will order as strong an Escort with the waggons as you can, as far as Pearsalls: and should any of the waggoners want provision, let them be served, ordering your Commissary to remit an account of it to the Commissary here; that it may be deducted from their wages. I am &c.

G:W.

Winchester, Sept. 6th 1756.

LB, DLC:GW.

1. Neither of these letters has been found.

2. See the oversight committee's minutes, 14, 17, 18 Aug. 1756, enclosed in John Robinson to GW, 19 Aug. 1756.

3. Here and hereafter GW is referring to Dinwiddie's letters of 19 and 20 Aug. 1756.

4. Andrew Lewis returned to Virginia in early October with only seven Cherokee men and three women; eleven Catawba came to Winchester in late October; and before 1 Nov. Richard Pearis brought six Cherokee men and two women to Augusta County. See GW to Dinwiddie, 10 Oct., Orders, 27, 28 Oct., n.1, and After Orders, 17–19 Dec. 1756, n.1.

Richard

5. See GW's letter of this date to Thomas Waggener.

6. For references to Dinwiddie's policy with regard to enlisting indentured servants, see Dinwiddie to GW, 4 Aug. 1756, n.11.

7. James Roy (d. 1779) served as a volunteer surgeon's mate in the Virginia Regiment until early in 1756 when GW made him an ensign. See George Mercer to Robert Johnson, 26 Dec. 1755, in the *Papers, Colonial Series*, 2:232.

8. Weekly returns for Stephen's company, dated 14, 21, and 29 Aug. 1756, are in DLC:GW.

9. Both Cpl. Philemon Waters and Thomas Burris were in George Mercer's company during the Fort Necessity campaign, and according to Stephen, Waters fired "the first gun at the Enemy that day July 3d. 1754" (Stephen to Waters, 17 July 1773, in Greene, *Winchester*, 196).

10. Theobald may be Michael Teabolt. In the early spring of 1756 when the Indians overran the Patterson Creek area and attacked Ashby's fort, "two Boys of Michael Teabolt's" were reported carried off (*Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia], 15 April 1756).

11. GW used this word in the archaic sense of "encouragement."

cannot account for their Delay in coming, only that naturally they are la⟨zy⟩ & must be humour'd as to their slow marching.[9]

I am much hurried & therefore remain ⟨Sir Yr h. Se.⟩

L[S], DLC:GW; LB, ViHi: Dinwiddie Papers. The bottom part of the letter sent to GW has been torn off. The lines missing from the first page are supplied from the letter-book copy and enclosed in angle brackets, as are the final words in the complimentary close. Dinwiddie always signed his letters to GW transcribed by his clerk, William Withers, and presumably his signature appeared on the missing portion of the last page of this letter.

1. Dinwiddie prorogued the assembly on 28 Sept. 1756.

2. See Adam Stephen's Council of War and George Washington's Comments, 30 Oct., 5 Nov. 1756, printed below.

3. "An Act for raising recruits for his majesty's service" (7 Hening 61–63) provided that "so much money as shall be necessary, not exceeding eight thousand pounds," should be paid for recruiting men for the Royal American Regiment. See GW to Dinwiddie, 4 Aug. 1756, n.12.

4. The passage in angle brackets was taken from the letter-book copy.

5. Thomas Dawson (1715–1760), president of the College of William and Mary and member of the council, became commissary of the Anglican church in Virginia in 1752 at the death of Commissary William Dawson.

6. This was taken from the letter-book copy. Withers inadvertently left it out of the ALS.

7. A letter from Col. John, not William, Armstrong, which arrived in Philadelphia on 18 Sept. and was reported in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on 23 Sept. 1756, told of Armstrong's successful attack on the Indian town of Kittanning in early September, describing it as "the greatest Blow the Indians have received since the War began." The minutes of the Virginia council for 11 Oct. 1756 included the following entry: "His Honor also communicated to the Board a Letter from Governor Denny dated the 24th of September giving an Account of Colonel Armstrong's Expedition and Success against an Indian Town on the Ohio [Allegheny], called Kittanin, about twenty five miles above Fort Du Quesne" (*Exec. Journals of Virginia Council*, 6:17).

8. Withers crossed out "they" after "think." The letter-book copy does not include the word "they."

9. GW met Andrew Lewis with ten Cherokee in Halifax County near the North Carolina line on 10 Oct. 1756; and Richard Pearis later arrived in Winchester with eight more, making a total of only thirteen Cherokee warriors and five squaws to come to Virginia in the fall of 1756. See GW to Adam Stephen, 6 Sept., n.4, GW to Dinwiddie, 10 Oct., and After Orders, 17 Dec. 1756, n.1.

Richard

Orders

[1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 October 1756]

Parole, Hanover. Winchester Friday 1st October 1756.

Parole Marlborough. Winchester, Saturday 2d October, 1756.

The men to parade to-morrow morning as usual, for Divine Service. Lieutenant Baker with his Detachment to march at the Revilé beating to-morrow morning.

Parole Norwalk. Winchester, Sunday 3d October, 1756.

Parole Ontario. Winchester, Monday 4th October, 1756.

Parole Portobello. Winchester, Tuesday 5th October, 1756.

Parole Quebeck. Winchester, Wednesday 6th October, 1756.

Parole, Reading. Winchester, Thursday 7th October, 1756.

A Return to be made out of the Virginia Regiment, with every Officer, appointment, and pay, or any other allowances they may have; with the number of men in each company. As it is to be transmitted to The Right Honble the Earl of Loudon; it is expected, that it will be very exact.[1]

Parole Samaria. Winchester, Friday 8th October, 1756.

Parole, Farrington. Winchester, Saturday 9th October 1756.

The men to parade at 10 o'clock to-morrow morning, to attend Divine Service.

LB, DLC:GW. See the source line note, Orders, 29 Sept. 1756.

1. See Return of the Virginia Regiment, 9 Oct. 1756, printed below.

Papers of GW (3)

new on p62

You may think proper to Winchester[.] Your last Letter from Winchester[3] came to my Hand the Day the Assembly broke up, so that I co⟨u⟩'d not lay before Them the Requisites propos'd therein.

I have two Expresses now with my Lord, till they return I am uncertain of his coming here this Winter & I fear the Affair of Oswego will detain him. I have sent two Drums to Alexandria—The Soldiers Cloath. is expected in a Months Time.

I have been much out of Order & confind to my room this Fortnight, that I write this with Pain[4] I remain Sir Your most humble Servant

Robt Dinwiddie

LS, DLC:GW; LB, ViHi: Dinwiddie Papers.

[1] GW's letter is dated 10 Oct. 1756.

[2] Dinwiddie last wrote on 30 September.

[3] Dinwiddie was referring to GW's letter of 23 Sept. 1756, written from Mount Vernon, not Winchester.

[4] Dinwiddie's reference to writing in pain is interesting, for none of his letters to GW is in his hand. William Withers wrote most of them, and Dinwiddie usually signed them with a shaky pen. In a private letter to Loudoun dated two days after this one, Dinwiddie reported: "I'm in a very bad State of health, & I've lately been siez'd with a Paralytick Disorder in my head, that makes me incapable of dischargeing the Requisites of my Apointmt in so regular & exact a Manner as I cd wish" (ViHi: Dinwiddie Papers). He went on to talk of resigning his position in Virginia, but he continued in office for another year.

Orders

[27, 28 October 1756]

Parole, Catawba. Winchester, Wednesday 27th October, 1756.

Parole, Blakeney. Winchester, Thursday 28th October, 1756.

As Colonel Washington is to hold conference with the catawba Indians, betwixt eleven & twelve o'clock[1]—He desires all the Officers in town to attend at that time. and during the time of conference, he orders a Sergeant & Drummer to beat through the Town, ordering all Soldiers & Towns people to use the Indians civilly and kindly; to avoid giving them liquor; and to be cautious what they speak before them: as all of them understand english, and ought not to be affronted.

LB, DLC:GW.

[1] The party of Catawba Indians lost two of their number on a scouting expedition with men from the Virginia Regiment and in late December began their return home. See GW to Dinwiddie, 9 Nov., 2 Dec., and, especially, Dinwiddie to GW, 27 Dec. 1756.

(Richard + Andrew Lewis)

From Andrew Lewis

oct 28, 1756

Sir Augusta Octr the 28th 1756

I Received a Letter from Capt. Paris Deated the 21t of ⟨thi⟩s Month, he tels me that he Sent for Guns and other Necessarys for the Indians with him.[1] the Indians are highly pleased with the Arms and the Large preparations made for them the wareour proposed sending a Runar to the Nation with one of the guns, and Likewis to Aqueant them what is provided for them. he makes no Dout of a great Numbers Coming in. he would not Do any thing in the Mater Before he had my Aprobation. I aproved of his Scame and has wrot to Capt. Pearis to Dress the Runar as well as posable and send a white man with him which is the wareours Desire,[2] I have wrot to Outosity and aquented him of Evry thing prov⟨ide⟩d he will publish it in that Nation if he has not Marched Before he Receivs my Letter[3]—the Indian and white men who were apointed to go to Houlsons River is Now on thire March in Order to make the Discovery—the Enemey are Frequantly Seen Neare Vauss, what few Indians we have are there Now, in Sarch of them.

Sir as Sarjt McCully has ben in the Service from the Begining and has Behaved well, I hop Sir you will Advance him. he has been Long over Lookd.[4]

I ame Much Recovered I purpos to take my Journy for Wilmsburg to Morrow or Nixt Day[5] I ame Sir your most obedt & very Hume Sert

Andw Lewis

ALS, DLC:GW.

[1] Lewis left Richard Pearis behind when he returned from the Cherokee country in September, but Pearis was now back in Augusta County with his party of six Cherokee men and two women. For Dinwiddie's instructions to Pearis and Lewis to conduct the eight Cherokee to GW at Winchester, see Dinwiddie to Pearis, 14 Nov., and Dinwiddie to Lewis, 15 Nov. 1756, in Brock, *Dinwiddie Papers*, 2:550, 551.

2. Capt. Raymond Demeré wrote Gov. William Henry Lyttelton from the South Carolina frontier on 23 Dec. 1756: "On the 18th came an Express from Virginia. One Mr. Allen, a young Man that was [here] at the building of Chette Fort [see Dinwiddie to GW, 20 Aug. 1756, n.1]. . . . This young Man from Virginia came with one of the Indians that went last Wall [fall] with Capt. Paris. There was but seven that went [see After Orders, 17–19 Dec. 1756, n.1]" (McDowell, *S.C. Indian Affairs, 1754–1765*, 2:280–84). John Allen took letters to headmen of the Cherokee from Capt. John McNeill and Dinwiddie as well as from Lewis (see note 3). See Dinwiddie to Lewis, 15 Nov. 1756, in Brock, *Dinwiddie Papers*, 2:551, for his instructions that Allen be sent with an interpreter to take his (Dinwiddie's) letter to Ostenaco dated 14 Nov.

3. "Outosity" was Otacite Ostenaco, or Judge's Friend, who lived at this time at Tomatly, a town of the Overhill Cherokee on the Little Tennessee River. He was a leading man of the Overhill Cherokee at whose request Andrew Lewis built the Virginia fort across the river from their principal town of Chota. Although his name was Ostenaco, he was frequently called Otacite, which was actually a title indicating his rank. Ostenaco had led a party of Cherokee on the Sandy Creek expedition early in the year and had remained, by and large, a friend to the English. Andrew Lewis's letter to Ostenaco, dated 30 Oct., urged him to come ahead to Virgina "with as many young fellows as you can" (P.R.O., W.O. 34/47, 146a). Ostenaco did lead a contingent of Cherokee to the Augusta frontier in the summer of 1757. See Robert Dinwiddie to GW, 16 June 1757.

4. Lewis's longtime associate in arms, Sgt. John McCulley, was made an ensign in 1758. See Peter Hog to GW, 14 June 1756, n.5.

5. Lewis, who had been very ill when GW saw him on 10 Oct., finally got back to Augusta from his journey in the Cherokee country on 17 October.

Orders

[29, 30 October 1756]

Parole, Greenwich. Winchester, Friday 29th October, 1756.

The Guard to be reduced to a corporal and six men.

Parole, Cumberland. Winchester, Saturday 30th October, 1756.

The men to parade at 12 o'clock to-morrow, on beating the Long Roll, to attend prayers.

LB, DLC:GW.

Adam Stephen's Council of War and George Washington's Comments

[Fort Cumberland, Md., 30 October 1756;
Winchester, 5 November 1756]

A Council of War, held at Fort Cumberland October 30th 1756. in pursuance of an order received from Colonel George Washington; agreeable to an order from Governor Dinwiddie; to consult whether it is most for the advantage of His Majesty's Service, to keep or demolish Fort-Cumberland.

Present.

Lieut. Colo: Adam Stephen, President.

Capt. Wm Bronaugh
Capt. Robt Spotswood
Capt. Wm Peachy
Lt Austin Brockenbrough
Lt Mordecai Buckner
Ensn Edwd Hubbard
Ens. Charles Smith
Ens. Griffin Pert

Members

Capt. Hen. Woodward
Capt. Chas Lewis
Lt Peter Steenbergen
Lt James Baker
Ens. Wm Dangerfield
Ens. Nathl Thompson
Ens. Jno. Lawson

In the first place, the particular situation and structure of the Fort was considered—namely, Its being built of stockades about nine feet high above ground and never intended for defence against artillery—That it is commanded by a rising ground about 150 yards N.W. of the stockades, and over-looked by several Hills within cannon-shot; so that no person can move about the place without being seen. This is verified in the instance of a french spy lately taken; who gave an account exactly of the number of Sergeants and Soldiers in the Garrison.[1] That the Barracks are without the Fort; ill-built, & easily set on fire by the enemy; as any number of men can come under the banks of potomac and Will's Creek, within pistol-shot of the Barracks, and fort itself; without being exposed to a shot from cannon or small arms. That notwithstanding its small strength & situation, it is the only place to the southward of Albany, exposed to an attack from Cannon, as there is no other road for Carriages of any kind, leading thro' any pass of the Alleghany mountains.

The Papers of George Washington Vol 4 (1983) W W Abbott, Editor et al
(W1345- E312.72)

Spiel 6/23/1998

ey—It's probable I might have refus'd Paymt to the Masters of some of the Servants enlisted, for want of Certificate, but never said You did not act properly in enlistg them—but surely You cannot thaink I cou'd order paymt witht an Acct from You.

Mr Walker when last here determin'd to continue Comissary, with the Assistance of his Deputy one Mr Rutherfurd, he then had some Money, & Ct. Mercer brings more for that Service[6]—You mention Yr having made choice of a Person for that Employ, witht sending his Name for my Approbation, if Walker declines, which is irregular & I cannot consent to it: The same in regard to a Chaplain, You shou'd know that it's necessary his Qualificat. & the Bishop's Letter of Licence shou'd be produc'd to the Commissary, & Self, but this Person is also nameless.[7]

I recd the Opinion of the Council of War in regard to Fort Cumberland,[8] as it was an Affair of great Consequence I calld the Council for their Advice, & I inclose You my & their Sentiments thereon—In consequence thereof I hereby order You imediately to march one hundred Men, to Fort Cumberland from the Forces You have at Winchester, which Capt. Mercer says are 160 listed Men; you are to remain at Fort Cumberland, & make the Place as strong as You can in Case of an Attack. You are to send out Parties from the Fort to observe the Motions of the Enemy if they shou'd march over the Allegany Mounts.

Any Stores at the Fort not absolutely necessary for its Defence, You are to send them to Winchester.

You are to order one of Your subaltern Officers (on whom You can confide) to Command at Winchester, & to oversee the finishing of the Fort building at that Place.

These Orders I expect You will give due obedience to I am with Respect—Sir Your most humble Servant

Robt Dinwiddie

P.S. I have sent Copy of the Council of Wars Proceedings to Lord Loudoun.

LS, DLC:GW; LB, ViHi: Dinwiddie Papers. The bracketed portions of the letter are taken from the letter-book copy.

[1] The word is spelled in this way in both copies.

[2] See Dinwiddie to John Buchanan, 1 Nov. 1756, in Brock, *Dinwiddie Papers*, 2:530–31.

[3] See GW to Dinwiddie, 9 Nov. 1756, n.9. Dinwiddie wrote Andrew Lewis

on 13 Nov. 1756: "I therefore desire You will reduce the many difft Compas. in that Coty [Augusta] keepg in pay three Companies with sixty Men in each Co[mpan]y to be statn at the Places You think most propr for protectn of the County" (ViHi: Dinwiddie Papers).

[4] See ibid. The "Cherokees" are the five men and three women that Richard Pearis brought in.

[5] The *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis) for 28 Oct. 1756 printed an extract of a letter dated 4 Oct. from an officer at Winchester containing the following account: "On Saturday last I received an Indian Scalp which was taken by Capt. Spotswood, of our Regiment, with a Party of 50 Men, who all escaped without the least Hurt, tho' engaged 20 Minutes with at least 70 of the Enemy, whom they met at the Alligany Mountains, took all their Baggage, and turned them back with the Loss of this Scalp, and several Wounded."

[6] Dinwiddie wrote to Thomas Walker, 25 Nov. 1756: "Last Time You was in Town You engag'd to discharge the Duty of Commissy . . . & You was then to proceed to Winchester . . . but I observe by the Sickness in Yr Fam[il]y You have been prevented go[in]g there. Co. Washington wrote me that You had resign'd that employ & that he had apptd another witht mentiong his Name which I have not approv'd of—but desire You may with all convenient Speed repair to Winchester (ViHi: Dinwiddie Papers). Robert Rutherford (1728–1803) had acted as Walker's assistant at Winchester since 1755. He resigned in the fall of 1757 and in November of the same year accepted a commission as captain of a new ranger company.

[7] For GW's response to this and other complaints about his letter of 9 Nov., see GW to Dinwiddie, 24 Nov. 1756.

[8] Dinwiddie enclosed Adam Stephen's Council of War and George Washington's Comments, 30 Oct.–5 Nov. 1756 (printed above), in his letter to Loudoun of 16 Nov. 1756 (Brock, *Dinwiddie Papers*, 2:554–55).

Enclosure
Minutes of the Council

[Williamsburg, 15 November 1756]

At a Council held Novemr 15th 1756.

Present

The Governor

John Blair
William Nelson
Thomas Nelson
Philip Grymes

Peter Randolph
Philip Ludwell Esqrs.
Mr Commissary
William Byrd Esqr.

The Governor was pleased to communicate to the Board a Letter from Colonel Washington dated at Winchester the Ninth of November, with his Observations on the Situation of our

Orders as they are inf[orme]d of a strong Party intendg to besiege 'em & that they are not well supported to maintn a Siege havg only 170 Men at that Ft" (ViHi: Dinwiddie Papers).

5. GW disclaimed any knowledge of Indian goods left at Fort Cumberland by Col. James Innes, in his letter to Dinwiddie, 19 Dec. 1756. There is, however, in DLC:GW a return dated 24 Sept. 1755 (misfiled under 1756) entitled: "Provisions & Stores on Account of the Expedition at Winchester." It is signed by Charles Dick and reports several boxes of assorted Indian goods. There is also a return of Indian goods at Fort Cumberland in DLC:GW dated 24 Dec. 1756. Col. James Innes of North Carolina was made governor of Fort Cumberland by General Braddock in June 1755. He left the fort in the fall of 1755 and returned in May 1756.

6. Dinwiddie may be referring to the party of Cherokee that was in Williamsburg in April 1756.

7. On 25 Dec. 1756 Dinwiddie wrote John McNeill: "On Return of the Message to the Cherokees, I propos'd yo. to go Cap. of the fort built there with 40 or 50 Men, but shall here after write yo. on that head" (ViHi: Dinwiddie Papers). Dinwiddie changed his mind about sending McNeill with the Catawba (see Dinwiddie to GW, 26 Jan. 1757).

✓ 8. Dinwiddie wrote Andrew Lewis on 13 Nov. 1756: "The Cherokee Inds. with Ct. Pearis & his Men You are to order 'em to join Co. Washington at Winchester" (ViHi: Dinwiddie Papers). See also Lewis to GW, 28 Oct. 1756.

9. The actual letter to Denis McCarty which Dinwiddie enclosed has not been found, but there is in Dinwiddie's letter book the following copy, dated 10 Dec. 1756:

"Sir,

"You have acted unworthy the Como. I gave You, to recruit Men for the Royal Am[erican]s by an underhand, unjust, & vile Manner endeavourg to perswade the Men in the Virga Regiment to desert that You may have the Opportunity of enlisting 'em—as this apps. to me by the Affidavit of three Persons I shall take proper Care to prosecute You thereon; In the mean time by this Lr I recall the Como. given You for recruitg & never hearafter expect any Favo. from R: D." (ViHi: Dinwiddie Papers). Dinwiddie wrote McCarty in quite a different tone, however, on 23 Dec. 1756. See Dinwiddie to GW, 15 Dec. 1756, n.3.

Enclosure
Minutes of the Council

[Williamsburg, 9 December 1756]

At a Council held Decemr 9th 1756.

The Governor was pleased to communicate to the Board, and to desire their Advice upon, a Letter from Col. Washington dated from Fort Loudoun the 2d of this Instant, signifying his Apprehensions that the Order of Council of the 15th of last

month will be productive of many Evils, and inclosing the Returns of their Strength at Winchester, amounting to Eighty One Effectives, exclusive of the Drafts. Also a Letter from his Excellency the Right Honorable the Earl of Loudoun, dated from Fort Edward the 25th of October, signifying he should immediately write to Col. Stanwix to send off directly proper Officers to Virginia for recruiting; that he concur'd in Opinion with his Honor for supporting Fort Cumberland this Winter; that he can't agree with Col. Washington, in not drawing into him the Posts from the Stockade Forts, in order to defend that advanced one; and imagines much of the Frontier will be exposed, by retiring the advanced Posts near Winchester.

Whereupon it was the Opinion of the Board that the former Order of Council for reinforcing Fort Cumberland with One Hundred Men should be carried into Execution; but, as that Number can't be supplied from Winchester, where they think it necessary a Hundred men should remain with a proper Officer, that all the small Forts, except that on the South Branch commanded by Capt. Waggoner, should be evacuated for that Purpose.[1]

D, DLC:GW. This copy was made by Nathaniel Walthoe, clerk of the council.

[1] In addition to this passage, the minutes for 9 Dec. 1756 in *Exec. Journals of Virginia Council*, 6:21–22, include a final paragraph ordering the General Assembly scheduled to meet 28 Dec. 1756 to be prorogued "to the second Thursday in February."

Orders

[11, 12, 13 December 1756]

Parole Quebeck. Winchester, Saturday, the 11th December, 1756.

It is once more desired that the men be kept close at work, according to a former Order given by Colo. Washington.[1]

Parole, Rochester. Winchester—Sunday, the 12th December, 1756.

Parole, Shrewsbury. Winchester—Monday the 13th December, 1756.

LB, DLC:GW.

[1] This probably refers to the Orders for 13, 14 Nov. 1756.

To Thomas Waggener

[Fort Loudoun, 13 December 1756]

To the Commanding Officer on the So. Branch

Sir,

I was not a little surprized to find what a quantity of provision had been consumed by your command, in the short space they have been stationed on the Branch: There certainly must have been great waste & neglect. To prevent which for the future, it is my Orders—That you direct each of the commanding officers where the troops are stationed on the Branch, to appoint a Sergeant of his command (the most trusty one) to be exempt from all other duty—to receive and issue the provisions which are brought to that Garrison. Let the officer certify the quantity he receives from each person; and let regular returns be made each drawing day, signed by the Officer commanding each Detachment; and he must issue provisions agreeable thereto, and deliver none without a written order from the Officer which will be his vouchers for the consumption of what he receives.

As some of the Officers have only small commands, and can not spare a Sergeant for this Duty; you must direct to take one of the best of the men, or make him do the Sergeants duty, whichever is most convenient. Let all the officers know I expect they will account for the Shoes, &c. received from the Store, which they stand charged with on the Quartermasters Book. I am &c.

G:W.

Fort Loudon Dec. 13th 1756.

LB, DLC:GW.

Capt. Thomas Waggener of the Virginia Regiment was the senior officer of the troops deployed on the South Branch. For the disposition of these troops, see particularly Waggener to GW, 10 Aug. 1756, n.1.

Orders

[14, 15 December 1756]

Parole Tunbridge. Winchester: Tuesday the 14th December, 1756.

Parole Ulster. Winchester: Wednesday, the 15th December, 1756.

A Sergeant, and 8 men that can be best spared from the works, to parade immediately, to escort some waggons, belonging to the South-Branch, as far as Pearsals. The Sergeant when his party is ready, to repair to the Head-Quarters for Orders.

LB, DLC:GW.

From Robert Dinwiddie

Sir Williamsburg Decr 15th 1756

Yours of the 9th I have recd—I am glad Ct. Mercer has brought back sixteen of the Deserters, upon Promise of Pardon, which I agree to on Your Recommendation; but I hope You will make them sensible of their Crime & that they are pardon'd on Your Solicitation.[1]

You recommend Messrs Carlyle & Ramsay to be Commissaries in the room of Mr Walker, which I by no means approve of—the first resign'd when formerly appointed, & when most wanted, I do not incline to give him that Opportunity again; the other I doubt not is a Gentleman of Capacity, but a Stranger to the Business, & not sufficiently acquainted with the People to make Purchases, therefore not eligible.

Mr Walker has a very good Character for Probity & Capacity, I have therefore orderd him to continue in his Office, & I expect You will give him Your Countenance & Advice; & supply him with the Money, sent up by Capt. Mercer, appropriated for the Purchase of Provisions. I have ordered him to send Mr Rutherfurd with You to Fort Cumberland, & he to remain at Winchester to do the Necessaries there;[2] I therefore expect You will give him all the Assistance in Your Power; it wou'd be cruel to superceed him after he has made such large Contracts for supplying Your Regiment, & at this Time of the Year to leave it to those not so well acquainted with the Business.

The villainous Actions of McCarty really surprize me, & I shall take Care to make him repent of it.[3] I really pity the poor Men this cold Weather for want of their Cloaths, they are daily expected & will be sent up as soon as they arrive.

It's reported here that Lord Loudoun may be expected in a

LB, DLC:GW.

1. These recruits are the servants that John McNeill recruited in Augusta County; and the eight Indians were "6 Cherokees and two Squaws" escorted by Richard Pearis up to Winchester from Augusta County where he had brought them in October (GW to Dinwiddie, 19 Dec. 1756). For McNeill's recruiting of servants, see especially GW to McNeill, 7 Dec. 1756. On 22 Dec. GW made a payment to Michael Laubinger (Lawbinger), who ran an ordinary in or near Winchester, "for the Cherokees" (Va. Regimental Accounts, 1755–58, DLC:GW).

From John Robinson

Dear Sir Wmsburgh Decr 17. 1756

I recd your favour by Mr Ramsey and as soon as I could get the Committee together I communicated the Contents of it to them, they were generaly of Opinion that the Commissary ought to reside, and they also approved of Mr Carlyle and Ramsey in Case Mr Walker resigned, but did not care to appoint them, till Mr Walker informed them himself of his intentions to resign;[1] I am sorry to hear your last Money is gone, and more so that I must tell you that that fund is just exhausted, but will have some ready for you when you send for it I am Dr Sir Your Most Affect. Freind and Servant

John Robinson

ALS, DLC:GW.

1. GW's letter has not been found. For Dinwiddie's insistence on retaining Thomas Walker and his refusal to consider John Carlyle and William Ramsay, see especially Dinwiddie to GW, 15 Dec. 1756, n.2.

To Robert Dinwiddie

To the Honorable Robt Dinwiddie Esqr. Govr of Virginia.

Honble Sir, Fort Loudon 19th Dec. 1756.

Your letter of the 10th came to hand the 15th. In consequence whereof I dispatched orders immediately to all the Garrisons on the Branch to evacuate their Forts, and repair to Pearsalls, where they wou'd meet the Flour &c. from this place; & to escort it to Fort Cumberland. I expect the provisions purchased for the support of these Forts, and now laying in bulk, will be wasted and destroyed, notwithstanding I have given directions to the Assistant Commissary on the Branch, and to Waggeners

Company to use their utmost diligence in collecting the whole and securing it where his company is posted.[1] An Escort, with all the flour we have been able to procure (which amounts to an insufficient quantity for want of water) sets out from this on Tuesday next. I expect to depart sooner myself after leaving directions with Capt. Mercer, [(]whom I have appointed to command here) and shall repair as expeditiously as possible to Fort Cumberland.[2]

I am a little at loss to understand the meaning of your Honors Orders and the opinion of the council, when I am directed to evacuate all the Stockade Forts, and at the same time to march only one hundred men to Fort Cumberland, and to continue the like number here to garrison Fort-Loudon. If the Stockade-Forts are all abandoned, there will be more men than are required for these two purposes; and the communication between them, of near 80 miles, will be left without a Settler, unguarded and exposed: But I mean nothing more by asking this question, than to know your Honors intentions, which I wou'd willingly pay strict obedience to. Mr Walker has been here, settled his accompts, and gone home again; fully resolved no longer to continue Commissary. I acquainted him with the contents of your Honors letters of november; and he has wrote you (he tells me) his reasons for resigning.[3] What Indian Goods were left by Colo. Innis, I know not; no return was ever given to me, nor to the commanding officer, when he went away, if I am rightly informed.

I shall when I arrive at Fort Cumberland get a return of them, and transmit to your Honor: A Return of the Stores at this place is enclosed: I shou'd have sent it before, but waited to add those at Fort Cumberland, of which there are none yet come down.[4]

If Capt. McNeill goes to the cherokee nation, it wou'd be well for him to conduct the Cuttawba's home. But when I recommended an Officers going with them, it was with a view of engaging a Body of their men to come to our assistance in the Spring, and to march in with their Warriors; not chusing to trust altogether to their unmeaning promises and capricious Humours: But your Honor will be pleased to direct as you see proper in this affair. I have advanced very little money hitherto to the Masters of Servants, because I waited your directions on this head. I received 41 last night from Capt. McNeill, who de-

sires leave to continue recruiting: I do not consent to it, until I know whether it is agreeable to your Honor; and whether I may send out as many other Officers as can be spared for the same Service. If this is approved of, I shou'd be glad that your Honor wou'd send me General Instructions, that I may know how to give mine, and to act consistently with the Rules for Recruiting Servants for His Majestys Regiments. I shou'd have been exceedingly glad if your Honor and the Council had directed in what manner Fort Cumberland is to be strengthened; i.e. whether it is to be made cannon-proof or not; and that you wou'd fix the sum beyond which we shall not go; for I must look to you for the expence, knowing that the Country have already rejected some articles of this. Immediately upon receiving your Honors letter to McCarty, I enclosed it to Colonel Fairfax (as directed) and desired him to do what is needful in regard to the commission;[5] as it was not in my power to deal with him as he deserves: First, because he has left this Service, and next, because if he was still in it, we have no martial Law to punish him; the Mutiny and Desertion act having expired in October last. The same with respect to the Soldiers; but their penitent Behaviour induced me to pass by their faults. I have read over that paragraph in Lord Loudons letter (which your Honor was pleased to send me) over & over again; but am unable to comprehend the meaning of it. What scheme it is I was carrying into execution without waiting advice, I am at a loss to know; unless it was building the chain of Forts along our Frontiers; which I not only undertook conformably to an act of Assembly, and by your own orders, but, with respect to the places, in pursuance of a Council of War. If, under these circumstances my "Conduct is responsible for the Fate of Fort Cumberland"; it must be confessed, that I stand upon a tottering foundation indeed! I can not charge my memory with either proposing or intending to draw the Forts nearer to Winchester. The Garrison of Fort Cumberland, it is true, I did wish to have removed to Cocks's; which is nearer to Winchester by 25 miles, but not further from the Enemy, than where it now is, if a road from thence to the Little meadows, which is about 20 miles distant, and the same from that place (i.e. Fort-Cumberland) and more in the warriors-path, was opened. However, I see with much regret, that His Excellency Lord Loudon seems to have prejudged my proceedings without being thoroughly informed what were the springs and motives that have actuated my conduct. How far I have mistaken the means to recommend my Services, I know not; but I am certain of this, that no man ever intended better, nor studied the Interest of his Country with more affectionate zeal than I have done: And nothing gives me greater uneasiness and concern, than that His Lordship shou'd have imbibed prejudices so unfavourable to my character, as to excite his belief I was capable of doing any thing "That will have a bad effect as to the Dominion, and no good appearance at Home."[6]

As I had your Honors permission to be down when His Lordship shall favour us with a visit, I desired Colo. Carlyle to inform me when he shou'd pass thro' Alexandria; and will set out accordingly: I hope nothing has intervened to alter this indulgence. It is a favour I shou'd not have thought of asking, had I believed the Service wou'd suffer in my absence but I am convinced it will not and I can not help saying, I believe we are the only Troops upon the Continent, that are kept Summer & Winter to the severest duty, with the least respite or indulgence.

Captn Pearis came to Town the other day with 6 Cherokees and two Squaws: He brought no Orders from your Honor, and applies to me for direction of his Services. I have desired him to carry the Indians to Fort Cumberland, as we can make nothing of them without an Interpreter; and there wait the return of your Honors Instructions.[7] Lt Baker has leave of absence upon very urgent Business, relative to an Estate left him: He applied to your Honor and having received no answer; I made free to grant this indulgence in so material a point.[8] Lt Lowry has applied for permission to quit the Service; I referred him to your Honor: and he now waits your answer, in a state of much anxiety and sickness. His resignation I apprehend will occasion no void or any loss to the Service. I have therefore allowed him to go down, in order to support his spirits, and comply with your Honors pleasure, whatever that be.[9] While Lt Baker is absent, I wou'd offer it to your Honor as expedient, he shou'd make interest among the Tusks and Nottoways His intimacy with these nations may be of service in engaging some assistance from them; and I think him very capable of the undertaking. He might also recruit, if your Honor approves of the proposal I have already offered. The delay of the Soldiers clothes occasions unaccountable murmurs & complaints; and I am very

them brought to this place; from whence you must send what are necessary to the several Garrisons and Commands; the remainder to be left here.

As it will be necessary to supply the Workmen here with the usual allowance of Rum during the winter season, you must endeavour to provide it from time to time for them, upon the most reasonable terms—All Expresses on His Majestys Service, you are immediately to forward. Use your utmost endeavours as well to prevent Desertion, as to apprehend all that are guilty of that crime; and indulge the men as much as possible in their Duty during the cold weather. Whatever Tools, &c. are wanted for the works here, you must also procure from below. You are not to give Discharges to any men, nor grant Furloes to them for more than two days at a time. You are to settle with the Masters of Servants, and take certificates for each man on the back of his Indentures, to be laid before the Governor—You are to pay out of the money which will be left in your hands for all trivial contingencies, such as horse-hire, with Expresses, &c. observing the greatest economy therein. Given &c. Dec. 20th 1756.[1]

G:W.

LB, DLC:GW.

[1] Immediately following this letter in GW's letter book are two final letters for 1756: one an address from the regimental officers to Speaker John Robinson and the House of Burgesses, which is quoted above in note 5 of William Peachey et al. to GW, 12 Nov. 1756; the other a letter from GW to Robinson, which is printed above under the date of 18 April 1756. After GW's departure on 20 or 21 Dec., Mercer assumed command of Fort Loudoun. See Mercer's "Disbursement of the Public Money" at Fort Loudoun, dated 20 Mar. 1757 (DLC:GW).

From Robert Dinwiddie

Sir

Williamsburg Decr 27th 1756

Yours of the 19th by Jenkins I recd last Night—& do observe You have ordered the Garisons on the Branch to Perceալs, to escort the Flour to Fort Cumberland.

The Provisions lying in Bulk at the different Forts, if possible shou'd be Smoked, which wou'd be a great Saving to the Country & I hope You have order'd it so. As we have had great Rains lately I hope a sufficient quantity of Flour may be secured, as Mr Walker told me he & his Assistant had contracted for as much as wou'd serve our Forces twelve Months.[1]

The Orders given You at first, were on Capt. Mercer's repeated Assurances of Your having 160 enlisted Men at Winchester, which, with the Servants You mention'd to be enlisted, I conceived You cou'd march 100 Men from Fort Loudoun to Fort Cumberland, but by the Return You write of only 85 Men at Fort Loudoun—It was thought proper to call in the Forces from the Stockade Forts to garison the above Forts compleatly; but not knowing Your Numbers in those Out-Forts I gave general Orders to call them all in, however after Garisoning Fort Cumberland & Fort Loudoun properly, the Surplus Men You are to fix at any Forts You think proper between the above two Forts, & where You think they may be of most essential Service.[2]

I am surpriz'd Mr Walker shou'd leave his Duty after the Assurances made me (last Time he was in Town) of discharging that Duty with all Diligence, I fear he was not properly countenanc'd, his Probity Knowledge & Experience makes him as equal to that Service as any in the Country, & as he & his Assistant have made so large Contracts, I shall not appoint another till I have his Reasons for resigning.[3]

Colo. Stephens had the Keys where the Indian Goods were lodged, & he must render an Account of them; I have a Copy of the Invoice from Colo. Innes.[4]

I am of Opinion that Capt. McNeill is a proper Person to conduct the Catawbas Home (if You cannot prevail with them to remain some Time longer) & he probably may engage some of their Warriors to come in the Spring[5]—Capt. Pearis & 20 Men, were employ'd to escort the Cherokees and Catawbas, but You may observe how I was disappointed.

I sent Capt. McNeill 500£ to pay the Masters for the Servants enlisted, & order'd him to engage as many as that Money wou'd answer & send them up to You; but ⟨I ca⟩nnot give Directions for enlisting more till I see the Treasur⟨er⟩, to know what Money he may have applicable to that Serv⟨ic⟩e.

Fort Cumberland is to be kept as Defensible as You can till Spring,[6] when I expect Lord Loudoun will give Directions therein, but not to be made Cannon proof unless it can be done at a small Expence, which the Country must pay unless Lord Loudoun otherways directs.

of them are Serjeants & Corporals, it's a most aragant Affair in them to promote & countenance Mutiny for which they deserve the Sentence pass'd on them; however take proper Methods to make them sensible of their atrocious Crime; I desire You may pardon them, but some of them for Example shou'd be reduced & put into the Ranks, & others appointed in their room, but this is left to You.

As Your People are enlisted with the Money rais'd for His Majesty's Service, paid with the same, & incorporated into a Regiment in his Pay, I conceive they are subject to the Articles of War, & every other Regulation as His Majesty's more imediate Regular Forces, in this Opinion the Attoy Genl[1] agrees with me.

Mr Walker has broke his Promise to me, but never intimated any ill Usage from You. I cou'd not imagine his Reasons & only suggested that he might have some Hindrance or Disappointmt in discharge of his Duty; I expect him in Town when shall talk with him fully on the Affair; he sent me an Acct of 690 Annual Charges attending his Duty, besides his own Pay which wou'd be a monstrous Charge on the Country; I therefore intend to put the Victualg in an other Channel when the Assembly meets at present I cannot see any Inc⟨onveniency, as⟩ Provisions are contracted for to s⟨upply yo. for⟩ some Months, which Mr Walker ⟨says were by⟩ his Orders to Mr Rutherfurd.

As Ct. McNeill is at Wi⟨nchester, it⟩ will be too long to wait his coming ⟨here to go with the Catabaws, they are an avaricious greedy set of People. I think yo. was wrong in giving 'em all horses. I fear it will be expected by others.⟩ I am much plagued & troubled to please them.[2]

Mr Mercer tells me he has engag'd a number of Servants;[3] I wrote You to engage no more till I know where to get Money to pay them; there is none to be had from the Treasury; however f he can put of the Paying for them till April I hope then to upply him for those he has enlisted & desire him to purchase no more.

I am sorry that Gentn cou'd not understand Yr Directions in egard to the Ambrozures &ca no doubt You made a Draught f the Works for his Conduct.

You have acted properly in evacuating no more Forts than were necessary to reinforce the two Garrisons. I have the Re-

turn of Your Strength which shall transmit to Lord Loudoun[4]—Great Clamours here against the many Officers in Commission to comd so few Men, & I dare say Lord Loudoun will take Notice of it—I wish You had a better supply of Tools.

Yr Letter of the 14th[5] I shall answer by Jenkins who I detain till my Express arrives from my Lord I expect him daily as he left N. York the 9th of this Month, I shall then be more able to write You, in the mean Time I remain—Sir Your humble Servant

Robt Dinwiddie

Capt. P⟨earis⟩ says You have order'd ⟨his men to be⟩ continued in Pay—⟨I wrote Majr⟩ Lewis to send them to ⟨You to be inc⟩orporated into the ⟨Regmt—I kno⟩w no Service they ⟨*mutilated* at pres⟩t, but it seems ⟨*mutilated* nak⟩ed they cd not ⟨march.⟩[6]

LS, DLC:GW; LB, ViHi: Dinwiddie Papers; Hamilton, *Letters to Washington*. A portion of the signed letter is mutilated. The words in angle brackets appearing in the body of the letter are taken from the letter-book copy, which does not contain the postscript; those in the postscript are taken from Hamilton's printed copy, 2:42–44.

[1] The attorney general of Virginia was Peyton Randolph.

[2] For information about the party of Catawba Indians in Williamsburg, see especially Dinwiddie to GW, 27 Dec. 1756, n.5. Dinwiddie had suggested (10 Dec. 1756) that Lt. John McNeill conduct the Catawba home, and GW had agreed (19 Dec. 1756).

[3] The letter-book copy has it that Mercer "writes" rather than "tells me." In a letter to George Mercer on this date, Dinwiddie refers to a letter from Mercer of 15 Jan. 1757 in which Mercer reports his enlisting of servants. See Brock, *Dinwiddie Papers*, 2:586.

[4] See the Return of the Virginia Regiment, 1 Jan. 1757, printed above.

[5] It would appear that in a letter written on 14 Jan., which has not been found, GW asked Dinwiddie's permission to go to Philadelphia to see Loudoun. See Dinwiddie to GW, 2 Feb. 1757.

[6] For Dinwiddie's instructions to Andrew Lewis for him to have Richard Pearis and his small party of Cherokee join GW at Winchester, see Dinwiddie to Lewis, 15 Nov., 17 Dec. 1756, in Brock, *Dinwiddie Papers*, 2:551, 566–67.

To James Cuninghame

Sir Fort Loudoun January 28th 1757

When the inclos'd for His Excellency the Earl of Loudoun was wrote;[1] I (as well as most others) was in hourly Expectation of His Lordships arrival in Virginia. Since then it is reported,

Mercer with the inclosed. I hope and Flater my Self my Lord Loudoun will Concert such Plans as will Effectually Secure our Frontiers and distress the Enemy, and that he will do that for you which you have so justly merrited and let your Command be Equal to your deserts. I am sure I can with truth say I know of none who has done so much for their Country, and been so little noticed and as yet so Poorly Rewarded—however hope soon to hear it is done to your Satisfaction—our New England *Herowism* seems to be mostly at *an End*.

I have a Brother who has acted as under Commissry for Mr Walker at Winchester he is young and I hope of a good Disposition. I trouble you with the inclosed for him and Pray the favour of you to show him any Countenance his Situation may admit of; and give him on my Accot any Friendly advice you think Proper. I hope he himself will be greatfull, and I assure you I Shall Ever be so, indeed I make no doubt but you will Receive a satisfaction in showing Favour to a Poor youth whose Fathers bad œconomy has turn'd into the world to shift for himself, but this subject would be only troubling you with Mallencholly Scenes you have no Connection with.[1]

I am now at Mr Robinsons, he Mrs Robinson and his Dear Little Family are all well they desire their Compliments to you.

Pretty Miss Polly is in the same Condition & situation as you saw her[2]—my best Respects to Capt. Mercer & Stuart accept the same and my most sencere wishes for your welfare and happiness and be assured that I am Dear Sir Your most Obedt Servt

Jos. Chew

ALS, DLC:GW.

Joseph Chew, a merchant in New London, Conn., and a native of Virginia, corresponded with GW fairly frequently during these years.

[1] Colby Chew was associated with Thomas Walker as early as 1750 when Walker led his expedition into the Kentucky territory. GW made Colby Chew an ensign in the Virginia Regiment in October 1757.

[2] GW stayed with Beverley Robinson and his family in New York on his journey to and from Boston to see William Shirley early in 1756. It was then that GW paid some attention to "Pretty Miss Polly" (Mary Eliza Philipse, 1730–1825).

From Clement Read

Dear Sir, Lunenburg March 15th 1757.

About 10 Daies agoe, there came to my House twenty Six Indians of the Cawtaba Nation, with two War Captains, Capt. French, or the French Warrior, and Capt. Bullen, who I sent under the Care of Robert Vaughan to Williamsburg where they desir'd to go before they March'd to you.

About five daies agoe, there came to my House 93 of the same Nation with their King, Haglar, after they held a Council, it was determin'd, that the King, with his Brother and Conjurer, shou'd go to Wmsburg also, and that the others shou'd March directly to you; Whereupon, as their Numbers were great, the Country thro' which they were to pass thinly Inhabited, and as the Frontiers might be frightned at such an Appearance of Painted Indians, I deem'd it necessary to send a White Man along with them, And as Robert Vaughan was gone with thee first 26, and as the Nation seem'd very fond of him, I thought I might please them in sending his Brother Abraham Vaughan with these to you, and they seem'd pleas'd that I did.[1]

What I have to desire of you Sir, is, that you wou'd please to Satisfie Mr Vaughan according to thee trouble he has taken & must take, I need not inform you that they are a very troublesome set of people, and their manner of travelling thro' the Inhabitants, must give their Guide a vast deal of trouble & fatigue,[2] And as from this Consideration, & the Necessity of Keeping up a friendship with them, I have taken these Steps, in the Absence of his Honour the Governor, which I hope may be approved of.

As from Information of these Indians, I every day expect, Capt. Johnny Cawtaba & Mr Abraham Smith a Virginian,[3] with 200 Cherokees and some more of the Catawba Nation which I must also send a White Man with as a Guide I must hope, and take the freedom of recommending to you, the paying of Mr Abraham Vaughan to his Content, otherwise I have reason to fear, We shall hereafter get none to go on this Slavish Service; I need not add, but that I am, Dear Sir, Your unknown, but mo. Obedt Hum. Servant

Clement Read

P.S. I have given Abraham Vaughan twelve pounds ten shillings, all the money I have, to assist him in Carrying on to Winchester. C.R.

ALS, DLC:GW.

Clement Read (Reade), one of the leaders in the defense of Virginia's southwestern frontier during the war, was county lieutenant of Lunenburg County and from 1758 until his death in 1763 was one of its burgesses.

1. The journals of the Virginia council for 18 Mar. 1757 include the following entry: "The Council being informed that the potent Warriour Hagler King of the Catawba Nation was arrived near Town with two of his great Men, Peter Randolph Esqr. by Desire of the Board withdrew and proceeded in a Coach to meet them, and having accompanied them to the Capitol, they were introduced into the Council Chamber with six and twenty more of the Catawbas, who came here the Wednesday before [16 Mar.], and Robert Vaughan Interpreter; King Hagler, after he and his Attendants had taken all the Council by the Hand, and their Seats, expressed himself to the following Purpose." Among other things, Hagler told the council that he brought with him between eighty and ninety more warriors and had left them "upon the Frontiers" (*Exec. Journals of Virginia Council*, 6:31–32). On 19 Mar. William Fairfax, president of the council, promised the Catawba the required supplies.

George Mercer wrote GW, probably on 24 or 26 Mar., that "95 Cutawba's, beside 25 that are gone to Williamsburgh," were in Winchester (GW to Dinwiddie, 2 April 1757). This letter from Read is addressed on the cover: "To Colo. Washington at Winchester By Abraham Vaughan with 93 Cawtaba Indians."

Both Jimmy Bullen and Captain French were killed in an ambush on 23 Aug. 1758 near Fort Cumberland, where they were "buried with Military Honours" (GW to Henry Bouquet, 24 Aug. 1758). Bullen in particular was a favorite of GW's.

2. An entry in GW's Regimental Accounts dated 25 Mar. indicates that £8 10s. was "paid Abraham Vaughan as Guide to the Cawtawbaws from Lunenburgh" (DLC:GW).

3. Captain Johnny was in the small party of Catawba that came to Winchester in October 1756 and left there for Williamsburg at the end of the year. Captain Johnny then went down to the Cherokee territory to persuade the Cherokee to send warriors to GW in the spring. Abraham Smith was an Indian trader whom Dinwiddie had employed in early 1754 to enlist the support of the Creek and Cherokee warriors in Virginia's pending conflict with the French.

From William Fairfax

Dear Sr

Wmsburg 22d March 1757.

I rec'd your Favor from Philadelphia dated the 2d inst.[1] since which finding the Governor likely to stay there longer than

at first expected and many Matters of Government requisite which could not be done without Me I set off from Belvoir and arrivd here the 17th The next Day I was duly qualified in Council as President & Comander in Chief, which has given Me an Opportunity of seeing and treating with Numbers of the Cherokees & Catawba Indians,[2] discuorsing with Major A. Lewis & Lieut. Williams on their Affairs. I hope They will soon be under your Command as They appear to be of a warlike Temper and Disposition, fit & willing to encounter any Difficult Attack. I shall be glad to know your Success with Ld Loudoun and his Commands to You in the ensuing Campaign—Thô You may hear of the Genl Assembly's being prorogu'd to the last Thursday in next Month, yet as several Things as well for your Regiment as the public Weal of the Colony are wanted to be Examind, Setled and adjusted, We expect the Governor will Soon after his Arrival call & appoint a much earlier Meeting—when We shall be glad to See You and give Testimony of our hearty Affection.[3]

As the Cherokees and Catawba Indians appear to Us well attacht to our Interest We are desirous of preserving Them, therefore endeavor to please & satisfy them. We have furnishd them wth what could be got here: what is yet wanted and you can procure Please to accommodate them and Send or bring the Accot thereof.

Pray remember Me kindly to yr Officers and the brave Men of yr Regiment, and continue to believe that I am with all affecte Regards Dr Sir Yr assurd & loving Friend &ca

W. Fairfax

P.S. I referr to Majr Lewis for pticulars.[4]

ALS, DLC:GW.

1. GW's letter has not been found.

2. For Fairfax's meeting with the Catawba Indians on 18 and 19 Mar., see Clement Read to GW, 15 Mar. 1757, n.1. On 18 Mar. Fairfax and the council met with "Keeraruftikee" and five other Cherokee men and three women. Andrew Lewis arrived at Augusta Court House on 17 Oct. 1756 from his sojourn in the Cherokee country, with seven Cherokee warriors and three women. Richard Pearis returned later in the month with six Cherokee men and two women (see Andrew Lewis to GW, 28 Oct. 1756). In mid-November GW instructed Lewis to send one of the Cherokee back to the Cherokee country with letters and ordered him and Pearis to conduct from Augusta up to Winchester the Indians that had come with Pearis. At the end of February

2/57

1757 Pearis conducted a party of nine Cherokee down from Winchester to Williamsburg on their way back to the Cherokee country. Presumably this was the party that Andrew Lewis had brought up in October 1756, though it may have in part been Pearis's own party. Fairfax and the council saw at this time "another party of Cherokees being fifteen in Number who came to this Government in February last, had marched two Leagues above Fort Du Quesne and returned on Monday last to this City with a French Prisoner and two Scalps. The Chief of them named the Second Yellow-Bird" was a leader of the 130 Cherokee whom Richard Pearis had conducted to the Virginia frontier more than a year before, in the fall of 1755 (*Exec. Journals of Virginia Council,* 6:28–32).

3. Dinwiddie returned from Philadelphia on 31 Mar. or 1 April and immediately summoned the assembly to meet in Williamsburg on 14 April. See William Fairfax to GW, 31 Mar. 1757.

4. If Andrew Lewis and John Williams did in fact conduct these small parties of Catawba and Cherokee up to Winchester, as William Fairfax's letter of 31 Mar. suggests, Lewis had left Winchester before GW's return to the town at the end of March after being in Philadelphia. See Lewis to GW, 8 April 1757.

Memorial to John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun

[Philadelphia, 23 March 1757]

To His Excellency, The Right Honorable John Earl of Loudoun, General, and Commander in Chief, of all His Majesty's Forces in North America, and Governor of His Majesty's most Ancient Colony, and Dominion of Virginia.
The Memorial, of The Officers of The Virginia Regiment,[1]
Humbly Sheweth—

That, The Virginia Regiment was the first in Arms, of any Troops on the Continent, in the present War: That the three Years, your Memorialists have served, have been one continued Scene of Action: That whilst the hard Services of other Troops, are soften'd by an agreeable Recess in Winter Quarters, The Nature of the Service, in which the Regiment is engaged, and the Small Number, so unequal to the Services necessarily required, keep your Memorialists constantly in Motion: That nevertheless, all the Services, in which your Memorialists were engaged, have been performed with the greatest Spirit, and Cheerfulness; and to the Satisfaction of the Sensible Part of the Colony.

That, the Advantages gained by the Enemy, on this Quarter since the Commencement of the War, and the Ravages committed on the Frontiers, are not owing to the Inactivity of the Virginia Regiment: That in Proof of this, your Memorialists appeal to the many bloody Skirmishes with the Enemy last Campaign; To their Behavior at Monongahela, and their Services in the Campaign of 1754; To the Number of Officers, and Men killed in Battle; and the small Number of Inhabitants lost on the Frontiers, notwithstanding their great Extent, so contiguous to the Enemy, and so much exposed to their frequent Incursions.

That the recounting those Services, is highly disagreeable to your Memorialists, as it is repugnant to the Modesty becoming the Brave; but that they are compelled thereto by the little Notice taken of Them; It being the General Opinion that they have not been properly represented to His Majesty: Otherwise the Best of Kings, would have graciously taken Notice of your Memorialists in Turn; whilst there are now Six Battalions raised in America, and not an Officer of the Virginia Regiment provided for. Notwithstanding many of Them, had distinguished Themselves in the Service, before Orders were issued for Raising one of the Battalions abovementioned.

Whereas, the disregarding the faithful Services, of any Body of His Majestys Subjects, tends to discourage Merit, and lessen that generous Emulation, Spirit, and laudable Ambition so necessary to prevail in an Army, and which contributes so much to the Success of Enterprizes.

Your Memorialists humbly beg that your Excellency will be pleased to take their Case into Consideration; and as they think themselves particularly entitled to your Excellency's Patronage, give Them Reason to hope for a Soldier's Reward, and redress their Grievance, in whatever Manner shall seem to your Excellency most conducive to His Majesty's Service.

D, CSmH.

[1] GW prepared and delivered the memorial at Philadelphia. Throughout he either repeated verbatim or paraphrased what he had written in his letter to Dinwiddie, 10 Mar. 1757.

ter of the 7th—whose Intentions, for want of the letter of the 5th instant, are not be understood.

LB, DLC:GW.

To Adam Stephen

[Fort Cumberland, Md., 17 April 1757]

To Lt Colonel Stephen; of the Virginia Regiment.

Sir,

You are to remain with the Garrison at this place, 'till the maryland troops shall relieve you: As soon after as possible you are to march the virginia Troops to Fort Loudoun—taking care to carry all the virginia stores to that place, except a few tools which shou'd be sent to the Branch. But, if it shou'd so happen that there do not come waggons enough to carry off the whole at once; You must have the remainder well secured here, and left under a Guard of our own Soldiers, which is to escort them down when more waggons arrive.

You are also to order the two Garrisons on Pattersons Creek (as soon as they can get waggons to transport their stores to Pearsalls) to march to the South-Branch: One of which to be posted at Harness's Fort; the other at the Upper Tract (unless any of the Militia are there) then and in that case, they are to be posted at Fort Defence:[1] and to use their utmost endeavours in protecting the Inhabitants, and encouraging them to plant—You must have the most exact account taken of the provisions that are in this Garrison; they are to be left for the use of the Marylanders, and a receipt taken from the commanding Officer for the quantity delivered.[2]

The Indian Goods are to be removed to Fort Loudoun—Order the Quarter Master to have them and the Tools, together with the Soldiers clothing; and all the small things that are liable to be lost or stolen, carefully packed up.

In the execution of all these things I recommend it to you, to be as expeditious as possible; and to have due regard to the Interest & honor of Virginia. Given &c.

G:W.

April 17th 1757.

LB, DLC:GW.

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[1] Harness's fort, the fort at the Upper Tract, and Fort Defiance (not "Defence") were both upstream on the South Branch. Michael Harness's fort was about nine miles upstream from Fort Pleasant. Fort Defiance, or Waggener's Upper Fort, was 20 miles upstream from Fort Pleasant, at Lunice Creek. The fort at Upper Tract was located 20 miles farther south at Reeds Creek. These three forts were all about eighty miles west of Winchester.

[2] See Dinwiddie to GW, 7 April 1757, n.4.

From George Mercer

Dear Sir

Fort Loudoun April 24th 1757.

Thursday and Friday last came to Town 148 Cherokees, with Major Lewis, and yesterday I spoke to them, as they did not chuse an Interview sooner.

Wauhatchee the Head Warriour, after I had told him among many other things, that I was sorry we had not timely Notice of their Coming, that the Governour would have ordered the necessary presents for them, but they might depend upon every thing they could want at their Return, would not receive the Wampum I offered him, as is usual, at the End of the Speech; but immediately got up, & went out of the Council in a great passion, and told the rest of the Warriours they might speak to me, if they had anything to say.[1] This Behaviour gave me great Uneasiness, which was not a little increased, when the Swallow, after a long Silence, made the Speech which I inclose.[2]

From this you may see what their Journey here had almost produced a Revolt of the whole Nation from our Interest, which would have been as certain, as their Return Home dissatisfied; for they are all wavering, and only wait to see how these are received. They make no secret of this, and told me the Govr knew not how to treat Indians; that the French treated them always like Children, and gave them what Goods they wanted. As to the Governour's not having timely Notice of their Coming, it was a Lie, he had promised them 18 Months ago, if they would come here to fight for us, they should be supplied with every thing they wanted.[3] that they had then promised they would come, and he should have had every thing ready; and had he not depended upon their Promise, and thought that a Warning, that they had wrote to him from their Nation, and

again from Col. Reade's, which last was sufficient Notice.[4] But they found from every Action, the Great Men of Virginia were Liars. Keerarustikee (who was here with Pearis in the Winter)[5] told them he knew them all, that they had laid in no Goods here; that the Warriours were obliged to send them down to Williamsburg, and when they came there, they seemed surprized, that they had not been supplied at Winchester. To all this I replied in the best and warmest Terms I possibly could, and told them I was willing to give them any security they could desire, that the Presents should be here ready for them at their Return; that if they had it, they would be obliged to leave it here in my Care, it would be too heavy for them to carry to War; and I told them, they must look upon it in that Light, that I had the present in the House keeping for them 'till their Return, that all their Things might look new & clean; and urged them again to take the Wampum as a Token that I spoke nothing but the Truth. After this, the Warriour of Tallassee[6] said, Brothers, why do you despise that Wampum? We must not measure the Warriours Present by that. for my part, I take the Will for the Deed. I look upon it in the Light he offers it, as a Token that his Heart is good towards us, and that he tells us the Truth. Because others have lied shall we not believe him? I will do it, and tho' I am here with a small Number, I came here to fight for the Great King George; and if none of you will take his Wampum, I will do it, and I will stand by him 'till I find he lies. He tells you that yet he has not received Orders from the Govr and that perhaps he is in a Hurry, and yet has not Time to write. I believe it is so. The present will be here when we return. The Swallow then made an Apology for what he had said; and said, he had spoke his Mind thus freely, to let us know how he had been used, and he hoped it would have the desired Effect, when the Govr heard what he had said. that they should never be again disappointed. In his own part, he did not want Presents, but that it was his Promise of great Rewards from the Governour that engaged his young Men to come in, and that the Govr had now made him a Liar amongst his own Warriours: that made him angry.

From all this you see how necessary 'tis to have a proper Present immediately laid in for them. We may soon expect the Catawbas in too, who have an absolute promise of a present from

me on their Return.[7] If these Indians go home dissatisfied, we lose the Interest of the whole Nation.

You can better suggest than I direct (did I presume to do it) what is necessary on this Occasion.

As faithfully as I promised, so faithfully did I deliver the Indentures and Valuation, not to you indeed, but to Mr Kirkpatrick, which I imagined would do as well.[8]

Mr Heath is in a great Hurry.[9] I have been terribly plagued with these Indians coming so dissatisfied, and have been writing since Day-break. I have the Luck of the Management of Indian Affairs. troublesome Task. You'll please to excuse Errors and Blunders in this, and the Speech, as I was obliged to be in a Hurry with them, as well as subscribing myself Dear Sir Your most obedient and obliged humble Servt

Go. Mercer

Copy, CSmH; Copy, P.R.O., W.O. 34/47, ff. 151–52. The copy in the Loudoun Papers is endorsed by Edmond Atkin. The journal of the Virginia council of 3 May 1757 noted that Dinwiddie "had shewn to Mr. Atkin" Mercer's letters to GW of 24 and 26 April, "with the Speeches inclosed of their two Chiefs, and Capt. Mercer's Answers" (*Exec. Journals of Virginia Council*, 6:42). Except for variations in punctuation and spelling, the two copies are identical.

[1] The headstrong Wawhatchee, the First Warrior of the Cherokee lower towns, had arrived in Lunenburg County in early April with a party of more than one hundred Indians. Enraged because there were no presents, Wawhatchee and his braves went on a rampage. Clement Read, a leading man of the county, finally prevailed on the Cherokee to go "to Winchester to Colonel Washington" where "they Should have presents, They Should be provided for according to the Treaty, Should be well used" (Read to Dinwiddie, 5 April 1757, P.R.O., W.O. 34/47, ff. 150–51).

[2] In his speech the Swallow, First Warrior in the lower Cherokee town of Estatoe, declared: "I don't understand writing, but got a Man to write a Letter for me to the Governour to acquaint him what things I had promised my young Men to engage them to come up with me, and expected to have found everything I mentioned ready for us. . . . Brother we blame the Govr and not you. What you have, you are free of; and it looks to me, the Govr has little Regard for you that are in the back Settlements" (CSmH).

[3] Dinwiddie called on the Cherokee for assistance shortly before Braddock's expedition and again on 22 Aug. 1755, but Wawhatchee was clearly referring to the agreement or treaty that Dinwiddie's special commissioners, Peter Randolph and William Byrd, made with the Cherokee in early 1756.

[4] See note 1.

[5] See William Fairfax to GW, 22 Mar. 1757, n.2. Richard Pearis also served as the guide for Wawhatchee's party to Winchester.

Copy, CSmH; Copy, P.R.O., W.O. 34/47, ff. 151–152. See the source line for Mercer's letter to GW of 24 April 1757. Dinwiddie presented both of the Mercer letters, with enclosures, to the House of Burgesses on 3 May.

1. The enclosed letters for Dinwiddie have not been found.

2. Some of the Cherokee seem to have talked to Andrew Lewis in Augusta County in much the same way they had talked to Clement Read in Lunenburg County. See Read's letter to Dinwiddie cited in George Mercer to GW, 24 April 1757, n.1.

not used in Pearis Story but adds info

3. Richard Smith, the brother of Abraham Smith, both Indian traders and both used by Virginia as interpreters, came up to Fort Loudoun with Wawhatchee and the other Cherokee. He shortly left Winchester with a party led by the Swallow and Maj. Andrew Lewis to march toward Fort Cumberland. Edmond Atkin in the summer of 1757 made him one of the two official conductors of the Cherokee and translator for the colony of Virginia. At the same time that Lewis and his party left for Fort Cumberland, Richard Pearis led Wawhatchee and Youghtanno with their followers north into Maryland and Pennsylvania.

4. Thomas Cresap, a member of the Ohio Company and a prominent frontiersman, lived on the north bank of the Potomac River. William Trent, a Pennsylvania Indian trader, was in Virginia's employ during GW's expeditions into Pennsylvania in 1753 and 1754. After attending a conference with the Indians at Lancaster, Pa., in May 1757, Trent came to Winchester where in June he participated in a meeting with the Indians there. Sir William Johnson (1715–1774) was superintendent of Indian affairs in the northern colonies. By "Silver Truck" Mercer meant miscellaneous silver items suitable for Indian presents. The store of the Ohio Company to which Mercer was referring may have been the one at Rock Creek.

To Robert Dinwiddie

To The Honble Governor Dinwiddie Williamsburgh: Friday
Honble Sir, morning, the 29th April, 1757.

I make use of this as a less troublesome, the most effectual, and (I think) most expeditious method of recommending certain matters relative to the Regiment, &c. to your Honors notice—and to begin:

The act of Assembly which subjected the Virginia troops to Martial Law, is now expired: and when in force, was altogether ineffectual for the purpose. It is I think quite obvious, that we can prepare no Law more fit than that provided by Act of Parliament, as a military code for the government of our Troops.[1]

We now have, and are likely to get a goodly number of Indians. I would therefore humbly recommend, that a judicious

person acquainted with their customs, be appointed to the care of them: To conduct them agreeably to your Honors direction, or to the Orders which he may receive from the Commanding Officer—To make it his business to see that they are well supplied with provisions, and commit no waste of them—To provide them with such necessaries as they may stand in need of, and are allowed by the Country—To keep regular accompts of all expences occurring, &c.

It can not be supposed that this Duty (which will fully employ, to execute it [as it] shou'd be, the time of any one person) ought to fall upon the Commanding Officer; whose other engagements will render it absolutely impossible for him to pay so much attention to it, as the service requires. And if they are neglected the consequences will be bad. The paying a person for this extraordinary duty, will, in the end, be an advantage to the Country.[2] A good many Goods shou'd be provided for this purpose, and that immediately. There are many Masters of Servants yet unpaid, who are very anxious to receive their valuation. I shou'd be glad if there cou'd be a way pointed out to do it; as the owners look to me for the money.[3]

The choice of good men to complete the Regiment is really a matter of great importance—We received (because necessity obliged us) many Drafts last year, who were unfit for any sort of Duty and who were rather an expence than service to the Country. The Officers hearing that their numbers are to be reduced, are very desirous of knowing who are to go out.[4]

Some other method to pay for Deserters besides that prescribed by act of Assembly, is absolutely necessary.[5] It is also necessary that some expedient shou'd be used to bring the commonalty acquainted with the consequences of harbouring and buying clothes and arms from Deserters &c.

Not to confine the Troops to our own frontiers and defensive measures only. By this means we put it into the power of the enemy, to use advantages as they offer. Last year we cou'd not without transgressing the Law, move out of the Colony.[6]

Paying Soldiers in small[7] Bills is an intolerable grievance. It wou'd add to the credit of the Service, and be a strong inducement for numbers to enlist—were the Assembly to make some regular provision for the maimed & wounded Soldiers, who shall be disabled in the Countrys service. It is an uncertain te-

(Use in May last part)

E312.72 L(1982)

ter of the 7th—whose Intentions, for
5th instant, are not be understood.

LB, DLC:GW.

To Adam Stepl

[Fort Cumberla

To Lt Colonel Stephen; of the Virginia
Sir,

You are to remain with the Garriso
maryland troops shall relieve you: As s
are to march the virginia Troops to For
to carry all the virginia stores to that
which shou'd be sent to the Branch. Bu
that there do not come waggons enoug
at once; You must have the remainder
left under a Guard of our own Soldiers
down when more waggons arrive.

You are also to order the two Garris
(as soon as they can get waggons to
Pearsalls) to march to the South-Bran
posted at Harness's Fort; the other at
any of the Militia are there) then and ir
posted at Fort Defence:[1] and to use the
protecting the Inhabitants, and encou
You must have the most exact account
that are in this Garrison; they are to b
Marylanders, and a receipt taken fro
ficer for the quantity delivered.[2]

The Indian Goods are to be remove
der the Quarter Master to have them
with the Soldiers clothing; and all the
ble to be lost or stolen, carefully packe

In the execution of all these things I
be as expeditious as possible; and to ha
terest & honor of Virginia. Given &c.

April 17th 1757.

---

which last was sufficient Notice.[4] But
the Great Men of Virginia were
was here with Pearis in the Winter)[5]
that they had laid in no Goods
were obliged to send them down to
came there, they seemed sur-
supplied at Winchester. To all
warmest Terms I possibly could,
give them any security they could
should be here ready for them at their
they would be obliged to leave it
would be too heavy for them to carry to
must look upon it in that Light, that
House keeping for them 'till their Re-
Things might look new & clean; and urged
Wampum as a Token that I spoke noth-
After this, the Warriour of Tallassee[6] said,
do you despise that Wampum? We must not
Present by that, for my part, I take the
look upon it in the Light he offers it, as a
good towards us, and that he tells us the
shall we not believe him? I will
here with a small Number, I came here to
King George; and if none of you will take his
and I will stand by him 'till I find he lies.
received Orders from the Govr
in a Hurry, and yet has not Time to
The present will be here when we return.
made an Apology for what he had said; and
his Mind thus freely, to let us know how he
hoped it would have the desired Effect,
what he had said, that they should never
In his own part, he did not want Pres-
Promise of great Rewards from the Gov-
young Men to come in, and that the
a Liar amongst his own Warriours:

necessary 'tis to have a proper Pres-
for them. We may soon expect the Ca-
absolute promise of a present from

---

me on their Return.[7] If these Indians go home dissatisfied, we lose the Interest of the whole Nation.

You can better suggest than I direct (did I presume to do it) what is necessary on this Occasion.

As faithfully as I promised, so faithfully did I deliver the Indentures and Valuation, not to you indeed, but to Mr Kirkpatrick, which I imagined would do as well.[8]

Mr Heath is in a great Hurry.[9] I have been terribly plagued with these Indians coming so dissatisfied, and have been writing since Day-break. I have the Luck of the Management of Indian Affairs. troublesome Task. You'll please to excuse Errors and Blunders in this, and the Speech, as I was obliged to be in a Hurry with them, as well as subscribing myself Dear Sir Your most obedient and obliged humble Servt

Go. Mercer

Copy, CSmH; Copy, P.R.O., W.O. 34/47, ff. 151–52. The copy in the Loudoun Papers is endorsed by Edmond Atkin. The journal of the Virginia council of 3 May 1757 noted that Dinwiddie "had shewn to Mr. Atkin" Mercer's letters to GW of 24 and 26 April, "with the Speeches inclosed of their two Chiefs, and Capt. Mercer's Answers" (*Exec. Journals of Virginia Council*, 6:42). Except for variations in punctuation and spelling, the two copies are identical.

1. The headstrong Wawhatchee, the First Warrior of the Cherokee lower towns, had arrived in Lunenburg County in early April with a party of more than one hundred Indians. Enraged because there were no presents, Wawhatchee and his braves went on a rampage. Clement Read, a leading man of the county, finally prevailed on the Cherokee to go "to Winchester to Colonel Washington" where "they Should have presents, They Should be provided for according to the Treaty, Should be well used" (Read to Dinwiddie, 5 April 1757, P.R.O., W.O. 34/47, ff. 150–51).

2. In his speech the Swallow, First Warrior in the lower Cherokee town of Estatoe, declared: "I don't understand writing, but got a Man to write a Letter for me to the Governour to acquaint him what things I had promised my young Men to engage them to come up with me, and expected to have found everything I mentioned ready for us. . . . Brother we blame the Govr and not you. What you have, you are free of; and it looks to me, the Govr has little Regard for you that are in the back Settlements" (CSmH).

3. Dinwiddie called on the Cherokee for assistance shortly before Braddock's expedition and again on 22 Aug. 1755, but Wawhatchee was clearly referring to the agreement or treaty that Dinwiddie's special commissioners, Peter Randolph and William Byrd, made with the Cherokee in early 1756.

4. See note 1.

5. See William Fairfax to GW, 22 Mar. 1757, n.2. Richard Pearis also served as the guide for Wawhatchee's party to Winchester.

ment should be retained. On 6 June GW ordered Capt. Joshua Lewis, who is not named here, to go with his company to Maidstone and relieve Capt. Robert Stewart.

atkin
H+

4. Edmond Atkin (b. 1707), an Englishman and longtime merchant of Charleston, S.C., was in England from 1750 until 1756 when he persuaded the Board of Trade to create the office of superintendent of Indian affairs for the southern colonies and secured the position for himself. Atkin joined Lord Loudoun in New York in October 1756 and remained with him until after the conference with the governors in Philadelphia in March 1757. Atkin left Philadelphia on 26 Mar. and came to Williamsburg. In early June he went to Winchester, arriving there on the third.

5. The "Act for raising a Public Levy," which Dinwiddie approved at the end of the assembly's session on 8 June, included provision for drafting men as well as for issuing notes and levying taxes to finance the conduct of the war (7 Hening 139–40).

not [illegible]

From Robert Dinwiddie

Sir [Williamsburg, 16 May 1757]

Whereas I have thought proper to discontinue the two pr ct Commissions (which the Country Committee have allowd you) for your trouble, Risk and loss; in receiving and Paying away the Publick Money; settling and adjusting of accounts &ca; I shall only lodge a fund of Money in your hands to answer Contingent Expences; as they shall arise from time to time in the Execution of your Command.[1]

The Paymaster Commissary and others, are for the Future, to receive Money of Me to answer the purposes of their Calling; and to me, are they to render accts of their Disbursments; unless any Person, or Persons with my consent and approbation, shall be appointed to transact this Business.

You shall receive your usual Pay: and allowance for your Batmen (as the Committee have fixd it) and the additional Sum of Two hundred Pounds pr Annum for your Table and Expences.

In all other Respect you are to be on the same footing as formerly; and to Act as you heretofore have done. Given under my hand at the City of Williamsburg this 16th day of May 1757.

Robt Dinwiddie

LS, DLC:GW; LB, ViHi: Dinwiddie Papers. Like the first set of instructions of this date, the signed document is not in the hand of Dinwiddie's regular clerk, William Withers; it appears to be in GW's instead.

[1] See GW to Dinwiddie, 29 April 1757, n.13.

atkin

From Robert Dinwiddie

Sir Williamsburg May 23 [-27] 1757

This probably may be deliver'd to You by the Hon. Edmd Atkin Esqr. who has his Majesty's Commission to transact & superintend all the Affairs with the different Tribes of Indians the back of Georgia, South & No. Ca⟨r⟩olina & this Dominion; I desire You will receive him in a genteel Manner, & on his meeting with the Indians now at Fort Cumberland, give a Grace to his Operations by having a Company under Arms when he opens his Commission & talks with them—As the whole Negotiation is left to him, he probably may acquaint You with every Thing he transacts with them.

Our Assembly has not fix'd on the Supplies, & in course not yet printed any new Currency, but am told it will be done very soon; & You may assure the Officers & Soldiers that as soon as Money is coined, I will send up by Mr Boyd when he comes here, sufficient to pay all their Arrears.

If the Cherokees return Home I think it will be necessary You shou'd send[1] ⟨a detachment⟩ with them, ⟨either to⟩ Dickinson's or Vaus's Fort, with design to keep ⟨th⟩em in order on their March thro' the Country;[2] I am ⟨s⟩ensible Your Men will be backward in marching ⟨w⟩ithout their Arrears; but if You can prevail on them to march You may assure them their Money shall be ⟨p⟩unctually sent them, the Pay Master bringing down ⟨a⟩ proper Acct of what may be due; I have endeavour'd ⟨a⟩ll in my Power to get the Money, & I am now assur'd it ⟨w⟩ill be very soon issued.

If Mr Atkin leaves any Goods at Fort Loudoun ⟨Y⟩ou may give a Receipt for them; & I suppose he will in ⟨Tim⟩e appoint a Person to act in his Absence; & any Goods ⟨th⟩at remain of the Indian Present brought from Fort Cumberland, deliver them to Mr Atkin, taking his Receipt.

Capt. Pearis I think has greatly misbehaved, Mr Atkin is to enquire into it, & if guilty he is to be dismiss'd.[3]

The Assembly proposes raising 1200 Men & three Compa⟨nies⟩ of Rangers of 100 Men each, but the Mode for raising them is not yet concerted, & I fear will be attended with great Difficulties.

I am surpriz'd Colo. Stephen is not come here with the two

Another Bill has passed our House for Laying out 5000£ in a proper Cargo of Goods to carry on a Trade with the Indians for the Public Benefit under the Direction of Colo. Peter & Wm Randolph. Mr Cary Mr Walker & my Self.[4] this Bill is now before the Council if it passes into a Law, we shall I believe, engage with Mr Gist, as Factor, to carry it on: your Recommendation of him will have all proper weight with me and I am persuaded with the other Trustees or Directors as I have some thoughts of writing an Account of our Transactions, which I design to communicate to Public View in order to wipe off all Reflection from my Country and the Several Person concerned in the conduct of our Military Enterprizes so far as they can be justified; I shall take it ⟨a⟩s a peculiar Mark of Friendship, if, at your leisure Hours, if you have any, you would send me short Heads of such things, relative to the French Invasion, with the dates, when they happened, as you Judge most Interesting and proper for such a Work.[5] I will speak the truth with boldness and I hope with approbation from eve⟨ry⟩ honest and good Man, amongst whom, I assure you wi⟨th⟩out Flattery, I place you in the first Rank. I ⟨am⟩ Dear Sir Your most humble Servant

Richard Bland

If I have the pleasure of hearing from you please direct to me at Jordans in Prince George County.[6]

ALS, PHi: Gratz Collection.

Richard Bland (1710–1776) was a leader of the House of Burgesses, in which he served from 1742 until it last met in 1776. Called by Thomas Jefferson "the most learned and logical man of those who took prominent lead in public affairs" in the years before the Revolution, Bland seems to have been a consistent and effective supporter of GW throughout GW's career as colonel of the Virginia Regiment (Jefferson to William Wirt, 5 Aug. 1815, in Ford, *Writings of Jefferson*, 9:472–76).

[1] The letter has not been found.

[2] Bland must have proposed his "measures" during the discussion by the House, beginning on 18 April and continuing for several days, about what should be done to support and strengthen the Virginia Regiment.

[3] For the passage of "An Act for granting an aid to his majesty for the better protection of this colony . . ." (7 Hening 69–87), see Dinwiddie to GW, 1 June 1757, n.1.

[4] Col. Peter Randolph of Chatsworth, Henrico County, was a member of

the council. In 1755 he had been a member of the commission sent to treat with the Cherokee. William Randolph, brother of Peter Randolph, represented Henrico County in the House of Burgesses. Archibald Cary (1721–1787) was a member of the House of Burgesses for Chesterfield County. Mr. Walker was Dr. Thomas Walker, who was at this time representing Hampshire County in the assembly. See "An Act for establishing a trade with the Indians in alliance with his majesty" (7 Hening 116–18).

[5] GW's response to this request has not been found, and it is not known whether Bland ever wrote such a tract, but see Augustine Washington to GW, 16 Oct. 1756, n.3, for a description of Bland's piece defending the Virginia Regiment against the charges made in Virginia-Centinel No. X.

[6] Jordans Point on the James River was Bland's house which he inherited from his father.

Memoranda

[Fort Loudoun] 8 June 1757.

Get the Prices of all the Soldiers Cloathg from Colo. Carlyle—with a reasonable advance; and give it to each Captain with Orders to examine his Company's necessary Roll once a Week (every Saturdy) witht Fail and to make stopages for every thing difficient besides punishing the Soldiers for neglect of Duty this to be done before they are paid.

Order also that each Sergeant of a Comy have a distinct Squad to take care of & to see that they always have their Cloathg & accoutrements in good Order.

Ditto 8th

Write the Governor that Captn Paris has got a Commission in the Maryland Forces—That Govr Denny has sent Invitations to the Cherokees to treat with him at Fort Loudoun in his Govt &

That I am apprehensive the difft Colonies striving against each other may be bad.

That I have removd Captn Stewart & Gists Company to this place & give him my reasons for doing it.

To desire that he will direct me concerning receiving the Drafts. And in what manner that Companys of Rangers are to be Cloathd, Paid & Comdd.

Also know how far in what points I am to pay Obedience to the Orders of Colo. Stanwix & if it shoud so happen that I receive Orders from himself & Colo. Stanwix differing (which is not unlikely) whose Orders I am to Obey.

less neglected. For which reason it appeared to me evidently for the Interest of the Service, that the men at this place (except the necessary tradesmen) shou'd be removed to some other post; where they might be regularly execised, when they are not upon the scout.[7] Then there was no company so proper to relieve them as Capt. Stewarts, who having had and improved the opportunity of disciplining his men, was desirous of coming hither, as they have been a long time detached from the body of the Regiment. The other reason is, half the men at Maidstone being enlisted by Capt. Gist, in maryland, and so contiguous to, and under the immediate influence and perswasion of their friends (who encourage them to desert:[8] and not only do so, but protect them openly in it, under the eye and authority of their Majistrates, if we are rightly informed,) that in a little time, not *one* wou'd have been left. Eleven are at this time under confinement for desertion from this company—I hope your Honor will direct me in what points and how far I am to pay regard to Colo. Stanwix's orders: If I shou'd meet with any thing from him at any time that may clash with your instructions to me, how I am to conduct myself in the affair. A case of this kind happened in maryland, as I am told; and Colo. Stanwix sent o[r]ders to the Officer under [ ] to disobey his (Stanwixes) orders at his peril.

Major Lewis cou'd not prevail with the Cherokee Indians to take out with them more than 8 days provisions, the consequence of which is that he is come in with a part of them. There are yet out two parties; one of which consisting of 20 Indians and 10 Soldiers, under Capt. Spotswood, and are gone toward Fort Du Quesne: while the other amounts to 15 Indians and 5 Soldiers, under Lt Baker, bent their course for Log's-Town.[9]

I wrote your Honor in my last, that Colo. Stephen did, whilst I was in Williamsburgh, give out many of the Regimental Stores for the use of the Indians; among which were 122 Blankets. There are at this place, come up for the Indians, several pieces of dutch blanketing—I shou'd be glad to know whether we may not take out of them (if there is a sufficiency to replace our loss) as the Indians have all been supplied?

I doubt not that your Honor has been informed of the state of our Beef at Fort Cumberland: I was all along apprehensive that this wou'd be the consequence of Mr Walkers absence. And as soon as I heard the account, I desired Mr Rutherford to go up and overhale the casks and see what cou'd be saved. His answer was, that he was employed by Mr Walker to transact the business at this place, and did not care to undertake it without his instructions. I thereupon desired he wou'd communicate the affair to Mr Walker, and receive his directions; as I apprehended the Country wou'd look to him for the damage. What notice Mr Walker has taken of it I know not. But since I have heard they have destroyed the provisions in an unwarrantable manner Indeed I shou'd be glad if your Honor wou'd direct what is to be done in this affair.[10]

Put in Maryland Chapter

Capt. Bell waits upon your Honor in hopes he may be able to obtain one of the additional compys which we hear are to be raised. I have been greatly importuned by his friends to speak in his favor, or say what I know of him. All that I can say is, that, so far as I have had an opportunity of judging, he appears to be a good-natur'd honest man, and willing to do his duty. He has had no opportunity of proving his Bravery, that I know of, nor do I remember ever to have heard *it* called in question.

As to his abilities in other respects, and his bodily activity, your Honor can judge of them better than I, being more acquainted with him.[11]

I must once more presume to ask your Honor leave to attend the settlement of my (deceased) Brothers Estate (when the Executors and Colo. Lee will fix upon a time:) You were so indulgent on a former occasion as to consent to my being absent for this purpose. But the Assembly called off my Brother, and several others who were principally concerned, and prevented the completion of this affair since.[12] Altho' it is matter of great moment to have this business finished, it yet lies open. I am &c.

G:W.

June 10th 1757.

LB, DLC:GW.

The copyist wrote "Ft Cumberland" in the heading of the letter but neither GW nor Dinwiddie was at that place.

[1] Richard Pearis wrote Col. John Armstrong of the Pennsylvania forces on 13 May 1757 "that on the 1st of this Instant I came into this Province [Pennsylvania] with a Party of Cherokees [headed by Wawhatchee and Youghtanno], in pursuit of some French Indians that had committed some Murders on Potomack, wch Enemies I pursued for several Days, but not having the

got pg 195

fortune to come up with that Party, fell in with another Party, as I suppose about 20, out of which we killed 4 and took Two Prisoners, which Prisoners I have here now. I intend tomorrow to march to Fort Frederick, where I expect to meet Governor Sharp, who is to treat with the Cherokees; I wou'd be glad to meet you there" (*Pa. Archives*, Col. Rec., 7:528–29). Armstrong with others from Pennsylvania arrived at Fort Frederick in Maryland on 17 May and on 18–19 May held a conference with the two Cherokee leaders, Wawhatchee and Youghtanno, and with the Marylanders sent by Gov. Horatio Sharpe. Richard Pearis acted as interpreter at the conference. The Cherokee accepted presents from the Marylanders and gave a list of things that they wished to receive from Gov. William Denny of Pennsylvania. They then returned to Winchester to await the arrival of Edmond Atkin with the presents from Dinwiddie.

Pa Arch - Col Records 7:528-9

Atkin got to Winchester on 3 June and as he was preparing to give presents to Wawhatchee and Youghtanno on 5 June (see GW to Dinwiddie, 30 May 1757, n.2), Pearis got a letter from George Croghan asking him to bring the Cherokee back to Pennsylvania to receive presents there. On 8 June Youghtanno and thirteen of his warriors headed home, and forty of Wawhatchee's party left Winchester without Wawhatchee to revisit Maryland and Pennsylvania. Atkin as superintendent of Indian affairs in the southern colonies immediately wrote to Croghan objecting to his dealings with Pearis and the Cherokee and urging him to come to Winchester for consultation. On 12 June he also wrote to Governor Sharpe to complain of Pearis's activities. See also Sharpe to Atkin, 1 June 1757, in Browne, *Sharpe Correspondence*, 2:12. The forty Cherokee who had gone into Maryland on 8 June returned empty-handed on 13 June and Wawhatchee came to Atkin on 14 June to make his peace with the Indian agent before returning home. For Croghan's visit to Winchester, see John Stanwix to GW, 18 June 1757, n.3. For the correspondence between Sharpe and these Cherokee, see Browne, *Letters to Sharpe*, 193–203. Dinwiddie wrote Atkin on 16 June (Brock, *Dinwiddie Papers*, 2:640) supporting him in his dispute with Croghan and saying that Ostenaco with thirty Cherokee were in Williamsburg and would come up to Winchester.

Browne - Sharpe Corres. 2:12

Browne - Letters to Sharpe 193-203

2. See GW to John David Wilper, 7 June 1757.

3. Regimental Quartermaster John Hamilton's return of Indian goods delivered to Atkin is dated 5 May 1757 and is endorsed by Atkin on 5 June (DLC:GW). In the "Return of the Virginia Regiment Commanded by Geo. Washington Esqr. For the Month of May" GW inserted above the line after "Esqr.": "exclusive of the Detachment sent to Carolina." It reported 423 "Effective Rank & File" (ibid.).

4. Richard Pearis, who seems to have misbehaved at every point in his long career on the frontier, left the service of Virginia after having held a captain's commission from Governor Dinwiddie for more than a year. See Adam Stephen to GW, 7 Nov. 1755. He remained in command of the 5th Maryland Company for about one year, until May 1758 when Governor Sharpe removed him because of complaints. Shortly thereafter Gen. John Forbes gave Pearis command of Fort Cumberland. On 3 May 1759 Pearis secured a captain's commission in the Pennsylvania Regiment. After the war Pearis pursued a successful career among the Cherokee in South Carolina as a land-hungry trader, but he chose the losing side in the Revolution when he fought for the British in Carolina and Georgia. He died in the Bahamas in 1794.

5. See Dinwiddie's charges in his letter of 1 June 1757 that GW had too many batmen in the Virginia Regiment. In the Loudoun papers at CSmH is this undated return in Robert Stewart's hand, entitled "Pay of Each Officer in the Virginia Regiment ℔ Day." The pay of the colonel was £1 10. per day; the lieutenant colonel, 17s. 6d.; the major, 15s.; captains, 10s.; lieutenants, 5s.; ensigns, 4s.; paymaster, 10s.; surgeon, 10s.; surgeon's mate, 3s.; adjutant, 4s.; quartermaster, 4s.; "Commissary & his several Assistants £600—℔ ann."; sergeants, 1s. 6d.; corporals, 1s.; drummers, 1s.; privates, 8d. Three batmen were allowed the lieutenant colonel, three to the major, two to each captain, and one for the subalterns of each company, each at an allowance of 8d. per day. The number of batmen allowed the colonel of the regiment was left blank on the document. Each officer was to draw "the same qty and kind of Provisions with a Private man." The allowance of provisions per day is given as "one lr. [libra] Flower and 1 lr. Salt Meat or 1¼ lr. Fresh Meat and when at Work 1½ lr. of Fresh Meat and nothing else." The return concludes with the notation that "we seldom had any kind of Meat but Beeff."

6. For GW's decision to delay sending Henry Woodward to Vause's fort, see GW's Memoranda, 8 June 1757, n.5; for a discussion of Andrew Lewis's replacing Peter Hog, see GW's Memoranda, 7 June 1757, notes 1 and 3.

7. See GW to Joshua Lewis, 6 June 1757.

8. See the size roll of Christopher Gist's company of scouts, 13 July 1757 (DLC:GW).

9. Andrew Lewis left Winchester with a party of Cherokee for Fort Cumberland around 1 May. For references to this, see GW to John Stanwix, 28 May 1757, and GW to Andrew Lewis, 3 June 1757. James Baker wrote to GW from Fort Cumberland on this date telling of his party's skirmish with a party of Frenchmen, but GW heard of Baker's exploits before receiving Baker's letter. See GW to Baker, 12 June 1757. GW had given up hope for Robert Spotswood's return by 11 July 1757 when he wrote Dinwiddie suggesting John McNeill to replace him as a captain in the Virginia Regiment. Logstown was an Indian village and trading center on the Ohio about eighteen miles below its confluence with the Monongahela.

[illegible] of Fort

10. On 5 May 1757 Horatio Sharpe wrote Dinwiddie that Capt. John Dagworthy with 150 men of the Maryland forces had taken possession of Fort Cumberland and of the provisions and stores turned over to him by Adam Stephen and the departing Virginia forces. "He informs me," Sharpe wrote, "that the Beef [left by the Virginia forces] is so very bad that the Men will not touch it & that he is obliged to victual them entirely with Fish till a fress Supply of Provisions can be sent him from Fort Frederick. You will be pleased to write to Colo Washington & to give him orders to remove or destroy the Beef as you shall think proper" (Browne, *Sharpe Correspondence*, 1:548–49). Dinwiddie did not get Sharpe's letter until 29 May and on 1 June replied that Adam Stephen "assures me there was no Complaints of the Provisions, but 2 small Cask of Beef that had lost the Pickle, I, therefore can give no Orders to

✓ Sharpe Corres 1:548-9

[2] Fort Loudoun, Pa., was built by the Pennsylvanians in 1756 on the road from Shippensburg to the Ohio at Conococheague Creek. It was here that Wawhatchee's party of Cherokee had come with Richard Pearis in May. See Dinwiddie to GW, 23–27 May 1757.

[3] Fort Frederick was in Frederick County, Maryland.

From William Fairfax

Dr Sr Alexandria 19. June 1757

This is intended to be delivered You by Bryan Fx who is appointed by Commission Captain of one of the two detacht Companys of our Militia which its hopd will amount to the Number of fifty private Men each, and Sufficient at this Time to answer yr Expectation from Us.[1] I sent immediate Notice to Colo. Hy Lee to act the needful with the Pce Wm Malitia, and Yrs for Govr Sharpe Sent over to Mr Marshals directly.[2] As no doubt Govr Dagworthy[3] Sent an Express to Colo. Stanwix He may expect a Reinforcement of the Regulars & some Provincials by Order of Govr Sharpe, so that probably the Enemy will be prevented marching towards your Fortress—We have given Orders to have our whole Militia in a Readiness to march on a Sudden Notice and further Advices of your needing any certain Number. What are now orderd to attend yr Commands[,] as They are at Some Distance from each Other, may Want Amunition and Provisions but suppose will be supplied & victualled as the Detachments were last Year[4]—which being an additional Expence to the Country You will please to return to Us as soon as the public Weal & Service can Spare them.

In the Extract of an Act of the last Assembly

A clause inserted

"That every able bodied Person willing to enlist to serve in the Regiment shall be entitled to Five Pounds, And if no Person present will advance the sd Reward, then the Person so inlisting shall be paid the same within three Days after his Arrival at the Place of General Rendezvous, by the Commanding Officer of the Forces in the Service of this Colony."[5]

As it is very unlikely that any such Sums will be advancd by private Persons, so You may expect a direct Application will be made to You by the Persons So enlisting, therefore You will think it necessary to be furnishd with a Sufficient Sum of Money from the Treasurer to answer the Demands aforesaid.[6]

For pticulars referr to Bryan Fx and Him to your friendly Advice &c. Lodgd at yr Mother's the 12th inst. then left Her &c. well.[7] Yr very affecte & assurd Friend &c.

W: Fairfax

ALS, DLC:GW.

[1] Bryan Fairfax listed seventy men in his company, seventeen of whom he indicated had been discharged for lack of arms and one of whom he indicated had deserted (June 1757, DLC:GW).

[2] Henry Lee (1729–1787) of Leesylvania was the county lieutenant of Prince William County as William Fairfax was of Fairfax County. A ferry crossed the Potomac to the Maryland home of Thomas Hanson Marshall (1731–1801). The letter from GW to Horatio Sharpe which was taken over on the ferry was undoubtedly the one dated 16 June conveying John Dagworthy's report of an impending French and Indian attack.

[3] Fairfax is referring to Dagworthy by the title of governor of Fort Cumberland, a post which Col. James Innes had previously held.

[4] See particularly the series of memoranda respecting the militia in May 1756, printed in volume 3 of *Papers, Colonial Series.*

[5] This is an abbreviated version of article VI of the act as it appears in 7 Hening 69–87.

[6] In DLC:GW dated between 24 and 30 June 1757 there are twenty-four applications for the "Reward" signed by the clerk of the court in ten different counties. Other applications are dated later. The phrase "from the Treasurer" is inserted below this line.

[7] GW's mother Mary Ball Washington (c.1708–1789) was living on the Ferry Farm, just across the Rappahannock River from Fredericksburg.

From John Kirkpatrick

Dear Sir, Alexandria 19th June 1757

I share in the anxiety and concern that you must undoubtedly undergo in the present melancholy prospect and very warmly wish a happy issue—Shoud my service be requisite in any shape at this juncture, I shall be glad to know it, and will immediately obey with the greatest chearfulness in whatever you are pleased to command.

This County sends 120 Men to your asistance,[1] tho' experience gives but little hopes of the service to be expected from undisciplined Militia—How infatuate are our Assemblys! heed-

V5

letter written and sent by GW (ALS) being virtually identical to the copy that he wrote in his letter book.

1. For the wagons, see GW to St. Clair, this date; for the clothing, see Bouquet to GW, 10 Aug., n.3.

2. See GW to Bouquet, 6 Aug., n.7.

3. GW's own company went to Pennsylvania as a part of the detachment under Adam Stephen, who on this day was with his forces at a camp in Edmunds Swamp.

4. The enclosure has not been found. See note 1. Andrew Lewis, major in GW's 1st Virginia Regiment, was with the forward forces in Pennsylvania.

From John Patterson

Honourable Sr Alexandria August the 13th 1758

I have got the outside of the House finishd, the Closets excepted, & that by not having plank; which Mr Balendine has got a bill for, but having no dependance on his word, shall strive if posible to finish the inside, according to expectation (in case hands can be got) I have tryd my friends in raising & kivering, the House but those men cannot be prevaild upon to asist me longer, having business of there own to be done. Having consulted Col. Fairfax concerning the old floors up Stairs, pasage floor also; informs me, he would write & have your answer; its just the Nail holes of the latter, looks but indiffirent; but the Joynts makes amends for that; & in me would be base to take it up, when I am confident, its not in my power to lay a better one, the Stuff of it being dry, & when playnd over will have much a better look. As to the former floors Col. Fairfax will write his opinion of them.[1] I Likwise consulted Mr Triplet of the Plan, he says its not in his power to do it, this year, as there is Bricks to be made, & as to the other jobs he can compleat.[2] In regard to pleacing the Stairs up to the Garret, I do not intend to adapt them in the Room mentiond, in the last Letter, but opposite to the head of the old Stair Caise, takeing them off from the store room that was; & shall advise with Col. Fairfax in this point, as in every other article.[3] I hope to give your Hon. a greater sadisfaction by my actions then words, & shall allways remain with the greatest respect; Your Honours Most obligd, Most Hble & Obedient Servt

John Patterson

ALS, DLC:GW.

John Patterson was in charge of the extensive alterations being made in the house at Mount Vernon. See Patterson to GW, 17 June 1758.

1. The correspondence about replacing some of the flooring at Mount Vernon is discussed in George William Fairfax to GW, 5 Aug., n.1. Fairfax, GW's neighbor and friend, kept an eye on the work being done on the house.

2. The "Plan" was perhaps something devised by GW for Patterson's guidance. In his letter of 2 Sept. Patterson makes it clear that what was not in William Triplett's "power to do" this year was to build two small structures, or "Houses," and a "yard wall" near the main house. Archaeological evidence indicates that the two little houses were built near the west front of the big house. The "other jobs" were brickwork to be done on the foundation and chimney and the plastering inside the house itself.

3. In the only other letter from him that has been found, dated 17 June 1758, Patterson does not mention the stairs to the garret; but see George William Fairfax to GW, 1 September.

From Thomas Walker

Winchester August the 14 1758

Dear Colo:

This day the Waggons set off from Pearises and about five Hundred Beef Cattle are to set off tomorrow.[1] I am surprised at Colo. Bouquets Paragraph as I have Letters from Mr Hoops of very Late Dates in one of which he writes that he has 600 Beef Cattle of 500 Each & in another that Yeiser[2] has Sent up 400 that I need only send those gathered there not being an occasion for so much expedition as he had before desired & I have no orders for any further Purchase as yet. If I had timely Orders & money I am perswaded you need not fear Wanting Cattle Hogs & Sheep for six months from this time.

Robert

It gives me great concern to find by you that we have so little Hopes of doing any thing to our Credit or advantage. For Virginia will not for some time be able to make such another Struggle for the common good As it is said our next crop of Tobacco will be at Least 250,000 Pounds Sterling short of a Common one. It is impossible for me to Join you I am now reduced to a mere Scelleton nor able to walk without Crutches & have not yet got clear of my disorder. This afternoon I intend Homewards on a Litter where I have hopes of recovering some flesh & Strength.[3]

Was I in health it would give Me pleasure to Se you though would not make the Campaign for any office of Drugery.

That things may take a more Favourable turn than in all Human Probabili[t]y can be expected & that the Virginians may be rewarded as I expect they Merrit is the Prayer of Dear Sir you Most Humble Servt

Thos Walker

ALS, DLC:GW.

1. Robert Pearis's place was outside Winchester in the direction of Fort Cumberland.

2. Conrad Weiser, the prominent Indian agent, had been active in Berks County, Pa., assembling wagons to carry supplies to Raystown. Adam Hoops, of Carlisle, Pa., was a subcontractor for Forbes's forces.

3. Thomas Walker was at this time living at Castle Hill in Albemarle County.

From Charles Smith

Dr Sir　　　　Fort Loudoun August 15th 1758

I Receiv'd your Favour Aug. 9th Concerning The Ten Barrels of Flower,[1] I have spoke to Mr Walker about it he tels me he Dont know as he Receiv'd it or not, but says he will Settle with me as soon as he Gets a Supply of Money as he at this Time Intirely with out, Mr Walker Lyes Extreamly ill with the Rumetizem, I am a Makeing a Letter [litter] this Day to Carry him Home.

As it is not in your Power to Supply me with Any more money to Carry on Publick Work at this Place not withstanding Every Man that is able shall still Labour Sooner than the Building Shall Suffer.

I have Inclos'd a Pay Rol for the Month of July For Subsistance & Working Pay to Mr Boyd & has Inclos'd a Recet to him in your Letter as it will be most Proper for you to Receive the Money & Inclose it in a Letter to me by Boras or some other safe hand.[2]

Your inclos'd Letters I have sent by a Very safe hand,[3] The Soldier you Wrote to me about that come off with the Cherokeys, is now gone with them to their Nation, & was seen carrying of a New Drum belonging to the Virga Regt. I have Advertised them but I believe to Little Purpose, there is Richd Bolton and Old Soldier who You Discharged is Returned to this Place

& Begs Your Clemency to stay here & Receive subsistance as a Soldier, as he is in a Poor Condition, & no one to Apply to but You, I Should be Glad to know Your Pleasure in this Case[4]—There is fore of the Carrolina Detachment Left here with me Sick one among them Charles Allsbery a Deserter from the 1st Virga Regt but not being able to march.[5]

The Twenty Raingers Who was Ordered to Garrison this Fort is now a Raingeing from this Place to the Head of mill Creek & From there aCross to Back Creek take there Rout through Hoop Peticoat Gap & Returns to this Place Every two Days Wherein they Give me & Accot of any Discoviryes made—The Reason of my Leting them Rainge is to Give Satisfaction to the Common sort of People tho. I must Needs say it is no Matter where they are for the Good they do only having the Name of Rainger[6] I Should be Glad of Your Advice in this Case, When any of them Deserts & is Brought Prisoners to me if I Should send for there Officers & have them Tryd. there is three of them Prisoners now, Mr Rutheford & myself took Last Night a Going off with a Party of Indians With there Hair Cut & Painted & Got Presents f⟨rom Ca⟩pt. Guest as Indians but I have them now safe.[7]

This Day I have but Fifteen men in the Garrison Fit for Duty out of Fifty Six Rank & File.[8]

Colo. Wood's is Very ill with the Gout but offers his Complyments to You I have nothing Particular to add be sure that I am Dr Sir Your Most Obeadient Humble Servt

Chs Smith

ALS, DLC:GW.

GW left Lt. Charles Smith of his regiment in command of Fort Loudoun at Winchester when he marched from there to Fort Cumberland in late June 1758. Smith also took care of GW's personal affairs in Frederick County.

[1] GW's letter has not been found. For earlier references to the problem of accounting for flour from Isaac Perkins's mill, see Christopher Hardwick to GW, 3 Aug., and Smith to GW, 5 August.

[2] Smith's receipt, August 1758, for £68.11.10 from Alexander Boyd, paymaster, for the soldiers "Left at Fort Loudoun" is in DLC:GW. Boras is Thomas Burris.

[3] The enclosed letters have not been identified, but it is likely that one of them was GW's letter to Fauquier of 5 Aug., which see.

[4] Richard Bolton served as a ranger in John Ashby's company in the fall of

7. For the arrival of this party of Cherokee, see Robert Stewart to GW, 27 Sept. 1757. For its future activity, see note 20 and GW to Dinwiddie, 24 Oct. 1757, n.4.

8. For the resignation of Ens. Robert Fell from the Virginia Regiment, see Dinwiddie to GW, 24 Sept. 1757. Colby Chew had been acting as an assistant to Commissary Thomas Walker. On 19 Oct. 1757 Dinwiddie wrote to GW approving John McNeill's promotion, and McNeill became captain of the company of the Virginia Regiment formerly commanded by the deceased Robert Spotswood (see John Baylis to GW, 30 Jan. 1758, n.3).

9. For the Virginia council's examination of the accounts of Edmond Atkin, the superintendent of Indian affairs for the southern department, in Williamsburg on 18 Oct. 1757 and its confirmation of Atkin's appointment of Christopher Gist as his deputy, see Dinwiddie to GW, 19 Oct. 1757.

10. See Robert Stewart to GW, 27 Sept. 1757, and notes.

11. Relations between GW as colonel of the Virginia Regiment and his superior Lt. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie had been worsening for some time, but these two paragraphs are in response to Dinwiddie's remarks in his letter to GW of 24 Sept., which in turn were made in response to earlier complaints made by GW.

12. The Frederick County court meeting this day made the following entry in its order book: "On the motion of James Wood Clerk of this County praying the direction of the Court for Securing the Records in case of imminent danger from the Enemy It is Ordered that a discretionary power be given him to remove them to Fort Loudon or else where as the Case may require" (Frederick County Order Book, 1755–58, 286, Vi Microfilm).

13. See George Mercer et al. to GW, Adam Stephen to GW, both April 1757, for earlier recommendations of David Kennedy.

14. Samuel Eckerlin came up from Williamsburg in August. See Dinwiddie to GW, 8 Aug. 1757. The governor and council heard Eckerlin's petition on 20 Oct. 1757. See Dinwiddie to GW, 24 Oct. 1757.

15. GW may have written in his missing letter to Dinwiddie of 20 Sept. 1757 about the information gotten from the French deserters. Gov. Horatio Sharpe wrote Cecilius Calvert, 6 Oct. 1757: "By two French Deserters that came into Fort Cumberland about a Month ago we are told that there were at that time no more than 400 Men in Garrison at Fort Du Quesne" (Browne, *Sharpe Correspondence*, 2:88–89).

16. See note 1.

17. The three companies of the Virginia Regiment on the Augusta County frontier were Andrew Lewis's, Henry Woodward's, and Robert Spotswood's. The company rolls that GW received are probably among those described in his Instructions to Company Captains, 29 July 1757, n.2.

18. GW's returns for the Virginia Regiment for July and September, dated 1 Aug. 1757 and 1 Oct. 1757, are in DLC:GW. No return for August has been found. The returns for September show a total of 688 effective rank and file, 461 of whom were counted in the companies in Frederick and Hampshire counties. The numbers of officers given here are the same as those in GW's returns. For the July returns, see GW to Dinwiddie, 17 Sept. 1757 (first letter), n.6.

19. GW sent to Dinwiddie, 10 July 1757, a copy of his memorandum from Col. John Stanwix regarding allowances for officers. GW had asked Stanwix about this on 15 June 1757. The memorandum has not been found, but see GW to Stanwix, 21 June 1757, n.3.

20. The letters from Thomas Waggener and Robert McKenzie have not been found. The party of Cherokee seems not to have stayed very long or to have been very welcome there. Gov. Horatio Sharpe wrote Col. John Stanwix, 21 Oct. 1757: "Since I received Capt Dagworthy's Letter of 6th Inst I have been informed that the Cherokees who were then at Fort Cumberland are returned home. . . . This has releived Capt Dagworthy from the Anxiety that he seemed to be in upon Account of those Indians & he will not I presume be visited by any more of them while he remains at Fort Cumberland" (Browne, *Sharpe Correspondence*, 2:92–93). Richard Pearis, who led a party of Cherokee up to Virginia and into Maryland in the spring, had accepted a commission in the Maryland forces. See GW to Dinwiddie, 10 June 1757, nn.1 and 4.

Sharpe Corr
2:92-3

From Gabriel Jones

Memorandum: [Winchester, 6 October 1757]

That, upon coming to Winchester, Capt. Stewart applied to, and informed me that warrants had been taken out against sundry persons, inhabitants of Winchester, in the act of Assembly, for buying, and receiving the clothes and arms of the Soldiers belonging to the Virginia Regiment And that *three* of the Majistrates, to wit, John Lindsay, Thomas Swearingem, and Thomas Speake, had the same under consideration, and proceeded so far as to examine Witnesses, and to state the facts, but did not give any judgment against the Offenders.[1] Upon which I advised *him* to apply to any other[2] three majistrates, and demand a judgment either of acquittal or condemnation.

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He did so in my hearing; and the majistrate (Mr Lindsay,) to whom the application was made, desired to postpone the matter until Mr Swearingham came to town, which he expected wou'd be either that night, or the morning following. The next day, pursuant to the aforesaid appointment, Capt. Stewart in my presence, again demanded of Mr Lindsay his judgment; he trifled for some time, and then pretended to proceed to judgment, by hearing two of the parties. Capt. Stewart then told him, he came for his judgment, and *not* for a re-hearing; not-

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From Christopher Gist

Winchester July the 20th 1758

Sir

here with you have the agreeable News of taking all the Out works at Lewisburg your Papers will come by the Command & as the Carolina Soldiers had no Arms I Sent Capt[ain] Tom with 25 Indians as far as South branch who is to come back to this town, from ther; as no doubt you will Send a Guard to South Branch, to take Care of these 50 Waggons with Stores & Provisions & as your waggons will come again the Same Indians will come then with Me.[1] I have advices from the Cherokee Country that the Indians will not come untill the heat is a Little over, I Sent Smith away the 14th the express Met him at augusta[.][2] I order'd Mr Cromwell with him who will Delay no time, they cannot be here in less then forty days from this day, I b[e]lieve it is a good thing Smith is gone there as he will Set every thing right.[3]

I have a Letter from Mr Turner to General Forbes, which I am going with My Self.[4] he is at Carlyle the waggons is at Parrises[5] the Bearer will Set Out at 10 oClock hope you will See him tomorrow let him come with the next command or Sooner excuse hast Sir Yr Most Obedt Hume Servt

Robert

Christr Gist

ALS, DLC:GW.

[1] The original plan was for the detachment of North Carolina provincials at Winchester to conduct Thomas Walker's second convoy of wagons up to Fort Cumberland (see GW to Hugh Waddell, 24 June), but evidently the Tuscarora leader Captain Tom and his little band of Tuscarora and Nottoway had to help escort both the unarmed Carolinians and the wagon train as far as the South Branch.

[2] The express, or messenger, who met Richard Smith probably was the man who brought George Turner's letters to Winchester reporting that no more Cherokee would come to Virginia before fall. In his letter to William Byrd, Turner identified the carrier of his letters as "James Holmes, who is a Master of Pack Horses." See note 4.

[3] Whether or not it was the result of the mission to the Cherokee country of Richard Smith, the Indian interpreter, and of Gist's son-in-law William Cromwell, an Indian conductor and courier, the fact is that Little Carpenter and a small party of Cherokee did finally come to Winchester in October. Commenting on an earlier report from Gist that Little Carpenter and his men had already arrived in Augusta County en route to Winchester (see Forbes to Bouquet, 6 July, in Stevens, *Bouquet Papers*, 2:163–65), Abraham Bosomworth wrote Bouquet on 14 July that he had found that there "are no Catawbas at Winchester nor any accounts of the little Carpenter, Mr Gist being too premature (as he generally is) in his Intelligence" (ibid., 204–5).

[4] William Byrd left George Turner in the Cherokee country in early May with instructions to conduct Little Carpenter and his party up to Winchester. On 23 June Turner wrote both Byrd and Forbes that Little Carpenter and his followers had backed out of their agreement to go to Virginia. Turner gave Byrd a detailed account of his fruitless negotiations with Little Carpenter, but his report to Forbes was succinct: "to the Very Day that I was to have set off, I had no Reason to doubt my Success (the Eve before excepted) when they trump'd up a Story of their Conjurers foretelling them a great deal of Sickness & Death that wou'd attend them in case they Went & they positively refus'd to go till the Fall" (ViU: Forbes Papers).

← ViU - Forbes Papers

Forbes

[5] Gist is probably referring to Robert Pearis's house a short distance north and west of Winchester. Pearis at this time was a captain in the Frederick County militia.

From Robert Rutherford

Winchester July 20th 1758

Sir

It gives me real Concern to trouble you further—but the Continued Complaints of the inhabitants and intreaties of my Men; as almost the whole of them that have been in the Fort have Contracted Severe fluxes which has vastly weakend the Company;[1] Obliges me to Presume to Mention One Step which Might be taken to relieve them; which is this; there are in Fort Loudoun Several of the new Regiment in Such a State that it is impossible for them to undergo the fateigues of Marching this Season, even if they are removed from that Place, their Corps must inevitably enrich the Soyl only a Little further from home[2] & were they Continued there where they Can be Comforted with Proper Nourishments, it woud render them Capable of Performing duty in the Garrisson very soon—by this time I am also truly Sensible there are Many others of that Regiment in the Same Circumstance, and were they Sent back to this Garrisson ⅔ds of them Might be recovered, which woud be treating the Poor wretches with the Hospitality due to Human Creatures, and Disposing of them for the Common Good—I am truly Conscious, that every thing in your Power will be done for the best.

There is a good Prospect of Success in the insuing Election, as your friends Push every thing with the greatest ardour; even

Colo. T. B. Martin	Colo. G. Washington	Thos Swearingen	Hugh West
Thomas Colson[13]			Colson
	Stepn Johnston[14]		Johnston
	John Colson		Colson
Patk Duncan	Duncan		
	Laughlin Madden		Madden
Colo. Morgn Morgan			Morgan
Lewis Stephens	Stephens		
Jams Hoge			Hoge
Richd Morgan			Morgan
		Jno. Mendenall	Mendenall
		Thos Cordery	Cordery
	Jos: McCarmesh		McCarmesh
	Jos: Jones		Jones
Jams Cromley			Cromley
Jno. Beckett			Beckett
Thos Cooper	Cooper		
Ralph Withers	Withers		
	Jno. Chinoweth		Chinoweth
Jno. Madden	Madden		
	Jams McCarmack		McCarmack
Saml Vance	Vance		
	Henry Reece		Reece
Jacob Miller			Miller
Peter Stover			Stover
Jacob Stover	Stover		
	Willm Coil		Coil
	Willm Frost		Frost
	Jams Barrat		Barrat
	Jno. Jones		Jones
	Dennis Springer		Springer
Thos Helms			Helms
Willm Helms			Helms
	Jos: Parrell		Parrell
Rd Stevenson	Stevenson		
Jno. McCarmack	McCarmack		
Jno. Leith			Leith
	John Wilson		Wilson
	Willm Barrat		Barrat
Jno. Briscoe	Briscoe		
Jno. Wright	Wright		
Matthias Funk	Funk		
Geo: Huddle	Huddle		
Geo. Lochmiller	Lochmiller		
Jno. Ashby	Ashby		
Willm Roberts	Roberts		
Wm Roberts Jr	Roberts Jr		
	Thomas Babb son of Philip		Babb

(voting list)

Colo. T. B. Martin	Colo. G. Washington	Thos Swearingen	Hugh West
Henry Moore	Moore		
Edwd Sniggers	Sniggers[15]		
Jos: Roberts			Roberts
	Geo. Bruce		Bruce
Jos: Vance			Vance
Geo: Farrar	Farrar		
Stephen Ashby	Ashby		
	Henry Vanmetre		Vanmetre
Robt Pearis			Pearis
	Henry Bowen		Bowen
	Wm Jolliffe Jr		Jolliffe Jr
	Thomas Babb Jr		Babb Jr
	Peter Babb		Babb
Robt Warth			Warth
Revd Jno. Alderson	Alderson		
	Jno. Reed		Reed
	Robt Milburn		Milburn
Edwd Mercer Jr			Mercer Jr
Edwd Rogers			Rogers
	Anthony Turner		Turner
Ellis Thomas	Thomas		
	Jos: Babb		Babb
Willm Stevenson			Stevenson
Bryan Bruan	Bruin		
	Anthy Turner Jr		Turner Jr
Thos Pugh			Pugh
	James Carter Junr		Carter Jr
Darby McCarty	McCarty		
Edwd Cartmell	Cartmell		
	Isaac Foster		Foster
Cornelius Ruddle	Ruddle		
John Fife			Fife
	John Parrell		Parrell
Harison Taylor	Taylor		
John Buckley	Buckley		
	Willm Mungar		Mungar
	Ulrich Rubble		Rubble
	Murty Handly		Handly
Willm Miller	Miller		
	Willm Carrel		Carrel
Jams Catlet	Catlet		
	Jacob Barrat		Barrat
Lawe Snapp	Snapp		
	Edwd Thomas		Thomas
	Thos Mason		Mason
Frederick Conrad	Conrad		
Nichs Lemon			Lemon

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4. Burrows was undoubtedly Thomas Burris whom GW at this time was employing to carry letters back and forth between Fort Cumberland and Winchester and Alexandria. See particularly Charles Smith to GW, 7 Sept., n.7, and 18 Sept. 1758, n.3.

Letter not found: to Charles Smith, 11 July 1758. On 20 July Smith wrote to GW: "I have the favour of your letters dated the 11th & 14th."

From Abraham Bosomworth

Dear Sir Camp at Rays Town 11th July 1758

I recd your favor of the 6th and Communicated the Contents to Colonel Bouquet;[1] I acquainted you in my last of a Party of 24 Indians being gone off to Fort Du Quesne, when they come near the Place they will divide into two or three small Parties by which means we shall have the greater Chance of getting a Prisoner, I expect them back in 14 days when I hope to send you good news; I really believe the French are but weak & that there are few Indians at Du Quesne tho' Moskingo is so far distant that there's little Dependance upon the Intelligence we receive from that Quarter,[2] I hear Paris has Caried the Indians who took the Scalp in all 17 down to Fort Loudoun & is now on the road to this place;[3] Majr Lewis arrived here last night Colo. Bouquet is mightily pleased with their Dress. I am Dr Sr your most Obedt Servt

A. Bosomworth

ALS, DLC:GW.

[1] No letter from GW to Bosomworth of 6 July has been found.

[2] See Bosomworth to GW, 7 July, n.1.

[3] GW did not think well of the Indian scout Richard Pearis, and soon Bouquet shared his low opinion of him. Pearis got to Raystown on this day with sixteen Cherokee, who "left us yesterday [14 July] like rascals, after having solemnly promised to take part in the campaign," Bouquet wrote. "Perhaps I wrong their leader [Pearis], but I think he rather thought to put himself forward by bringing them under the lure of getting presents for their past services, instead of seeking to make them render new services. He is not a trustworthy man, in spite of the recommendations that may be given to you at Carlisle. (He left the day before yesterday to go to Cumberland with Bosomworth.)" (Bouquet to Forbes, 15 July, in Stevens, *Bouquet Papers*, 2:215–17).

From Henry Bouquet

Camp near Reas Town 11 July 1758

Sir,

Major Lewis with the two hundred men under his command arrived here last night. I am extremely obliged to you for this extraordinary dispatch. Their dress should be our pattern in this expedition.[1]

The mistake of the 6000 of flour is a great disappointment. I beg you will continue to order provisions for the Maryland troops, as they are to be supplied by the crown.[2] As soon as the communication will be opened, I shall replace what may be consumed. We begin tomorrow to cut the road on this side to meet Col. Mercer and save him the trouble of going so far.

I have heard nothing of Genl Forbes since the 19th June. With the most sincere regard, Your most obedt servt

Henry Bouquet

Sprague transcript, DLC:GW; ALS, sold by Thomas Birch's Sons, item 211, 1891; ALS sold in 1939, *American Book Prices Current*, 45 (1939), 362.

[1] Bouquet on 8 July ordered GW to send 200 men to him in Raystown. Maj. Andrew Lewis's detachment from the camp at Fort Cumberland included his own company from the 1st Virginia Regiment and that of Capt. Thomas Fleming from the 2d Virginia Regiment. In the weekly return of his regiment on 10 July, Col. William Byrd noted that Fleming, two lieutenants, one ensign, "5 Serjts & 119 private march'd yesterday with Majr Lewis to Ray's town" (DLC:GW).

[2] For the "mistake," see GW to Bouquet, 9 July, n.1.

From Christopher Hardwick

Bullskin July the 11th 1758.

Honble Colo.

This Serves to inform you that all's Well Since you left this or my seeing you last. Likewise Serves to inform you of the great Drought Since then, that I have not had a Season to Plant one Single Plant. Every thing fit to Burn up with heat if any should offer though late I Shall use my best Industry that Way. The Wheat is now Ripe which Shall be laid up as soon and as Safe as Possible. I am at a loss in regard to the hands after harvest is over if there's no Tobo Made Should be glad of Advice whether to let or Agree with Mr Stephen's About them to Cut Wood as I am very Willing to do the best I can—I Should be glad to know

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power, it is very evident, that nothing but vigorous offensive measures (next campaign) can save the Country; at least all west of the Blue-ridge, from inevitable desolation!

We are in great want of a Quarter-master to take care of the Stores: and I really do not know of a fit person, unless your Honor will please to bestow the office upon Mr Kenedy. He acted sometime as Quarter-master-Sergeant; then as Commissary; and I believe is better acquainted with the Duty than any one we can get. He bears a good character, & is acquainted with figures.[13]

(Samuel Eckerlin)

The Dunkard Doctor's gave me notice of his intentions to wait upon your Honor again for his release.[14] I in a late latter transmitted an information of the french Deserters (who came from Ft Cumberland) against them;[15] and think it my duty further to add, that I firmly believe they are employed as spies, and are useful to the french. Of this all the frontier inhabitants seem convinced; and are so apprehensive of the consequences, that it has caused numbers to remove; and will cause a general terror among them, if this person is suffered to return, and the others to remain out there. For which reason I shou'd really be glad to receive orders to bring the others in: 'Tis better provided they do not assist the enemy, to bring them in, than to keep a whole country in perpetual uneasiness on their account.

Mr Rutherford set about making his return, the moment your Honors' letter came to hand, and but this instant has finished it; having every thing to measure and weigh, in order to be exact.[16]

Since writing the foregoing, the Express which I sent to Major Lewis is come in, and brings returns of those companies;[17] so that your Honor will now receive proper monthly returns of our strength for July & August; by which you will see that our total strength amounts to 32 commissioned officers, 48 non-commissioned, and 703 rank & file; whereof 20 officers, 30 non-commissioned, and 464 rank and file, are employed in this county and Hampshire.[18] But there are always 6 women allowed to a company, who draw provisions: and the officers receive more or less according to their respective rank; as your Honor would see by the estimate I received from Colo. Stanwix, and inclosed you some considerable time ago: which must be allowed for in the calculation.[19]

W. W Abbott, Editor et al E312.72 copied 6/23/1988 273

I have this instant received letters from Captains' Waggener and McKenzie, by Express: The first writes, that two men were killed, captured about 2 miles from his fort. The other says, that a cherokee party, just as they were setting out to go to Capt. Waggener's, heard that Pearis was at Fort Cumberland, and marched to him.[20]

G:W.

LB, DLC:GW. In his letter to GW of 19 Oct. Dinwiddie refers to this letter as being dated "3" October, which may be correct and the "5" here a mistake of the copyist.

1. GW's return of the "effective strength" of the regiment has not been found, but before he completed this letter GW received returns from Maj. Andrew Lewis that allowed him to make proper returns for the months of July and September (see note 18). See GW to Dinwiddie, 17 Sept. 1757 (first letter) for reference to earlier but faulty returns from the two companies on the southern frontier which reported to Major Lewis. The return of provisions at Winchester has not been found, but see Dinwiddie to GW, 24 Sept. 1757, n.4, for reference to a return of 3 October. See also GW's allusion below in this letter to Robert Rutherford's preparation of a return of provisions at Fort Loudoun. This last may be "An Exact Return of Cloathing, Arms, Amunition &C. at Fort Loudoun Octr 25th 1757," updated 20 April 1758 (DLC:GW). William Jenkins had served as a messenger for GW and Lt. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie since 1754.

2. For a discussion of the agreement that Dinwiddie made with William Ramsay for the Alexandria merchant to supply the troops in Frederick and Hampshire counties, see John Kirkpatrick to GW, 17 Sept. 1757, n.3; for its terms, see the Enclosure in Dinwiddie to GW, 24 Oct. 1757.

3. For Dinwiddie's ultimate decision to have Robert Rutherford rather than Peter Hog raise the company of rangers in Frederick County, see GW to Dinwiddie, 24 Oct., and Dinwiddie to GW, 2 Nov. 1757. Hog became commander of one of the ranger companies in Augusta County.

4. An entry in GW's regimental accounts confirms that GW received from George William Fairfax on 20 Oct. 1756 (DLC:GW) this amount of "Rangers money." See GW to Dinwiddie, 9 Nov. 1756, n.20. The committee in Williamsburg last approved GW's accounts on 13 May 1757.

5. See John Stanwix to GW, 19 Sept. 1757. Stanwix was colonel of the 1st Battalion of the Royal American Regiment (62d Foot, later 60th) at Carlisle, Pa., and in effect GW's commanding officer. See Stanwix to GW, 23 May 1757.

6. Capt. Joshua Lewis's letter has not been found. This is undoubtedly the raid that GW describes in his letter to John Stanwix on 8 Oct. as having taken place "friday sennight" (1 October). If GW left Mount Vernon for Winchester on the afternoon of 30 Sept. as he intended (see GW to Mary Washington, 30 Sept. 1757), he was en route to Winchester when the attack occurred. For the disposition of Captain Lewis's forces to the north of Winchester, see GW to Joshua Lewis, 3 Aug. 1757.

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Raystown, 28 soldiers were on duty at Fort Loudoun in Winchester, 12 were at Pearsal's fort, 26 were on command with Henry Woodward, 17 with Lt. James Roy, 2 with Sgt. Charles Scott, 46 were artificers, 30 were in the main guard, 72 were on 48-hour guard, 19 were on quarter guard, 25 were on picket duty, 39 were on fatigue duty, and 2 were prisoners. The return of the next day had a note added to it to explain why the total was one less on 9 Nov. than on 8 Nov.: "Benjn Smith of Colo. Washingtons Company Dead" (DLC:GW).

Orderly Book

[9 November 1758]

Loyall Hannon Thursday Novr 9th 1758
Parole Louisburgh

Field Officer for to morrow Majr Campbell.
Adjutant for to morrow the Highlanders.
Field Officer for the Grass Guard Lt Colo. Mercer.

The Troops to be under Arms to morrow at 11 OClock in order to fire Vollies in the front of their own Incampt at 12 OClock on Acct of his Majestys Birth day wch firing is to be performd in the following manner.

The Artillery to begin with 7 Cannon followd by the Marylanders & No. Carolineans who are to make one Vollie, 2d the 1st B. Ps.[;] 3d Highlanders[;] 4th the 2d V. R.[;] 5th R. A.[;] 6 2d B. P.[;] 7 1 V. R. & to be perfor[m]d 3 times by each Corps.

D, DLC:GW. See "Orderly Book, 21 September–24 November 1758."

Orderly Book

[10 November 1758]

Loyall Hannon Friday Novr 10th 1758
Parole King George

Field Officer for to morrow Majr Peachy.
Adjutant for to morrow 1st V. Regiment.

A General Court Martiall to sit Consisting of 1 Lt Colo. 2 Majors & 10 Captains to sit to morrow morning at 9 OClock at the Presidents Tents.

All the Evidences to Attend.

Capt. McKenzie[1] of the H. B. Judge advocate.

Lt Colo. Lloyd President.

It is General Forbes's orders that the following Officers of the Maryland Companies take rank and Command amongst the Troops in the following mannr. Mr Richd Parris as Capt. Lieut.[,] Ens. James Gorrell Lt[,] Ens. Bell Lt[,] Mr Phillip Love as Ens. and Mr B⟨ar⟩ton Lucas as Ens.[2]

W. W. Abbott, Editor, et al w/ JHS – E312.72 spec 4 [illegible] [illegible]

D, DLC:GW. See "Orderly Book, 21 September–24 November 1758."

[1] This was probably Capt. Alexander McKenzie of the 77th Regiment. Capt. Hugh McKenzie of the same regiment was reported killed at Duquesne on 14 Sept. 1758. Roderick McKenzie was also a captain in the regiment.

[2] The frontiersman Richard Pearis had been a captain in the Maryland military forces for about a year at the end of May 1758 when Governor Sharpe relieved him of his command and distributed his men among the other Maryland companies. Forbes and Bouquet then began using Pearis to escort Cherokee warriors and to lead scouting parties into the wilderness (see, for instances, Bouquet to Forbes, 13 July, 18 Aug. 1758, in Stevens, *Bouquet Papers*, 2:200, 379–82). According to company muster rolls and ledgers, James Gorrell (Gorrel) was an ensign in Capt. Joshua Beall's company when he was assigned on 28 June 1758 to Capt. John Dagworthy's company. After becoming a 2d lieutenant in November 1758 Gorrell remained in Dagworthy's company until he left the service on 26 April 1759. Ensign Bell was either Levin Beall or Rezin Beall, probably the latter. Levin Beall was a 2d lieutenant in Dagworthy's company until 9 Nov. 1758 when he became a 1st lieutenant in Capt. Alexander Beall's company and Rezin Beall was made a 2d lieutenant in Capt. Francis Ware's company. Both of the lieutenants Beall left the Maryland service when their companies were disbanded 30 Dec. 1758. Private Philip Love became a cadet in Alexander Beall's company in February 1758. From 9 Nov. 1758 to 26 April 1759 he was an ensign in Dagworthy's company. Barton Lucas, a cadet in Joshua Beall's company on 9 Nov. 1758, subsequently was made an ensign in Alexander Beall's company to serve until 30 Dec. 1758. See "French and Indian War. Roster of Maryland Troops, 1757–59," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, 5 (September 1910), 273, 278, 281.

11/0/58

2:200, 379-82 (at Milw.) Lib.

got MD HxMg 5:273, 278, 281

Orderly Book

[11 November 1758]

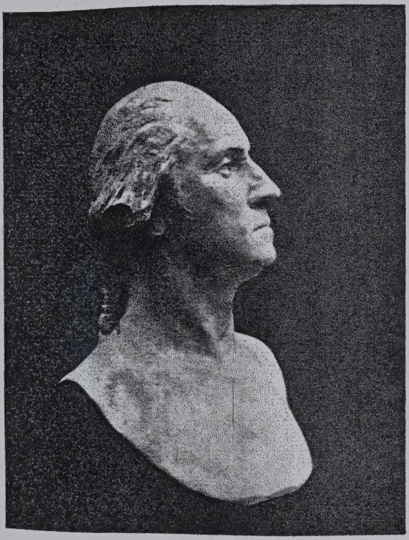
Camp at Loyall Hannon Saturday Novr 11th 1758
Parole Hallifax

Field Officer for to Morrow Majr Campbell.
Adjt for to Morrow the 2d V. Regimt.
Field Officer for 48 Hours G[uar]d Lt C. Dagworthy.[1]

D, DLC:GW. See "Orderly Book, 21 September–24 November 1758."

[1] On this day General Forbes called a council of war at Loyalhanna composed of colonels Bouquet, Archibald Montgomery, John St. Clair, GW, William Byrd, John Armstrong, James Burd, and Hugh Mercer. "After explain-

271-289



G:Washington

From the Houdon Bust, modeled from life at Mount Vernon in [illegible]
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THE WRITINGS OF

George Washington

from the

Original Manuscript Sources

1745-1799

Prepared under the direction of the United States
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John C. Fitzpatrick, *Editor*

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1745-1756

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Washington

also other Suitable necessaries; and a sufficient quantity of ammunition. Secondly, with the remaining part of your Detachment you are to keep out constant Scouts, to consist of not more than one-third of your *well* men at a time, if necessity shou'd not require more. And order them generally to range the woods and country about the Falling Waters, and heads of Garlands, and Peter Tustees Springs. In these Tours of Duty an Officer is frequently if not always to command, although he may judge the party too Small, for his Rank. . . .[22]

To cause all the provisions to be exactly weighed out; and when you want more, to apply to the Commisary at this place, who will have orders to Supply you. You must also apply here for ammunition and other necessaries which may be wanted for the use of your Garrison. . . .[23]

INSTRUCTIONS FOR JOHN DAVID WILPER

Fort Loudoun, June 7, 1757.

You are hereby Ordered to take charge of the Cherokee Indians, whereof Warhatchie and Yautanou are Chiefs, and to conduct them in the nearest and best way you can from this place, thro' Augusta, Bedford and Halifax Counties, to the Borders of North Carolina; and deliver them over to some Civil or Military Officer of that Province, in order to their being further conducted towards their Nation.

That the Indians may not be disappointed in provisions, you are to send on a man a days march before, you, to provide them. You are to get exact accounts of the kinds, quantities and value, from every man that supplies you; which you are

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[22] The third to ninth instructions which follow are included, practically verbatim, in the General Instructions to all the Captains of Companies, July 29, *post*.

[23] This variation from the General Instructions to all the Captains of Companies, July 29, *post*, is in the fifth paragraph.

to certify and keep copies, and endeavour to be as frugal of, as possible. The person who goes on before is to desire the people at whose Houses the Indians may halt, carefully to conceal any liquor they may have. Shou'd the Indians however, behave in a mild discreet manner, you may at night give them a little rum mixed with water, if to be had; which you are to inform them is procured thro your own influence upon the *White people*, on account of their good Behaviour, and not by virtue of Orders.

Shou'd any of the Indians *misbehave*, you are not to find fault with the Agressor, but to apply for redress to Warhatchie[24] *only*.

The party now at this place from Capt. Hogg's Company, is to march with you so far as their road and yours is *one* (and shou'd be supplied with provisions in the same manner that the Indians are; as they are intended for an Escort to them:) After which you are to order them to join their Company; unless you shall find it necessary to take them farther, to keep the Indians from mischief. In such *case* you may carry the men, but in no other.

As you have applied to me for liberty of absence, you have hereby liberty for days, after you shall have conducted the Indians, agreeably to the above Orders.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

June 10, 1757.

Hon'ble Sir: Your letters of the 23d. ultimo and 2d. instant are received.

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[24] Warhatche, spelled also Wawhatchee, and probably the Wahawtehew mentioned by Dinwiddie, was chief of all the southern Cherokee towns. Edmund Atkin described him as the "greatest rogue among them, most certainly of unbounded avarice, well and long known to me in particular, and not having the least regard for the English, further than he can get presents from them." The cause of the separation mentioned by Washington is fully described in a letter from Atkin to Croghan in *Pennsylvania Archives*, vol. 3, p. 175.—*Ford*.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Winchester, April 7, 1756.

Honble. Sir; I arrived here yesterday, and think it advisable to despatch an express (notwithstanding I hear two or three are already sent down) to inform you of the unhappy situation of affairs on this quarter. The enemy have returned in greater numbers, committed several murders not far from Winchester, and even are so daring as to attack our forts in open day, as your Honor may see by the enclosed letters and papers. Many of the inhabitants are in a miserable situation by their losses, and so apprehensive of danger, that, I believe, unless a stop is put to the depredations of the Indians, the Blue Ridge will soon become our frontier.

I find it impossible to continue on to Fort Cumberland, until a body of men can be raised, in order to do which I have advised with Lord Fairfax, and other officers of the militia, who have ordered each captain to call a private muster, and to read the exhortation enclosed (for orders are no longer regarded in this county), in hopes that this expedient may meet with the wished-for success. If it should, I shall, with such men as are ordered from Fort Cumberland to join these, scour the woods and suspected places, in all the mountains, valleys, &c. on this part of our frontiers; and doubt not but I shall fall in with the Indians and their *more* cruel associates! I hope the present emergency of affairs, assisted by such good news as the Assembly may by this time have received from England, and the Commissioners, will determine them to take vigorous measures for their own and country's safety, and no longer depend on an uncertain way of raising men for their own protection. However absurd it may appear, it is nevertheless certain, that five hundred Indians have it more in their power to annoy the inhabitants, than ten times their number of regulars. For besides the advantageous way they have of fighting in the woods, their cunning and craft are not to be equalled, neither their activity and indefatigable sufferings. They prowl about like wolves, and, like them, do their mischief by stealth. They depend upon their dexterity in hunting and upon the cattle of the inhabitants for provisions. For which reason, I own, I do not think it unworthy the notice of the legislature to compel the inhabitants (if a general war is likely to ensue, and things to continue in this unhappy situation for any time), to live in townships, working at each other's farms by turns, and to drive their cattle into the thick settled parts of the country. Were this done, they could not be cut off by small parties, and large ones could not subsist without provisions.

It seemed to be the sentiment of the House of Burgesses when I was down, that a chain of forts should be erected upon our frontiers, for the defence of the people. This expedient, in my opinion, without an inconceivable number of men, will never answer their expectations.[14]

I doubt not but your Honor has had a particular account of Major Lewis's unsuccessful attempt to get to the Shawanese Town. It was an expedition, from the length of the march, I own, I always had little expectation of, and often expressed my uneasy apprehensions on that head. But since they are returned, with the Indians that accompanied them, I think it would be a very happy step to prevail upon the latter to proceed as far as Fort Cumberland. It is in their power to be of infinite

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[14] "In March the burgesses had voted to erect a chain of forts "to begin at Harry Enochs, on Great-Cape-Capon, in the county of Hampshire, and to extend to the South-Fork of Mayo River in the county of Halifax, to consist of such a number, and at such distance from each other, as shall be thought necessary and directed by the governor, or commander in chief of this colony."—*Sparks*. (See Hening's *Statutes at Large*, vol. 7, p. 18), Louis K. Koontz's *The Virginia Frontier, 1754–1763* (Baltimore: 1925) is the best account of these forts. (See note to Washington's letter to John Robinson, April 24, *post*.)

use to us; and without Indians, we shall never be able to cope with those cruel foes to our country.[15]

I would therefore beg leave to recommend in a very earnest manner, that your Honor would send an express to them immediately for this desirable end. I should have done it myself, but was uncertain whether it might prove agreeable or not. I also hope your Honour will order Major Lewis to secure his guides, as I understand he attributes all his misfortunes to their misconduct. Such offences as those should meet with adequate punishment, else we may ever be misled by designing villains. I am your Honor's, &c.

Since writing the above, Mr. Pearis,[16] who commanded a party as per enclosed list, is returned, who relates, that, upon the North River, he fell in with a small body of Indians which he engaged, and, after a dispute of half an hour, put them to flight. Monsieur Douville, commander of the party, was killed and scalped, and his instructions found about him, which I enclose. We had one man killed, and two wounded. Mr. Pearis sends the scalp by Jenkins; and I hope, although it is not an Indian's, they will meet with an adequate reward at least, as the monsieur's is of much more consequence. The whole party jointly claim the reward, no person pretending solely to assume the merit.[17]

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[15] Major Lewis's party suffered greatly on this expedition. The rivers were so much swollen by the rains and melting snow that they were unable to reach the Shawanese town; and after being six weeks in the woods, having lost several canoes with provisions and ammunition, they were reduced nearly to a state of starvation and obliged to kill their horses for food. A full account of this expedition is given by L. C. Draper in *Virginia Historical Register* (1852); also by Waddell in *Annals of Augusta County* (p. 81).—*Ford*.

[16] Richard Pearis, or Paris; later a captain. He seems to have been an Indian trader and frontiersman on the Holston River.

[17] At this time there was no law in Virginia fixing the rewards for scalps, and it was probably left to the discretion of the governor. Shortly afterwards, a reward of £10 was established by law for every hostile Indian taken prisoner or killed. This law was to remain in force during the war. It applied only to Indians, and not to enemies of any other description. In Maryland at one time the bounty for each Indian prisoner, or scalp, taken within the province was as high as £50. But this allowance was not

Your Honor may in some measure penetrate into the designs of the French by their instructions, where orc given to *burn*, if possible, our magazine at Conocoche place that is in the midst of a thickly settled country.

I have ordered the party there to be made as strong and our present circumstances will afford, for fear they attempt to execute the orders of Dumas.[18] I have also (up an officer and twenty recruits to assist Joseph Edwar the people on those waters.[19] The people of this town ar dreadful apprehensions of an attack, and all the roads b this and Fort Cumberland are much infested. As I app you will be obliged to draft men, I hope care will be tak none are chosen but active, resolute men,—men, w practised to arms, and are marksmen.

I also hope that a good many more will be taken tha are requisite to complete our numbers to what the As

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made to soldiers in public pay. (See Hening's *Statutes at Large*, vol. 7, p. *Acts of the Maryland Assembly*, September, 1756.) For service in Indian wa quotes from Penhallow's Indian Wars, in the *Collections of the New H Historical Society*, vol. 1, pp. 52, 105, 110, that the commissioners of th Colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut decreed that the soldie have "the benefit of the captives, and all lawful plunder, and the rewa per head for every fighting Indian man slain by them, over and above th wages." By "the benefit of the captives" is here meant the privilege of sell into slavery, a practice which seems gradually to have been abandoned. into slavery period Massachusetts and New Hampshire offered by law a bounty of £50 scalp, and on some occasions as high as £100.

[18] Dumas had succeeded Contrecœur in the command of Fort Duquesne. lowing is a translation of the orders found on Douville, which, at least, giv able indication of the commandant's humanity.

"Fort Duquesne, March 23

"The Sieur Douville, at the head of a detachment of fifty savages, is orde and observe the motions of the enemy in the neighbourhood of Fort Cur He will endeavor to harass their convoys, and burn their magazines at Conoc should this be practicable. He must use every effort to take prisoners, who firm what we already know of the enemy's designs. The Sieur Douville wi all his talents, and all his credit, to prevent the savages from committing an upon those, who may fall into their hands. Honor and humanity ough respect, to serve as our guide."

"D

This is doubtless the same officer who commanded the French and Indi Monongahela, after the death of M. de Beaujeu.—*Sparks*.

[19] Great Cacapon. Edwards was between Winchester and Romney.

A return of the stores at this place is enclosed. I should have sent it before, but waited to add those at Fort Cumberland, of which there are none yet come down.

If Captain McNeill goes to the Cherokee nation, it would be well for him to conduct the Catawbas home. But when I recommended an officer's going with them, it was with a view of engaging a body of their men to come to our assistance in the spring, and to march in with their warriors, not choosing to trust altogether to their unmeaning promises and capricious humors. But your Honor will be pleased to direct as you see proper in this affair. I have advanced very little money hitherto to the masters of servants, because I waited your directions on this head. I received forty-one last night from Captain McNeill, who desires leave to continue recruiting. I do not consent to it, until I know whether it is agreeable to your Honor, and whether I may send out as many other officers as can be spared for the same service. If this is approved of I should be glad that your Honor would send me general instructions, that I may know how to give mine, and to act consistently with the rules for recruiting servants for his Majesty's regiments. I should have been excedingly glad, if your Honor and the Council had directed in what manner Fort Cumberland is to be strengthened; *i. e.*, whether it is to be made cannon-proof or not; and that you would fix the sum beyond which we shall not go, for I must look to you for the expense, knowing that the country has already rejected some articles of this. Immediately upon receiving your Honor's letter to McCarty, I enclosed it to Colonel Fairfax (as directed), and desired him to do what is needful in regard to the commission, as it was not in my power to deal with him as he deserved: first, because he has left *this* service; and next, because if he was still in it, we have no martial law to punish him, the mutiny and desertion

act having expired in October last. The same with respect to the soldiers, but their penitent behavior induced me to pass by their faults. I have read over that paragraph in Lord Loudoun's letter, (which your Honor was pleased to send me,) over and over again, but am unable to comprehend the meaning of it. What scheme it is, I was carrying into execution without awaiting advice, I am at a loss to know, unless it was building the chain of forts along our frontiers, which I not only undertook conformably to an act of Assembly, and by your own orders, but, with respect to the places, in pursuance of a council of war. If, under these circumstances, my "conduct is responsible for the fate of Fort Cumberland," it must be confessed, that I stand upon a tottering foundation indeed. I cannot charge my memory with either proposing, or intending, to draw the forts nearer to Winchester. The garrison of Fort Cumberland, it is true, I did wish to have removed to Cox's, which is nearer to Winchester by twenty-five miles; but not further from the enemy than where it now is, if a road from thence to the Little Meadows, which is about twenty miles distant, and the same from that place (*i. e.* Fort Cumberland,) and more in the warriors' path, was opened. However, I see with much regret, that His Excellency Lord Loudoun seems to have prejudged my proceedings, without being thoroughly informed what were the springs and motives, that have actuated my conduct. How far I have mistaken the means to recommend my services, I know not, but I am certain of this, that no man ever intended better, or studied the interest of his country with more affectionate zeal, than I have done; and nothing gives me greater uneasiness and concern, than that his Lordship should have imbibed prejudices so unfavorable to my character, as to excite his belief that I was capable of doing any thing, "that will have a bad effect as to the Dominion, and no good appearance at home."

As I had your Honor's permission to be down when his Lordship shall favor us with a visit, I desired Colonel Carlyle to inform me when he should pass thro' Alexandria, and I will set out accordingly. I hope nothing has intervened to alter this indulgence. It is a favor I should not have thought of asking, had I believed the service would suffer in my absence; but I am convinced it will not. And I cannot help saying, I believe we are the only troops upon the continent, that are kept summer and winter to the severest duty, with the least respite or indulgence.

Captn. Pearis came to town the other day with six Cherokees and two squaws. He brought no orders from your Honor, and applies to me for direction of his services. I have desired him to carry the Indians to Fort Cumberland, as we can make nothing of them without an interpreter; and there wait the return of your Honor's instructions. Lt. Baker has leave of absence upon very urgent business, relative to an estate left him. He applied to your Honor and, having received no answer, I made free to grant this indulgence in so material a point. Lt. Lowry has applied for permission to quit the service; I referred him to your Honor, and he now waits your answer in a state of much anxiety and sickness. His resignation I apprehend will occasion no void or any loss to the service. I have therefore allowed him to go down, in order to support his spirits and comply with your Honor's pleasure, whatever that be. While Lt. Baker is absent, I would offer it to your Honor as expedient, he should make interest among the Tusks and Nottoways. His intimacy with these nations may be of service in engaging some assistance from them, and I think him very capable of the undertaking. He might also recruit, if your Honor approves of the proposal I have already offered.

✓ Dec
1756

The delay of the soldiers' clothes occasions unaccountable murmurs and complaints, and I am very much afraid we shall have few men left, if they arrive not in a week or two. Your Honor would be astonished to see the naked condition of the poor wretches. And how they possibly can subsist, much less work, in such severe weather. Had we but blankets to give them, or any thing to defend them from the cold, they might perhaps be easy.

I have formerly hinted to your Honor our necessity for a speedy supply of cash, and have advised with the Speaker likewise, that he might not be unprepared. I purpose to send down by the 10th of next month or sooner if I could be served. The men are quite impatient, and the want of small bills is very prejudicial to their peace. I should be glad your Honor would advise per return of Jenkins how soon I may send down. I cannot supply your Honor with a return of our strength as yet, because our scattered disposition hinders a regular discharge of the adjutant's duty. I am, &c.

To JOHN ROBINSON

Winchester, December 19, 1756.

Sir: You are no stranger, I presume, to the late resolutions of the Governor and Council, the consequence of which I meditate with great concern. We are ordered to reinforce Fort Cumberland with one hundred men, and, to enable me to carry that number thither, all the stockade forts on the Branch are to be evacuated, and in course all the settlements abandoned, except what lie under the immediate protection of Captain Waggener's fort, the only place exempted in their resolve. Surely his Honor and the Council are not fully acquainted with the situation and circumstances of the unhappy frontiers, thus to

I am importuned by the country people inhabiting the small Forts, for Supplies of ammunition. I have refused them all, until I know your Sentiments. Ammunition is not to be purchased; and indeed some of them are too poor to buy, if it was. Therefore they apply to me. If your Honor thinks proper to order me to deliver it out to such people as I conceive will appropriate it to a good use, and in such quantities as we may be able to spare, I will do it; but not without.

I have found it expedient to relieve the Detachment at Maidstone, commanded by Captain Stewart, and bring them to this place. There were several material reasons which urged me to this Step; but the two following will, I hope, meet with your approbation. I have found by experience, that it is impossible to work Soldiers, and train them to the use of their arms at the same time: and that, if both are attempted, both will be more or less neglected. For which reason it appeared to me evidently for the Interest of the Service, that the men at this place (except the necessary tradesmen) shou'd be removed to some other post; where they might be regularly exercised, when they are not upon the Scout. Then there was no Company so proper to relieve them as Capt. Stewarts; who having had and improved the opportunity of discipling his men, was desirous of coming hither, as they have been a long time detached from the body of the Regiment. The other reason is, half the men at Maidstone being enlisted by Capt. Gist, in Maryland, and so contiguous to, and under the immediate influence and persuasion of their friends (who encourage them to desert: and not only do so, but protect them openly in it, under the eye and authority of their Majistrates, if we are rightly informed) that in a little time, not one wou'd have been left. Eleven are at this time under confinement for desertion from this Company. I hope your Honor will direct me in what points and how far I am to pay regard to Colo. Stanwix's Orders: If I shou'd meet

with any thing from him at any time, that may clash with your instructions to me, how I am to conduct myself in the affair. A case of this kind happened in Maryland, as I am told, and Colo. Stanwix sent orders to the Officer under [27] to disobey his (Stanwixes) *orders* at his peril.

Major Lewis cou'd not prevail with the Cherokee Indians to take out with them any more than 8 days provisions; the consequence of which is that he is come in with a part of them. There are yet out two parties, one of which consisting of 20 Indians and 10 Soldiers, under Capt. Spotswood, and are gone toward Fort DuQuesne: while the other amounts to 15 Indians and 5 Soldiers, under Lt. Baker, bent their course for Log's Town.

June 1757

I wrote your Honor in my last, that Colo. Stephen did, whilst I was in Williamsburgh, give out many of the Regimental Stores for the use of the Indians, among which were 122 Blankets. There are at this place, come up for the Indians, several pieces of dutch blanketing. I shou'd be glad to know whether we may not take out of them (if there is a sufficiency to replace our loss) as the Indians have all been supplied?

I doubt not that your Honor has been informed of the fate of our Beef at Fort Cumberland: I was all along apprehensive that this wou'd be the consequence of Mr. Walkers absence. And as soon as I heard the account, I desired Mr. Rutherford to go up and overhale the casks and see what cou'd be saved. His answer was, that he was employed by Mr. Walker to transact the business at this place, and did not care to undertake it without his instructions. I thereupon desired he wou'd communicate the affair to Mr. Walker, and receive his directions, as I apprehended the Country wou'd look to him for the damage. What notice Mr. Walker has taken of it I know not. But since I have heard they have destroyed the provisions in an unwarrantable manner. Indeed I shou'd be glad if your Honor wou'd direct what is to be done in this affair.

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[27] Blank in the manuscript.

Capt. Bell waits upon your Honor in hopes he may be able to obtain one of the additional compys. which we hear are to be raised. I have been greatly importuned by his friends to Speak in his favor, or say what I know of him. All that I can say is that, so far as I have had an opportunity of judging, he appears to be a good-natur'd honest man; and willing to do his duty. He has had no opportunity of proving his Bravery, that I know of, nor do I remember ever to have heard *it* called in question.

As to his abilities in other respects, and his bodily activity, your Honor can judge of them better than I, being more acquainted with him.

I must once more presume to ask your Honor leave to attend the Settlement of my (deceased) Brothers Estate (when the Executors and Colo. Lee will fix upon a time)[28] You were so indulgent on a former occasion as to consent to my being absent for this purpose. But the Assembly called off my Brother,[29] and several others who were principally concerned, and prevented the completion of this affair since. Altho' it is matter of great moment to have this business finished, it yet lies open. I am &c.

To JOHN ROBINSON

Fort Loudoun, June 10, 1757.

Dear Sir: A person of a readier pen, and having more time, than myself, might amuse you with the vicissitudes, which have happened in the Indian affairs since Mr. Atkin came up. I acknowledge my incompetency, and therefore shall only observe, that the Indians have been pleased and displeased

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[28] That of Lawrence Washington. Col. George Lee had married Lawrence's widow. The estate included Mount Vernon.

[29] Augustine Washington, half brother to George, whom the latter called Austin.

oftener than they ought to have been; and that they are gone off (that party under Warhatche, I mean,) in different ways, and with far different views; one part southwardly to their nation; and the other northwardly to treat with the Pennsylvanians, contrary to the sentiments of Mr. Atkin, who has, I believe, sent to forbid any conference to be held with them.[30]

Major Lewis is returned with part of the Indians, that went out with him, in consequence of their having taken only eight days' provisions with them. He was unable to prevail with those savages to take more. One party of twenty, with ten soldiers, is gone towards Fort Duquesne, under Captain Spotswood; and another party of fifteen, with five soldiers, under Lieutenant Baker, but they course towards Logstown. God send them success and a safe return, I pray.

Unless you will interest yourself in sending money to me to discharge the public debts, I must inevitably suffer very considerably, as the country people all think me pledged to them, let what will happen. They are grown very clamorous, and will be more than ever incensed if there should come an inadequate sum, and that sum be appropriated to the payment of the soldiers.

I am convinced it would give pleasure to the Governor to hear that I was involved in trouble, however undeservedly, such are his dispositions toward me.

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[30] "As to Indian matters, you must know I can be but a stranger, and I find all those employed as agents very jealous of one another, and I can perceive Mr. Croghan so of Colonel Armstrong, and . . . Mr. Atkin so of them all, as well as of the Provinces."—*Colonel Stanwix to Governor Denny*, June 12, 1757.

Armstrong said that Atkin was "miffed" about the provinces taking any notice of the southern tribes without first consulting him: while Croghan believed that Atkin had been prejudiced by the Virginians. Atkin wrote to Croghan (June 8) that on arriving in Virginia he "found it just on the brink of confusion and distraction, by means of the very Indians that had been drawn with great pains and expense to its assistance," as they "behaved like freebooters in an enemies' country." And to Governor Sharpe: "You will see how fortunate my being at Williamsburg was, to prevent a convulsion which must otherways happened in this colony and shaken all the colonies in its consequences."—*Ford.*

As your Honor proposes to leave the colony in November, I should be glad of liberty to go down to Williamsburg towards the last of this month, or first of the next, if nothing should intervene, to settle some accounts with your Honor and the Committee, which may not be done in so satisfactory a manner after you are gone.[79]

The last alarm occasioned a great many of the inhabitants in this county to go off, whereupon vast numbers are still moving. I fear that, in a short time, this very valuable valley will be in a great measure depopulated; and what farther steps to take, and how to obviate so great a misfortune, I am quite at a loss. As I have hitherto neglected nothing in the compass of my power, it is very evident, that nothing but vigorous offensive measures, (next campaign,) can save the country, at least all west of the Blue Ridge, from inevitable desolation.

We are in great want of a Quartermaster to take care of the stores, and I really do not know of a fit person, unless your Honor will please to bestow the office upon Mr. Kennedy. He acted sometimes as Quartermaster-sergeant, then as Commissary, and I believe is better acquainted with the duty than any one we can get. He bears a good character and is acquainted with figures.

The Dunkard doctor gave me notice of his intentions to wait upon your Honor again for his release, I in a late letter transmitted an information of the French deserters (who came from Fort Cumberland) against them, and think it my duty further

to add, that I firmly believe they are employed as spies, and are useful to the French. Of this, all the frontier inhabitants seem convinced, and are so apprehensive of the consequences that it has caused numbers to remove, and will cause a general terror among them, if this person is suffered to return and the others to remain out there. For which reason I should really be glad to receive orders to bring the others in. 'Tis better, provided they do not assist the enemy, to bring them in, than to keep a whole country in perpetual uneasiness on their account.

Oct 1757

Mr. Rutherford set about making his return, the moment your Honor's letter came to hand, and but this instant has finished it, having everything to measure and weigh, in order to be exact.

Since writing the foregoing, the express, which I sent to Major Lewis, is come in, and brings returns of those companies; so that your Honor will now receive proper monthly returns of our strength for July and August; by which you will see, that our total strength amounts to thirty-two commissioned officers, forty-eight noncommissioned, and seven hundred and three rank and file; whereof twenty officers, thirty non-commissioned, and four hundred and sixty-four rank and file, are employed in this county and Hampshire. But there are always six women allowed to a company, who draw provisions; and the officers receive more or less according to their respective rank, as your Honor would see by the estimate I received from Colonel Stanwix, and enclosed you some time ago; which must be allowed for in the calculation.

I have this instant received letters from Captains Waggener and McKenzie, by express. The first writes that two men were killed, [or] captured about 2 miles from his fort. The other says that a Cherokee party just as they were setting out to go to Captn. Waggener's heard that Pearis was at Fort Cumberland and marched to him.

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[79] "I cannot agree to allow you leave to come down here at this time. You have been frequently indulged with leave of absence. You know the fort is to be finished, and I fear when you are away little will be done; and surely the commanding officer should not be absent when daily alarmed with the enemy's intentions to invade our frontiers, and I think you are in the wrong to ask it. You have no accounts that I know of to settle with me; and what accounts you have to settle with the country may be done at a more proper time."—*Dinwiddie to Washington*, Oct. 19, 1757. The copyist (in 1785) of this letter in the "Letter Book" was more than usually careless. The two instances of writing New Hampshire and "maliciously aggravated" (pp. 140 and 141) are evidence of this. Dinwiddie's letter is in the *Washington Papers*, and is printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 2, p. 216.

To COLONEL JOHN STANWIX

Fort Loudoun, October 8, 1757.

Dear Sir: I am favored with an opportunity by Mr. Livingston, to acknowledge the receipt of your agreeable favor of the 19th ultimo; and to inform you of a very extraordinary affair, which has happened at this place, namely, the desertion of our quartermaster. This infamous fellow, as he has proved himself, after having disposed, in a clandestine manner, of many of our regimental stores, being called upon to settle his accounts (not that I, or any officer in the regiment, had the least suspicion of the scene of roguery he was carrying on), pretended, that he could not come to an exact settlement without going to Alexandria, where some of the stores yet lay. Several of our soldiers deserting at the same time, (being the time when Lt. Campbell called upon you) he was sent in pursuit of them, which (for we had no doubt of his honest intentions) afforded him the desired opportunity of making his escape. He was ordered too to take Alexandria in his return. His villainy was not laid open, before his departure, and was at last only accidentally discovered. This person John Hamilton had been several years a sergeant in one of his Majesty's regiments, in which character he served three years under me. During that time he gave such signal proofs of his bravery and good behavior, as bound me, in honor and gratitude, to do something for him. And I therefore got him promoted to be quartermaster, as he was acquainted with the duty, and capable, (I thought,) of discharging it.

We have had several visitations from the enemy, and much mischief done, since my last to you. About the 17th ultimo there were upwards of twenty persons killed only twelve miles from this garrison, and notwithstanding I sent a strong detachment

from hence to pursue them, and ordered the passes of the mountains to be waylaid by commands from other places, yet we were not able to meet with these savages.

On Friday se'nnight, a body of near or not quite a hundred fell upon the inhabitants along the great road between this place and Pennsylvania, got fifteen more. The mischief would have been much greater, had not an officer and twenty men of the regiment, who were then out, fallen in with and engaged the enemy. Finding, however, that his party was overpowered, and like to be surrounded, he retreated to a stockade, not far distant, in which they were besieged for three hours; but the firing communicated an alarm from one habitation to another, by which means most of the families were timely apprised of their danger, and happily got safe off. Our party killed one Indian, (whose scalp they obtained,) and wounded several others.

I exert every means in my power to protect a much distressed country, but it is a task too arduous. To think of defending a frontier as ours is, of more than three hundred and fifty miles' extent, with only seven hundred men, is vain and idle, especially when that frontier lies more contiguous to the enemy than any other. I am, and have for a long time been, fully convinced, that, if we continue to pursue a defensive plan, the country must be inevitably lost.[80]

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[80] From the time that the Virginia Regiment was organized it had been Colonel Washington's opinion that an offensive war should be kept up against the enemy. In this sentiment Governor Dinwiddie agreed with him, and he urged upon Lord Loudoun the advantage of an expedition against Fort Duquesne. But the great operations at the north absorbed his lordship's attention, and he placed the whole southern frontier upon the defensive. Hence the enemy made perpetual inroads, committing murders and ravages. Considering the weak state of the garrison at Fort Duquesne, a large portion of which had been withdrawn to defend the Canada borders, it was deemed an object of easy attainment, as no doubt it was, for Colonel Stanwix, with his 500 Royal Americans, in conjunction with the Virginia and Maryland troops, to seize that fort. This would have effectually put a stop to all the savage depredations. But such were not his orders, and nothing was done. The Indians were emboldened by this inactivity, and the frontier inhabitants were molested in every quarter.—*Sparks*.

Please to order me a Pipe of good old Maderia from that Island, let it be well securd, and direct it to be sent by some Vessell bound to this River (Potomack). Your Corrispondants in Liverpool, I must beg leave to say, are a little negligent of your Orders and I am the Sufferer by it; for I have never receivd any Salt from thence notwithstanding my repeated Application's for these two years past. I am Gentn., etc.

Sent by the Sarah Captn. Coverdale

Copy pr. the Phonex Captn. McGachin

Aug. 6 Postscript to the above Letter. Since writing the above, I have found occasion to draw a Bill upon you to the amt. of £259 Sterg., payable at Sixty days sight to Messrs. Chs. Graham, Wm. Fitzhugh, and Benja. Fendall. It being the Consid'n Money of Sundry Slaves w'ch I bought of those Gentn. Yesterday. I hope the Bill will meet with due Acceptance and I am as before, Gentn. etc.

To REVEREND CHARLES GREEN

The Warm Springs, August 26, 1761.

Rev'd Sir: I should think myself very inexcusable were I to omit so good an opportunity as Mr. Douglass's return from these Springs, of giving you some account of the place and of our approaches to it.

To begin then;—We arrived here yesterday, and our journey as you may imagine was not of the most agreeable sort, through such weather and such roads as we had to encounter; these last for 20 or 25 miles from hence are almost impassible for carriages, not so much from the mountainous country, (but this in fact is very rugged,) as from trees that have fallen across the road and rendered the way intolerable.

We found of both sexes about 200 people at this place, full of all manner of diseases and complaints; some of which are much benefited, while others find no relief from the waters.—Two or three doctors are here, but whether attending as physicians or to drink of the waters I know not. It is thought the Springs will soon begin to lose their virtues, and the weather get too cold for people not well provided to remain here. They are situated very badly on the East side of a steep Mountain, and inclosed by hills on all sides, so that the afternoon's Sun is hid by 4 o'clock and the fogs hang over us till 9 or 10 which occasion great damps, and the morning and evenings to be cool.

The place I am told, and indeed have found it so already, is supplyed with provisions of all kinds; good beef and venison, fine veal, lambs, fowls, &c. &c., may be bought at almost any time, but lodgings can be had on no terms but building for them; and I am of opinion that numbers get more hurt by their manner of lying, than the waters can do them good. Had we not succeeded in getting a tent and marquee from Winchester we should have been in a most miserable situation here.

In regard to myself I must beg leave to say, that I was much overcome with the fatigue of the ride and weather together. However, I think my fevers are a good deal abated, although my pains grow rather worse, and my sleep equally disturbed. What effect the waters may have upon me I can't say at present, but I expect nothing from the air—this certainly must be unwholesome. I purpose to stay here a fortnight and longer if benefitted. I shall attempt to give you the best description I can of the stages to this place, that you may be at no loss, if after this account you choose to come up.

Toulson I should recommend as the first; Majr. Hamilton's or Israel Thompson's the 2d; ye one about 30, the other 35

Sep 1761

miles distant. From thence you may reach Henry Vanmeter's on Opeckon Creek or Captain Pearis's 4 miles on this side, which will be about 35 miles; and then your journey will be easy the following day to this place.

I have made out a very long, and a very dirty letter, but hurry must apologize for the latter, and I hope your fondness will excuse the former. Please to make my compliments acceptable to Mrs. Green and Miss Bolan and be assured Revd. Sir that with a true respect I remain &c.

P. S. If I could be upon any certainty of your coming, or could only get 4 days previous notice of your arrival, I would get a house built such as are here erected, very indifferent indeed they are tho', for your reception.

Not used. Which Does he mean, Robert or Richard? Either quite possible.

To ROBERT HUNTER MORRIS

Winchester, April 9, 1756.

Dear Sir: I had scarce reached Williamsburg, before an express was after me with news of the French and Indians advancing within our settlements, and doing incredible mischief to the inhabitants, which oblig'd me to postpone my business there, and hurry to their assistance with all expedition: when I came to this place I found everything in deep confusion, and the poor distressed inhabitants under a general consternation. I therefore collected such force as I cou'd immediately raise, and sent them in such parties, and to such places as t'was judged most likely to meet with the Enemy; one of which, under the command of Mr. Pearis, luckily fell in with a small body of them as they were surrounding a small fort on the No. River of Cacapehon, whom they engaged, and (after half an hour's close firing) put to flight with the loss of their commander, Mons. Douville (killed), and three or four more mortally wounded. The accident that has determined the fate of Monsieur has, I believe, dispersd his party, for I don't hear of any mischief done in this colony since, tho' we are not without numbers who are making hourly discoverys.

I have sent you a copy of the Instructions that were found about this officer, that you may see how bold and enterprising the enemy have grown, how unconfind are the ambitious designs of the French, and how much it will be in their power (if the colonys continue in their fatal lethargy) to give a final stab to liberty and property.

Nothing I more sincerely wish than a union to the colonys in this time of eminent danger, and that you may find your Assembly in a temper of mind to act consistently with their

Sep 1756

not used. Which
Does he mean, Robert
or Richard ?
[illegible] quite possible

Any Lemon Genealogy?

E312.7 (1889)
(1931 [illegible])

William C. Ford

Page cut off

I Order, that upon the receipt of this, you March the Recruits immediately to this place, where Clothes and Ammunition will be provided: for your provision is sent to meet you on Martin Hardens' Road, by which you are ordered to March.

If Captain Harrison is at Fredericksburgh, he is to take Command of the Recruits, and March them up here; if not, do not wait for him; march them up without, and wait there for Orders. You are to provide Linen at Mr. Dicks for Haversacks for the men, and bring it up with you, if you can, conveniently.

To CAPTAIN WILLIAM PEACHY

Winchester, October 16, 1755.

You are hereby ordered, to send off all the Recruits which are now under your Command at Alexandria, immediately to Winchester; if there is a Captains Command, you are to order the next eldest Captain to march them up; if not, they are to be marched up by Lieutenant Bullet. The Order of the eleventh instant, about sending a Return to Fredericksburgh, by no means to be neglected. All the Officers who were appointed to Rendezvous at Alexandria the 20th. are allowed a further time, until the 15th. of November; when it is Ordered, that they appear there without delay, with what Recruits they may raise. You are to clothe all the men before you send them off, and must give the Officer who comes with the Recruits, a strict charge of the remainder, Orders will be left for him with Commissary Jones.

ORDERS

Winchester, October 16, 1755.

Parole Cumberland.

Captain Lewis the Day, to-morrow. One Subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corporal, one Drummer, and twenty-five private men, the Guard to-morrow. The Troops now quartered here,

to hold themselves in Readiness to march to morrow
Waggon ordered down to Fredericksburgh, to set out
diately; and the Commissary to see the rest of the W
(except three which are to carry Provisions &c.) loaded wi

Major Lewis to Detach a Subaltern and twenty men, t
row morning to Philip Bebbs, there to receive some p
Cattle, which they are to Guard to Pearis's, and wait
until the whole Body joins them. All the Soldiers of the
horse, &c. who do not belong either to Major Lewis or C
Waggeners Commands, are to wait upon the Aid de Ca
morrow morning at 8 O'Clock, to receive their Orders. C
who want Haversacks for their Men, are to apply to Mr
Dow, Merchant, for Linen, for which they are to give
Receipts. The Soldiers who brought down, or have any
Country Horses, are to make a Return of them immed
and to deliver them to the Aid de Camp.

AFTER ORDERS

Commanding Officers of Companies, are to see that
men make some contrivances immediately for carrying
Cartridges; of Skins, or something that will secure then

Lieutenant Lowry, and Ensign Weedon, are to Act in
tain Woodwards Company as Subalterns, until further O
Captain Woodward is to take under his command one h
the Recruits which came up with Major Lewis; the rest
under the command of Captain Lewis, and his Subaltern

ORDERS

Winchester, October 17, 17

Parole Dartmouth.

Captain Waggener the Day to-morrow.

One Subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corporal, one Drun
and twenty-five private men, the Guard, to-morrow.

Letter from Captain Andrew Lewis to Col. George Washington

Augusta Octr the 28th 1756

Sir

I Received a Letter from Capt. Paris Deated the 21st of (thi)s Month, he tels me that he Sent for Guns and other Necessarys for the Indians with him. the Indians are highly pleased with the Arms and the Large preparations made for them the wareour proposed sending a Runar to the Nation with one of the guns, and Likewis to Aqueant them what is provided for them. he makes no Dout of a great Numbers Coming in. he would not Do any thing in the Mater Before he had my Aprobation. I approved of his Scame and has wrot to Capt. Pearis to Dress the Runar as well as posable and send a white man with him which is the wareours Desire. I have wrote to Outosity and aquented him of Evry thing prov(ide)d he will publish it in that Nation if he has not Marched Before he Receivs my Letter--the Indian and white men who were apointed to go to Houlsons River is Now on thire March in Order to make the Discovery--the Enemey are Frequantly Seen Neare Vauss, what few Indians we have are there Now, in Sarch of them.

Sir as Sarjt McCully has ben in the Service from the Begining and has Behaved well, I hop Sir you will Advance him. he has been Long over Lookd.

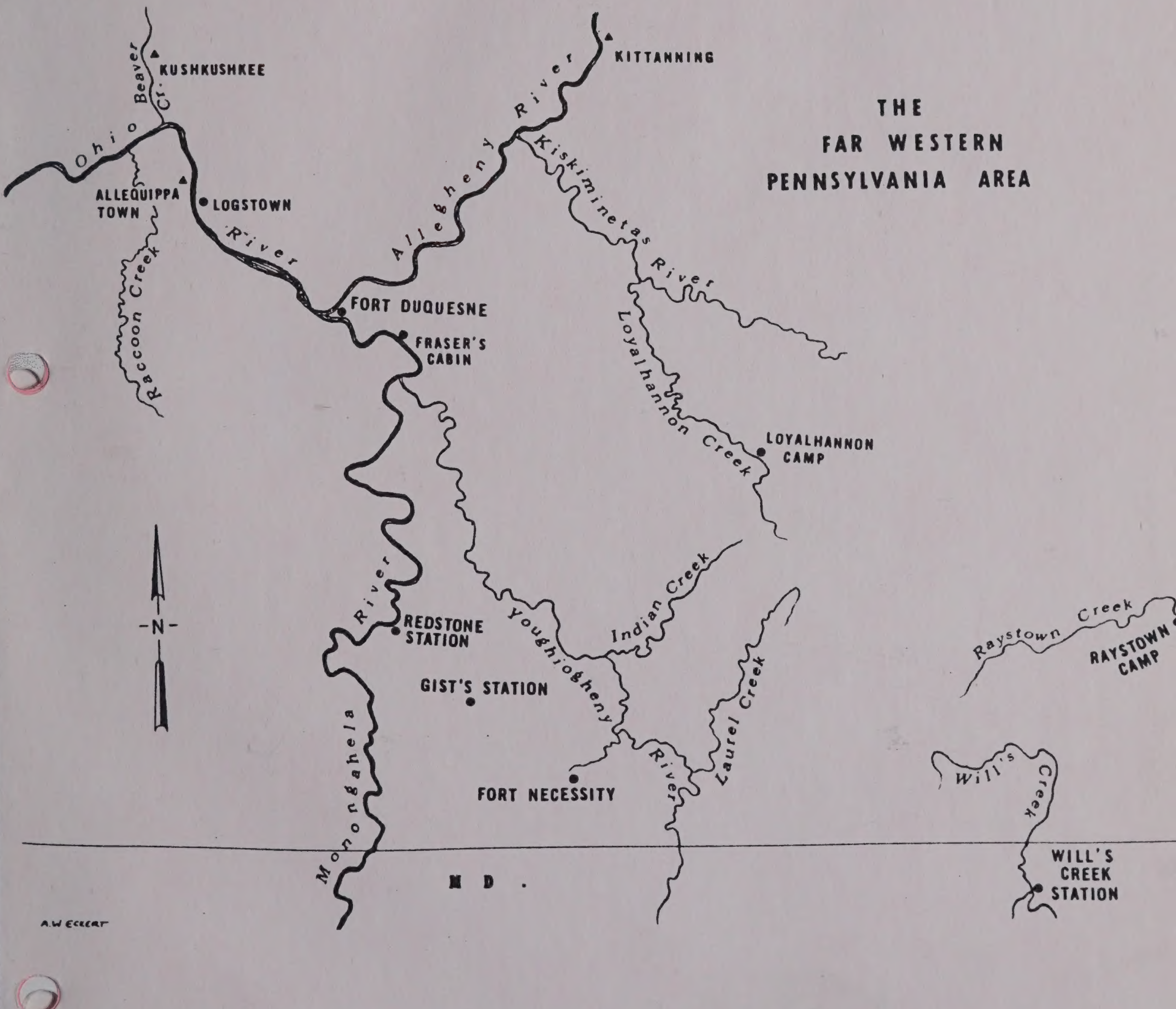
I ame Much Recovered I purpos to take my Journy for Willmsburg to Morrow or Nixt Day.

I ame Sir your most obedt & very Hume Sert

Andw Lewis.

(Letter printed in The Papers of George Washington, Vol 3 pg 445-6 (1983) W. W. Abbott, ed. Footnotes state that Lewis left Richard Pearis behind in the Cherokee country when he returned in September, but Pearis was now back in Augusta County with his party of six Cherokee men and two women. Dinwiddie wrote Pearis 14 Nov. and Lewis the next day, that they should conduct the eight Cherokee to Washington./The runner referred to was Mr. Allen, a young man who was there at the building of "Chette Fort" who, according to Captain Raymond Demeré on the South Carolina frontier, was a Virginian who came with one of the Indians that went (to Winchester) with Capt. Pearis. John Allen took letters to headmen of the Cherokee from Capt. John McNeill and Dinwiddie as well as Lewis./ "Outosity" was Otacite Ostenaco, or Judge's Friend, who lived at this time at Tomatly. (Map on page 46 shows this town to be right next to Fort Loudon.) He was a leading man of the Overhills at whose request the fort was built. His name was Ostenaco, though he was often called Otacite which was actually a title indicating his rank. He participated in the Big Sandy expedition and also brought a party of Cherokees to Augusta in the summer of 1757./ Lewis's friend, Sgt. John McCulley, was made an ensign in 1758./ Lewis, who had been very ill when Washington saw him on 10 Oct, got back to Augusta on 17 October.)

Papers Vol 4 pg 65-- Washington to Dinwiddie 19 Dec 1756, "Captn Pearis came to Town the other day with 6 Cherokees and two Squaws. He brought no orders from your Honor, and applies to me for direction of his Services. I have desired him to carry the Indians to Fort Cumberland, as we can make nothing of them without an interpreter; and there await your Honors Instructions. Lt. Baker has leave of absence.." and on pg 105, Jan 1757, "Capt. Pearis says You have order'd his men to be continued in Pay--I wrote Majr Lewis to send them to You to be incorporated into the Regmt. I know of no Service they (mutilated) at present but it seems (mutilated) naked they could not march." pg 119-120, "At the end of February 1757 Pearis conducted a party of nine Cherokee down from Winchester to Williamsburg on their way back to the Cherokee country. Presumably this was the party that Lewis had brought up in October though it may have been in part Pearis's own party. Fairfax and the Council saw at this time another party of Cherokees being 15 in number who came to this Govt. in February last, had marched two Leagues above Fort Du Quesne and returned on Monday last to this City with a French Prisoner and two Scalps. The Chief of them named the Second Yellow-Bird was a leader of the 130 Cherokees whom Richard Pearis had conducted to the Virginia in the fall of 1755."



THE FAR WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA AREA

KUSHKUSHKEE
Beaver Cr.
Ohio
ALLEQUIPPA TOWN
LOGSTOWN
River
Raccoon Creek
Allegheny River
KITTANNING
Kiskiminetas River
FORT DUQUESNE
FRASER'S CABIN
Loyalhannon Creek
LOYALHANNON CAMP
Indian Creek
Laurel Creek
Youghiogheny River
River
REDSTONE STATION
GIST'S STATION
FORT NECESSITY
Monongahela
-N-
M D.
Raystown Creek
RAYSTOWN CAMP
Will's Creek
WILL'S CREEK STATION
A.W ECKERT

Tells about Cherokees, mostly before French-Indian War.

The Over-hill settlements, on the Tellico and Little Tennessee, were established, according to the same author, in 1623, by a branch of the Cherokees, who had been driven from the Appomattox by the first settlers of Virginia. Adair thus minutely describes the boundaries of the Nation, as it existed at the period of his sojourn among the southern Indians. "The country lies in about thirty-four degrees of north latitude, at the distance of three hundred computed miles to the north-west of Charleston, one hundred and forty miles west south-west from the Catawba Nation, and almost two hundred miles to the north of the Creek country. The Cherokees are settled nearly in an east and west course, about one hundred and forty miles in length, from the lower towns, where Fort Prince George stands. to the late unfortunate Fort Loudon. They make two divisions of their country, which they term *Ayrate* and *Otarre*, the one signifying 'low,' and the other 'mountainous.' The former division is on the head branches of the beautiful Savannah, and the latter on those of the easternmost river of the great Mississippi."*

The earliest account that has been preserved of the Cherokees, from which it is possible to glean any reliable information in regard to their numbers, and the extent of their settlements, is found in a very interesting paper, taken from the records in London, for Mr. Bancroft, a copy of which was presented by him to Prof. Rivers. This document, prepared originally by the highest official authority in Carolina, contains a minute statistical report of the strength and locality, in relation to Charleston, of many Indian tribes, in and around the province. It has never before, if we mistake not, been published.*

History of Upper South Carolina (Vol 1 Heritage Series) (F266 S53 #5) at SHS

Just before the Revolution of 1719, the proprietors had made the request of Gov. Robert Johnson, to furnish them with a full statement of the strength of the colony, and of the aboriginal tribes around the English settlement. We select chiefly that portion of the governor's report which relates to the Cherokees. He says: "By the within accounts of the number of Indians subject to the government of South Carolina, in the year 1715, your lordships will find upwards of eight and twenty thousand souls, of which there were nine thousand men who traded with Carolina, besides several small tribes, such as the Congarees, Santees, Seawees, Pedees, Waxhaws, and some Corsaboys; so that by war, pestilence and civil conflicts among themselves, the Cherokees may be computed as reduced to about ten thousand souls, and the Northern Indians to two thousand five hundred.

The Cherokee upper settlements contain 19 towns, 900 men, 480 women, 980 boys, 400 girls; middle settlements, 30 towns, 2,500 men, 900 women, 2,000 boys, 950 girls; lower settlements, 11 towns, 600 men, 480 women, 620 boys, 400 girls—total, 11,210.

It would be a very difficult task to extract from

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* Page 226—History of North American Indians.

* Professor Rivers, with his usual kindness and liberality, allowed us the free use we have here made of this valuable record.

the records in Columbia, a complete list of the towns embraced, at any period, in the two divisions of the Cherokee Nation, so confused is the orthography of the names there given, and so indefinite the information relating to their respective situations. In 1751, the following entry was made in one of the Indian books, from the report of a trader:

*Keowee.**—29 warriors, 3 chiefs, viz., Skiagusta, or the Old Warrior; Oruste, the Catawba king, and the Chote king.

Estatowee.—9 warriors, 1 chief, Clugoitosh, the Good Warrior.

Tucksoie.—7 warriors, 2 chiefs, Osquosoftoi and the Raven.

Jommantoo.—1 warrior, 1 chief, Scholloloskie.

Chewohee.—7 warriors, 1 chief, Skiagusta.

Oussazlay.—4 warriors, 1 chief, Johnny.

Kowee.—1 warrior, 1 chief, Jaccutee.

Oustate.—4 warriors, 1 chief, the Yellow Bird.

Stocowee.—3 warriors, 1 chief, Tacitee.

Noquossee.—4 warriors, 0 chief.

Jacasechoo.—5 warriors, 1 chief, Chuchachoo.

Inforshee.—12 warriors, 3 chiefs, the Beaver, his son Skiacow, and Tacitee, the Notched Warrior.

Little Tellico.—7 warriors, 2 chiefs, Sananulohoo and Onaloee.

Tommotly.—7 warriors, 0 chief.

Jollohee.—1 chief, the Prince.

Great Tellico.—16 warriors, 2 chiefs, the Blind Warrior and Cæsar.

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* Written Kewhohee.

This is obviously an imperfect statement of the strength of the Nation, at this period. The list presents, however, a few names nowhere else found. Some four years afterwards, in new-modeling the trade, the whole Cherokee country was subdivided into what were called hunting districts, from the record of which we are enabled to extract the following more complete catalogue of towns:

FIRST DISTRICT.

Over Hills.—Great Tellico, Chatuge; Tennessee, Chote and Toqua; Sittiquo and Tallasse.

Valley Towns.—Euforsee, Conastee and Little Telliquo; Cotocanahut, Uayowee, Tomatly, and Chewohee.

Middle Towns.—Joree, Watoge, Nuckasee.

Keowee.—Keowee, Tricentee, Echoee, Torsee; Cowee, Tarsalla, Coweeshee, and Elejoy.

Out Towns.—Tucarechee, Kittowa, Conontoroy; Steecoy, Oustanole, and Tuckasegee.

Lower Towns.—Tomassee, Oustestee; Cheowie, Estatoie, Tosawa; Keowee, Oustenalle.

In the spring of 1776, the Cherokee Nation was visited by Bartram, who supplies, in his interesting journal, several additional names of towns then existing, or just deserted.

Over-hills on the Tennessee and its branches.—Nucassee, Ticoleasa, Conisca, Nowe, Noewe, Clennuse, Ocunnolufte, Chewe, Quanuse, Tellowe, Hiwassee, Chewase, Nuanha, Chelowe, Sette, Joco, Tahasse, Tamahle, Tuskege, Nilaque, Niowe.

Lower towns east of the mountains.—Seneca.
On the Keowee.—Keowee, Kulsage or Sugaw-Town.
On the Tugaloo.—Tugoola, Estotowe.
On Flint River.—Qualatche, Chote.
On other rivers.—Great Estotowe, Allagae, Jore, Nacooche.

Mouzon's map, in Carroll's Collection, adds to the lower Cherokees the following names of towns that were standing as late as 1771, and which we have seen nowhere else recorded.

On the Tugaloo and its branches.—Tururaw, Old Estatohe, Noyowee, Tetohe, Chagee, Tussee, Chicherohe, Echay, Takwashuaw.
On the Keowee.—New Keowee, Quacoretchie.
On the Seneca.—Aconnee.

Adair observes, that several of their best towns on the southern branch of the Savannah are now forsaken and destroyed: as Ishtatohe, Echia, Tugaloo, and others, and they are brought into a narrower compass. At the conclusion of the war of 1760, the traders calculated the number of their warriors to consist of about two thousand three hundred, which is a great diminution in so short a space of time. The Cherokee towns were generally built wide of

each other, owing to the scarcity of good situations on the rivers and creeks; it being rare to find in that mountainous region a tract of four hundred level acres.

In the rich valleys, however, of the Keowee,* Seneca and Tugaloo, they were numerous and exceedingly populous; not yet have the leveling operations of Anglo-American progress completely effaced here the deep traces of aboriginal art and life; but when all else have been obliterated, when no wigwam's site or tumbling sacrificial pillar shall remain, the beautiful names of the Seneca, Tugaloo, Keowee and Isundiga,† will continue to proclaim a history of the once blest Cherokee, in accents as soft as the murmur of their waters, and as enduring as their granite falls.

The towns situated on the head waters of the Savannah were not the only Cherokee settlements in that portion of their beautiful Ayrate embraced in the present territory of Upper Carolina. Straggling villages and solitary wigwams were discovered to

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*Isundiga was the Cherokee name for the ancient Keowee and Savannah. The present name of Savannah was derived from the Shawano or Savannah Indians; a warlike tribe that once lived on its western bank, near the present site of Augusta. Some time after the settlement of Carolina they removed beyond the Ohio. Adair declares they were driven away by the foolish measures of the English. We shall have much more to say of them.

†The name Isundiga, we believe, is now nowhere known in the territory of Pickens District. It should be revived and preserved in the name of some new village or educational institution.

have once stood on all the rivers and creeks whose waters abounded in fish, from the Congarees to the mountains. Several of these were, no doubt, standing as late even as the period when the Scotch-Irish began their settlements in Laurens, Newberry, and other districts.

Eight miles from Dorn's Gold Mine, in a valley of the Long-Cane, on lands belonging to Benjamin McKittrick, is an ancient Indian mound, nearly one hundred yards in length by thirty in breadth. It appears to have been once a lofty as well as capacious terrace, on which might have conveniently stood several other buildings besides the usual great town-house.

This mound was evidently constructed of earth, brought with vast labor from some other spot than the one on which it was reared; and notwithstanding the wastes of time, and the yet more ruinous washings of centuries of floods in the creek, it still rises some three or four feet above the general level of the valley.

When John Duncan arrived upon Duncan's Creek, quite a flourishing Indian village stood upon a hill in the plantation now owned by Major Wm. Young, of that neighborhood in Laurens. The site is still conspicuous for its monumental heaps and other aboriginal remains.*

On the west bank of the Saluda, about a half-mile

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* Conversation of Joseph Duncan.

below the old Swansey's Ferry, in Abbeville, is a broad level area excavated from the hill-side, on which stood, in the recollection of the early settlers, an Indian town. A fertile promontory juts from the east into the Coronaka, at the point of its juncture with Black Rock Creek.* On this spot the Cherokees, in primitive times, had a teeming settlement. The ground has been in cultivation time out of mind; yet to this day the instruments of their husbandry and savage arts continue to be turned up from the soil. The spring which supplied them with water still issues from the foot of the hill. The creeks afforded inexhaustible quantities of game and fish. Long after the Cherokees had retired forever from the territory of Carolina, these streams were famous for their fisheries. It is said, too, that the Coronaka,† like the Saluda, was remarkable, in the early periods, for its production of corn. During the Revolution, if tradition is to be credited, many a seasonable supply was gathered from its fertile valleys.

On the west bank of Johnson's Creek, in sight of the Wards road, on the plantation now occupied by Mrs. John Black, is another spot where also abound

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* Now Rocky Creek.

† There is no clue to the meaning of the Indian name, Coronaka. We are scarcely better informed of its correct orthography. In Drayton's Memoirs, it is written Cornacre; in Tarleton's Campaigns, Coronacre; in the old district land-plats, Coronacco, and sometimes Coronaco; in the Indian books, Coronacay, and as often Coronaca. In other records it is written Coronaka; and this method we have adopted.

one of you come down and murder any of my people, we would insist upon having satisfaction, and yet, not make war upon your nation. This is our constant practice. There is an instance of it among the Muscogee; they came down and killed several of you, Cherokees, our friends, near this town. I sent up and demanded satisfaction. They complied without a murmur, and took away the life of one of their greatest men.

Little Carpenter.—When I was in England, two papers were given by the great King George, one for the Cherokees, and the other, I suppose, for the authorities of Carolina. I have not seen those papers since; doubtless, they are lost.

Governor.—The paper for Carolina, though it cannot at present be readily come at, being in a great heap of other papers, is not lost. I showed it to you the other day, printed in a book.

Little Carpenter.—This is the third time I have been here, and I remember the great king's talk. He promised that we should never want for goods nevertheless, we have suffered much, because we could not procure them from the Carolina traders; we were forced to go for them to other countries. But now that your Excellency has given your promise that we shall lack these things no more, our hearts are straight, and we shall not look to any other people for supplies.

Governor.—I am glad that that was your only reason for going to Virginia.

Little Carpenter.—I heard that your Excellency

sent several times for me, and I was sorry that I was from home; for, perhaps, you may have thought that I had done something that made me afraid to come hither; but I was then in Virginia, where the Governor showed us his commission, and said it was the same as that of the Governor of Carolina. It was not from fear that I did not come; it was because the Over-hill people, being poor, and in great straits from want of goods, compelled me to go to Virginia, in search of a supply for them. There are now only two regular traders in our Nation, Mr. Beamer and Cornelius Dougherty; the others have no goods of their own, except what they get of other traders, with the view of speculating as they can. Now, it is to be hoped, however, that our traders will receive a supply sufficient for all the wants of the Nation. We need some small articles for our women. When I was in England, I heard what the great king said; and I remember that he directed in the paper he gave us, that the Governor of Carolina was to supply us with all kinds of goods, and if he failed to do it, we could get them from Virginia—that you were both one people, under the same great king.

Long Jack.—We are now almost ready to go home, and I would be glad to have an answer from your Excellency to Old Hop's letter, which mentions that he was not able to come down with us. We would rejoice if you would go up towards our country, as far even as the point at which Old Hop said he would meet you, if he had to be carried on the back of a slave.

Governor.—I will first reply to the Little Carpenter. I am very sorry that you were obliged to go through briars and thickets to obtain a supply of goods. For the future, they shall be sent to you in abundance. I am glad that you went into those parts; for, in your absence, your enemies gave it out you had gone over to the interest of the French; but now that you have returned, and given your own report of the matter, I shall no more give ear to what they say. It is very true what you remark about the goods. You have at present but two traders among you—Beamer and Dougherty; but, indeed, there is no encouragement for them; the price of goods is so very low, that the traders cannot live among you; notwithstanding, I recently sent you, by another trader, enough for your wants. I do not mention this in view of raising the price of goods; you shall have them always as usual; but you must pay for them. You cannot but be sensible of the fact, that they are much lower in price with you than with the Creeks. I shall mention one article only: The Creeks pay a pound of leather for but forty bullets, while the Cherokees get sixty for the same. I have read over the paper that you speak of, from the great King George, and find not a word in it about the government of Virginia, or of her supplying you with goods. It is true, that province belongs also to the great king; but if, at any time, I should send to its Governor, requesting him not to supply you with goods, on account of some misdemeanor committed by you, he would not dare do it.

Little Carpenter.—What I say about that is only talk. I do not assert that such is to be, or likely to be; but if it should so happen, that Carolina refuse to send us goods, there are many great waters and rivers to go down to, where they can be obtained. We hope, however, that we shall be laid under no such necessity; the first offence shall never be on our part.

Governor.—You would be at a great loss if you did desert Carolina; and ultimately as naked as the French themselves are. We shall always be good friends to the Cherokees.

Little Carpenter.—I have no desire to look elsewhere for goods; but Old Hop is a wise man, and can give your Excellency full satisfaction as to these things, were you to talk with him. We are only warriors, and have no great knowledge of many things, in which lies much good for our Nation; neither can we express ourselves, nor argue upon dark questions; we, therefore, refer you to the good and wise old man. Formerly, when we had more men than we now have, four traders trafficked in our towns. Mr. Elliott has brought us a great many goods; but, we fear, he will not be able to supply all our wants.

Governor.—Then, I will send more. You have pressed me very much to see Old Hop; but there are many affairs that require my presence here. If, at any time, however, I should go up as far as the Congarees, I will send for him to meet me there. (Pointing to Skiagunsta, he continued.)—I am glad to see

nest to fulfill all their promises, in view of the great number of wagons, big guns, presents, cattle and provisions they had just brought with them to the Nation; and that besides these, they also had with them all the tools necessary for building the fort on the Tennessee;—that this work would have been performed long ago, but for the neglect of those to whom it had been entrusted. He concluded by giving them a general invitation to dine, the next day, with him at the fort. These remarks, and especially the closing sentence of the speech, pleased them prodigiously; they immediately sent off runners to the five towns, and called together that night, at Keowee, a great council of the lower Nation.

They sat in the council-house all night, and next morning sent a messenger to Demere with word that they would wait upon him with their compliments, in mass, at ten o'clock. The Captain relates: "I immediately gave orders to the men to be in readiness to receive them. In a little time they appeared in regular procession, a numerous train, dressed in their most gaudy apparel, their faces being painted over every part. Large belts of wampum and plates of silver hung from their necks on their breasts, with bracelets of the same around their arms.

"In front of the procession appeared a body of young men, moving in a slow, solemn pace, at the same time singing, and displaying, above their heads, eagles' tails and rattle-boxes. On each flank marched a young man, playing on a flute of their own manufacture. In the midst was borne a large bough of a sycamore tree, and, in another place, a white flag, tied to the end of a stick. Just as they entered the fort, I ordered the men to fire a salute from the swivels.

"They took their seats in one of the houses, inside the walls, and there delivered their talk, which consisted in expressions of joy and delight at our present friendly demonstrations. Ever since I arrived here I have had nothing but mirth and rejoicings. A runner came to me yesterday, with the compliments of the *ladies* of the towns, and also informed me that they would give me a dance the next day.

"This also came off in due time, and was handsomely performed, by a large number of them; after which, in return for our presents, they made offerings of cakes and bread, baked by themselves, and green peas and squashes; every woman bringing her own present in a basket, and setting it down before me. At this time, like the Over-hills, they were nearly naked, and in a starving condition."*

These timely supplies, particularly of cattle and provisions, with the erection of Fort Loudon, gave a short respite of tranquillity, and a hope to the infant settlements along the Cherokee line. But no human instrumentality could have availed to reform a people so hopelessly degenerate as the Cherokees had now become. While the flesh was yet in their

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* Letter to Gov. Lyttleton's Indian Books.

mouths which the English had brought, at great expense, to relieve their starving condition, the murmurs and discontents broke out afresh.

Major Lewis informed the Governor of North Carolina that on his arrival at Chotie, he had received the kindest attentions from Old Hop and the Little Carpenter, and that the Indians in general, expressed their readiness to comply with all their treaties and promises; but this disposition was manifested only while the fort was building. As soon as it was finished, and they were urged to fulfill the obligation they had assumed to send their warriors with the English against the French, they began to equivocate. He also observed, that the French, with their Indian allies, the Savannahs, maintained a regular correspondence with the Cherokees, especially with the head-men of Great Tellico. It was evident that some measure was on foot for the distress of the back-settlers in the Carolinas and Virginia, and that the Indians were greatly disposed to join the French.*

This, indeed, was the fast-hastening consummation of the long years of abuse, neglect and mismanagement, whose various details we have, from the beginning, endeavored to portray. The special topics, however, which last engaged our attention, carried us some distance in advance of the main events of this troublous and memorable period.

France, with the ripened schemes and experience of nearly half a century, was now preparing to put every nerve to the stretch, in a final struggle with Great Britain, for the dominion of North America. Before the site of Fort Loudon had been marked out, the old French and Indian War—or, as the people of the upper-country better knew it—Braddock's War, had begun.

The famous battle of 1755 had been fought at the ford of the Monongahela, where that presumptuous, though unfortunate general won nothing more honorable for himself than a soldier's grave. War had been formally declared by England;* and now, at the conclusion of three campaigns, all terminating in the success and exultation of France, William Pitt assumed the direction of affairs.

The fourth campaign—that of 1758—opens; Admiral Boscawen invests Louisburg; Abecrombie marches upon Ticonderoga; Forbes is sent to retrieve, by the capture of Fort Du Quesne, the terrible disaster at the Monongahela. And now the train of events begins rapidly to transpire, which were to prove the proximate cause of inflicting upon Upper Carolina the horrors of another Indian war. This was the Cherokee war of 1760; but its story of carnage, and thrilling scenes of savage vengeance on the border, must be reserved for another volume.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

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*Dr. Ramsay's History of Tennessee, p. 52.

*17th of May 1756.

(Regarding the Cherokees)

by Harriette Simpson Arnow (1960 - repr. 1995)

men, and women too, who had died, often horrible deaths, worse than those inflicted by the Indians, because they would not say the right words. It was natural for such men to admire many of the Indian leaders.

There was often much to admire, but in thinking of the Creek, Chickasaw, Cherokee, and Chickamauga one should not envision Stone Age men with feathers in their hair, slipping through the woods and armed with bow and arrow. These tribes [81] were to begin with an agricultural people, growing much corn; they had known better homes, food, clothing, and shelter than did many of their contemporaries in Europe or for the matter of that, better than many white homes that today occupy their old lands.

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They had suffered much from the white man, but along with smallpox, rum, and other offerings of white civilization, they had adopted many of its ways. The Cherokee, Creek, and Chickasaw were rapidly becoming nations of farmers with many fine horses and cattle. Some southern Indians now built their homes of logs as did the white man, used many of his tools and weapons, and quite often wore his clothing. Their leaders could usually understand if not speak English, and several were at least half white. One reads of "Tom Tunbridge's step son," John Walker, George Field, "John Watts, the bloody fellow," and after 1783 "McGillivray of the Creeks."

John Watts was described as a large portly, noble-looking Indian, a "generous honorable enemy." [82] Dragging Canoe killed a very great many whites, but one of his enemies wrote in admiration of how the disgruntled chief shot one of his own men dead as soon as he discovered the warrior was trying to molest a captured white woman.[83] Hard pressed as the Cumberlanders were, few became so brutalized as to see the Indian as no more than a fellow brute, to be exterminated on sight. An Indian was still a man. He was never outlawed. An enemy could come with a flag of truce to Robertson on some business such as returning captive children, and need no guard, knowing he would neither be jeered nor shot at,[84] nor did the old ones in their many accounts of Indian warfare ever stoop to epithets. Chickasaw were, after the treaty of 1783, often in and out of the settlements, and two young Seviers, cousins, were killed because they mistook a group of enemy Indians for friends.[85]

There was still, even after the United States was born, a lingering sense of chivalry, a feeling for fair play, even in Indian warfare. The paid informer was unknown, and the turncoat never idolized or even respected. One of the pilots who led the troops to Nickojack in 1794 was Dick Findlestone, a half-breed trader, who, weary of the continuing murders of the whites, came and told Robertson of further plots and offered his services as guide. He had married into the tribe, and though his wife and children were unhurt in the attack, Parson John Kirkwell, a member of the expedition, wrote, "a wicked man for thus destroying his own people." [86]

Most men were killed while going about their business, this, to farm and build a forted station and stout log house; without these their guns would have been useless, and sources indicate it was the musket and the blunderbuss that saved the forts on the Cumberland. The long range and accuracy of the rifle were useless when hundreds of Indians rushed the fort walls, but a big musket loaded willy-nilly with pewter spoons, broken teakettles, and rifle balls was, at close range, effective as today's sawed-off shotgun.

Most of the men who owned anything at all, for some came as hired men with little save their clothing, had at least one gun and usually two, a rifle and a musket. Like the rifles, the muskets were of various shapes and sizes; some cannon-like such as Valentine Sevier's big brass blunderbuss [87] which, because of its powerful kick, he kept fastened to a block of wood; others used the British musket as did Mansker, loaded sometimes with a whole handful of rifle balls, other times with buckshot.

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[81] Bartram, *Travels*, Part IV, 483–522, is a generalized discussion of the southeastern tribes as Bartram found them in 1775–1776, though throughout his work there are other descriptions such as that of his visit to the Cherokee, where in a trader's home the Indian wife gave him for breakfast, venison, hot corn cakes, "excellent butter and cheese." In his summing up of dress he found "sometimes a ruffled shirt of fine linen." Williams, *Travels*, 259–265, "Brother Martin Schneider's Report of His Journey to the Upper Cherokee Towns, 1783–1784," is an intimate glimpse of the Cherokee at home. Another, *ibid.*, 459–492, is contained in Schweinitz, "Report," who in 1799 visited the Overhill Cherokee with the hope of establishing a mission. See also, *ibid.*, Baily, "Tour 1797," 380–390, for a 1797 account. Adair, *American Indian*, written before the Revolution, tells much of the influence of European cultures; about the only things in addition to food the Chickasaw rejected were trousers and mills. The Cherokee were particularly interested in improving their agriculture; when in 1776 they captured Mrs. Bean of East Tennessee they told her they were taking her so she could teach their womenfolks how to make butter and cheese, Ramsey, *Tennessee*, 157.

[82] W, 30S, 320–321.

[83] W, 30S, 321. Doublehead was another described as "large, ferocious, wiley."

[84] There are many references to Indian visits to James Robertson; see in particular NCR, XIX, 739, and *ibid.*, XVII, 91–92.

[85] Ramsey, *Tennessee*, 596–597.

[86] W, 32S, 270–271.

[87] The time most often mentioned was the siege of Valentine Sevier's Station in 1794, W, 32S, 206. He filled his "big brass blunderbuss" with spoons, etc., anything he could grab, for the Indians were killing his children; the kick of the gun knocked out two of his teeth.

that the Indians would cross the North Fork of the Holston river and then the Holston river proper to reach his towns and home, when he could cross the South Fork of Holston once and reach his home.

While Southwest Virginia and East Tennessee were unoccupied by the Indians at the time of the early settlements, still it may not be amiss to give briefly a description of the Indian tribes that preceded our forefathers and afterwards gave them so much trouble in their first undertakings.

As to the remote Indian inhabitants of this section of the American Continent, nothing authentic is known beyond the evidences of their occupancy to be gathered from tumuli scattered throughout the country and the remains found in close proximity thereto.

These remains indicate the existence, at some distant time, of a dense population, civilized to a great extent, and it is not improbable that at a time in the past all this section was the seat of a civilization that would have compared favorably with that of Greece and Rome.

The Cherokee Indians knew nothing further of these vestiges than that their forefathers found them here, and they considered them the evidences of a numerous population far advanced in civilization.

The modern Indian held in great veneration these evidences of an extinct tribe, and never used them save for religious purposes.

The piles of stones often found scattered throughout the country, generally to be found in the gaps of the mountains and ridges, are believed to be the work of modern Indians. The modern Indian was of an exceedingly superstitious turn, as all barbarians or heathen nations have been.

It has been for all time not uncommon to find, in heathen countries, similar heaps of stone erected by the inhabitants at some particular spot, as an offering to an evil spirit, who, according to their superstitions, would afflict or bless the passer-by.

A pile of stone, such as indicated, may be seen near the main turnpike road as it passes through Little Moccasin Gap.

The Indian tribes that molested the early settlers in this section were the Cherokees and the Shawnese.

Adair, an early Indian trader, and later historian, in describing the Indian and his passion for revenge, says:

"I have known them to go a thousand miles for the purpose of revenge, in pathless woods, over hills and mountains, through large cane swamps full of grape-vines and briars, over broad lakes, rapid rivers and deep creeks and all the way endangered by poisonous snakes, if not by the rambling and lurking enemy, while, at the same time, they were exposed to the extremities of the heat and cold, the vicissitudes of the season, to hunger and thirst, both by chance and their religiously scanty method of living when at war, to fatigue and other difficulties. Such is their revengeful temper that all these things they contemn as imaginary trifles, if they are so happy as to get the scalp of their enemy."

And this record is preserved by a man who spoke from his experience with the Cherokee Indians, the one tribe that gave the early settlers of this section more trouble than all the Indian tribes combined.

CHEROKEES.

The Cherokee tribe of Indians, at the time of the settlement of Southwest Virginia, inhabited one of the most attractive sections of the American Continent, occupying the banks of the Catawba, Savannah, Yadkin and Tennessee rivers on the east and south and several of the feeders of the Tennessee on the west.

There were no fortresses to be found among them. Their settlements were rude huts scattered irregularly along some water way convenient to good pasture land and hunting and fishing grounds.

They usually had small clearings which were cultivated by the women and children in Indian corn and beans.

But little of the history of the Cherokees can be gathered from their traditions. The existence of this tribe of Indians was noted by the historian of the expedition of De Soto when traveling in the South, and it is said that they came originally from east of the Alleghany mountains. Their principal town or capital city was Choto, located about five miles from the ruins of Fort Loudon, in Tennessee.

They were the mountain people of America and loved their homes and their liberties.

They frequently aided the early settlers of this portion of America in their wars with the French and English, a company of Indians from this tribe having participated in the siege of Fort Du Quesne

under Captain Pearis, but much oftener did they carry death into the homes of the early settlers of the Carolinas and Virginia.

This tribe, previous to 1769, were numerous and exceedingly quarrelsome and arrogant.

At this time they quarreled with the Chickasaw Indians and undertook an invasion of their country, but were overwhelmed by the Chickasaws after a great battle at the Chickasaw old fields.

This overwhelming defeat occurred at the same time that Arthur Campbell, William Edmiston, and many other hardy pioneers first pitched their tents on the waters of the Holston and Clinch, and there can be no doubt that this occurrence contributed much to the rapid settlement of this section of Virginia.

For thirty years following the advent of the first settlers into this country the Cherokees killed and scalped the inhabitants at every opportunity.

The population of this tribe in 1735 was considerable. Adair says that they had sixty-four populous towns, and their fighting men numbered above six thousand.

In the year 1776 the number of warriors pertaining to this tribe was two thousand four hundred and ninety-one.

This tribe of Indians now occupy a part of the Indian Territory. It will be remembered that the Cherokees used principally the valleys of the Holston in their hunting expeditions and seldom visited the valleys of the Clinch.

SHAWNESE.

But little can be said of this Indian tribe save that it was known as a wandering nation.

At times in their history they occupied territory in almost all sections of the country east of the Mississippi river and south of the Lakes, but at the time when this tribe gave trouble to our ancestors their homes were on the Wabash and Miami rivers, where they built many villages. Their principal town, called "Piquo," was the birthplace of the great Tecumseh.

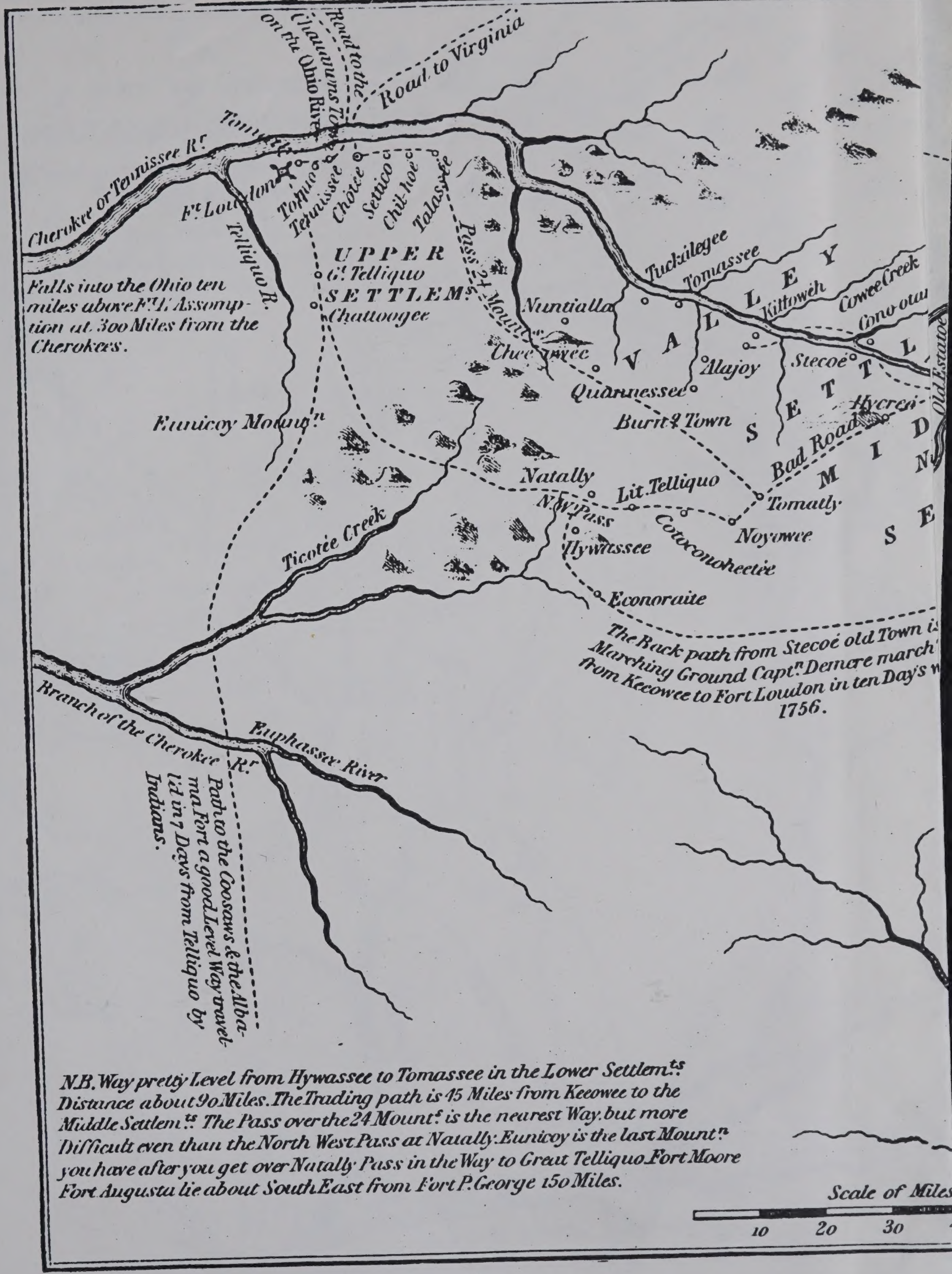
This tribe had a tradition respecting their origin. They believed their fathers crossed the ocean from the East under the guidance of a leader of the Turtle tribe, one of their original subdivisions, and that they walked into the sea, the waters of which parted, and thus passed over on the bottom to this land.

This tribe of Indians were responsible for many of the murders and outrages suffered by the early settlers on the Clinch and many times on the Holston, the Indians coming by the trails through Cumberland Gap and the trails coming into Tazewell county previously described.

The population of this tribe in 1735 did not, according to Adair, exceed four hundred and fifty souls.

This tribe of Indians assisted the British in the wars of 1776 and 1812, and in the latter struggle did effective service for their British allies.

In 1817 they ceded their lands in Ohio to the United States and were soon confined to a small reservation west of the Mississippi river.

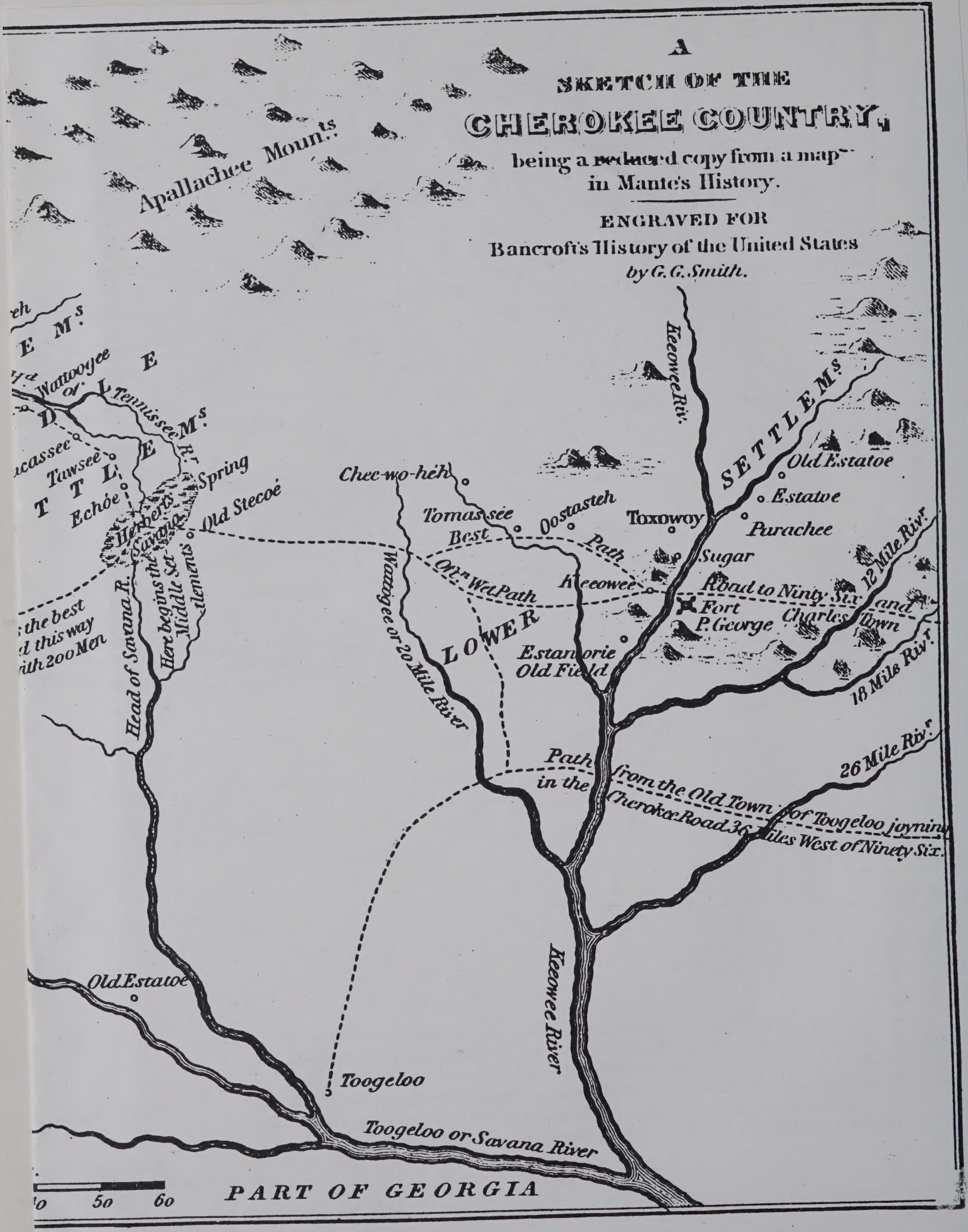

Road to the Chauanons To on the Ohio River
Road to Virginia
Cherokee or Tenissee R^{r}.
Tomotly
F^{t}. Loudon
Telliquo R.
Toquo
Tenissee
Choice
Settico
Chil-hoe
Talassee
UPPER
G^{t}. Telliquo
SETTLEM^{ts}.
Chattoogee
Pass 24 Mount^{s}
Nuntialla
Cheeowee
Tuckilegee
Tomassee
VALLEY
Kittoweh
Cowee Creek
Cono-own
Old Estatoe
Alajoy
Stecoe
Quanuessee
Burnt Town
SETTL
Hycrea
Bad Road
MIDDLE
SE
Eunicoy Mountn
Natally
Lit. Telliquo
Tomatly
N.W. Pass
Noyowee
Hywassee
Cotoconoheetee
Econoraite
Ticotee Creek
Branch of the Cherokee R^{r}.
Euphassee River
Scale of Miles
10
20
30

Falls into the Ohio ten miles above F^{t}. L'Assomption at 300 Miles from the Cherokees.

The Back path from Stecoe old Town is Marching Ground Capt^{n}. Demere march' from Keowee to Fort Loudon in ten Days w 1756.

Path to the Coosaws & the Albama Fort a good Level Way travel'd in 7 Days from Telliquo by Indians.

N.B. Way pretty Level from Hywassee to Tomassee in the Lower Settlem^{ts}. Distance about 90 Miles. The Trading path is 45 Miles from Keeowee to the Middle Settlem^{ts}. The Pass over the 24 Mount^{s}. is the nearest Way but more Difficult even than the North West Pass at Natally: Eunicoy is the last Mount^{n}. you have after you get over Natally Pass in the Way to Great Telliquo. Fort Moore Fort Augusta lie about South East from Fort P. George 150 Miles.



A

SKETCH OF THE

CHEROKEE COUNTRY,

being a reduced copy from a map in Mante's History.

ENGRAVED FOR

Bancroft's History of the United States

by G. G. Smith.

Apallachee Mounts.
E M.s
Wattoogee
E
L
D
Tennissee R.r
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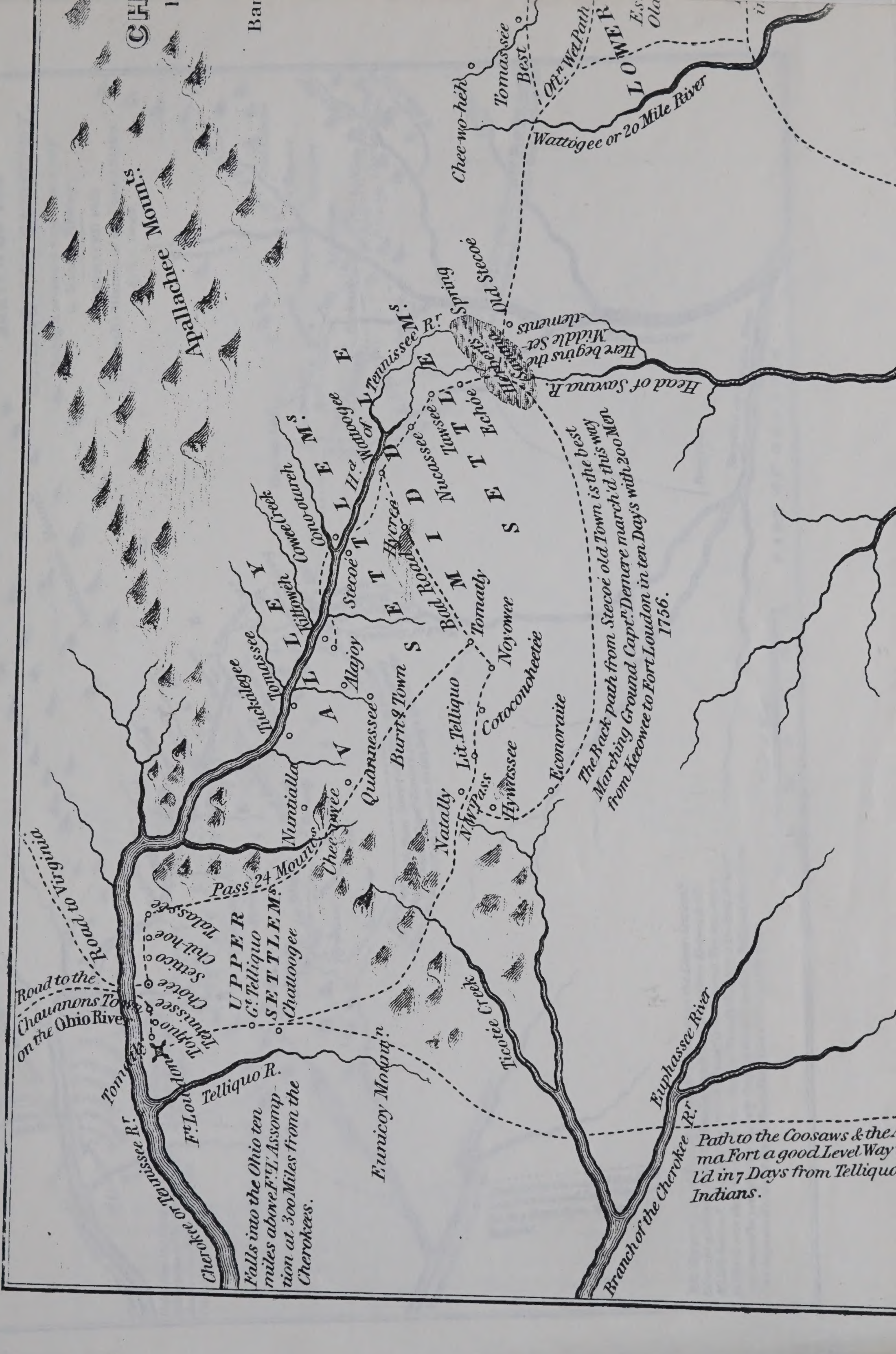
Tawsee
T T L
Echóe
Herberts Spring
Savana
Old Stecoé
Here begins the Middle Settlements
Head of Savana R.
the best
d this way
with 200 Men
Chee-wo-heh
Tomassee
Oostasteh
Best Path
Other Wet Path
Wattogee or 20 Mile River
LOWER
Keeowee
Keeowee Riv.
SETTLEM.s
Old Estatoe
Estatoe
Toxoway
Parachee
Sugar
Road to Ninety Six and Charles Town
Fort P. George
Estanorie Old Field
12 Mile Riv.r
18 Mile Riv.r
26 Mile Riv.r
Path in the Cherokee Road 36 Miles West of Ninety Six.
from the Old Town of Toogeloo joyning
Keeowee River
Old Estatoe
Toogeloo
Toogeloo or Savana River
PART OF GEORGIA
50
60


Apallachee Mount.ts
Cherokee or Tenissee R.r
Falls into the Ohio ten miles above F.t L'Assomption at 300 Miles from the Cherokees.
F.t Loudoun
Tomotly
Telliquo R.
Toqueo
Tenuissee
Chotee
Settico
Chil-hoe
Talassee
Road to the Chauanons Town on the Ohio River
Road to Virginia
UPPER SETTLEM.ts
G.t Telliquo
Chattoogee
Pass 24 Mount.s
Cheeowee
Nuntialla
Funicoy Mount.n
Ticotee Creek
Euphassee River
Branch of the Cherokee R.r
Path to the Coosaws & the A
ma Fort a good Level Way
l'd in 7 Days from Telliquo
Indians.
Natally
N.W. pass
Hywassee
Lit. Telliquo
Cotoconoheetee
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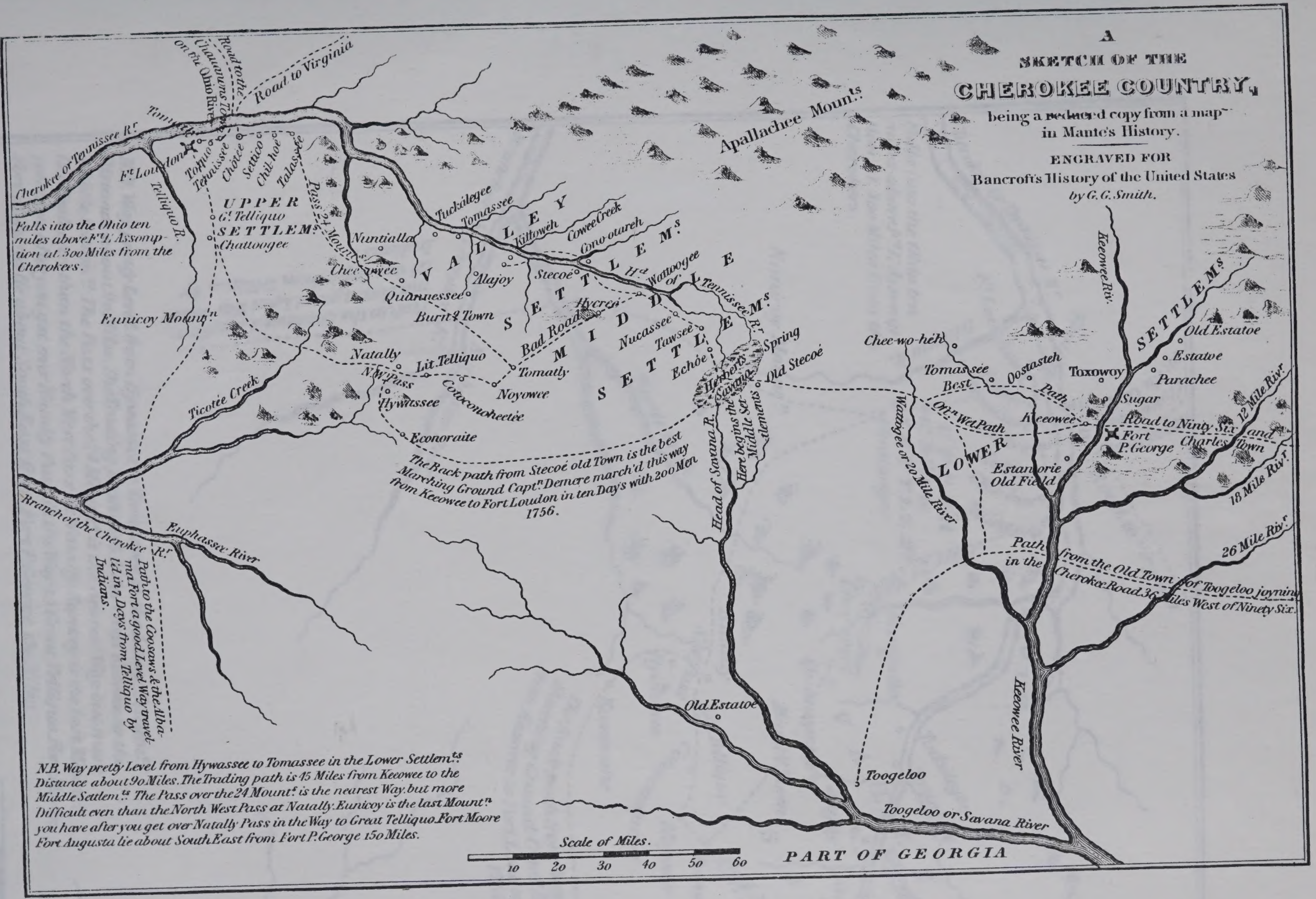
Quanessee
Burnt Town
Noyowee
Tomatly
Bad Road
Alajoy
Tuckalegee
Tomassee
Kittowah
Cowee Creek
Conoowareh
Stecoe
VALLEY
MIDDLE SETTLEMENTS
Acree
Nucassee
Tawsee
Echoe
Watoogee
H.d of L. Tennissee R.r
Tennissee M.s
Spring
Old Stecoe
Here begins the Middle Settlements
Head of Savana R.
The Back path from Stecoe old Town is the best Marching Ground Capt.n Demere march'd this way from Keeowee to Fort Loudon in ten Days with 200 Men 1756.
Chee-wo-heh
Tomassee
Best
Old.n War Path
LOWER
Wattogee or 20 Mile River



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Path to the Coosaws & the Albama Fort a good Level Way travell'd in 7 Days from Telliquo by Indians.

Path from the Old Town in the Cherokee Road 30 Miles West of Ninety Six of Toogeloo joyning

Road to the Chauanons Town on the Ohio River
Road to Virginia
Cherokee or Tennissee R.r
Tomotly
F.t Loudon
Toqua
Tennissee
Chotee
Settico
Chil-hoe
Talassee
Telliquo R.
UPPER
G.t Telliquo
SETTLEM.s
Chattoogee
Pass 24 Mount.s
Nuntialla
Cheewee
Quannessee
Burnt Town
Eunicoy Moun.n
Apallachee Moun.ts
Tuckalegee
Tomassee
Kittoweh
Cowee Creek
Cono-otareh
Alajoy
Stecoé
VALLEY SETTLEM.s
Hycree
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Tennissee R.r
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Bad Road
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Path
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Road to Ninty Six and Charles Town
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12 Mile Riv.r
18 Mile Riv.r
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PART OF GEORGIA
Scale of Miles.
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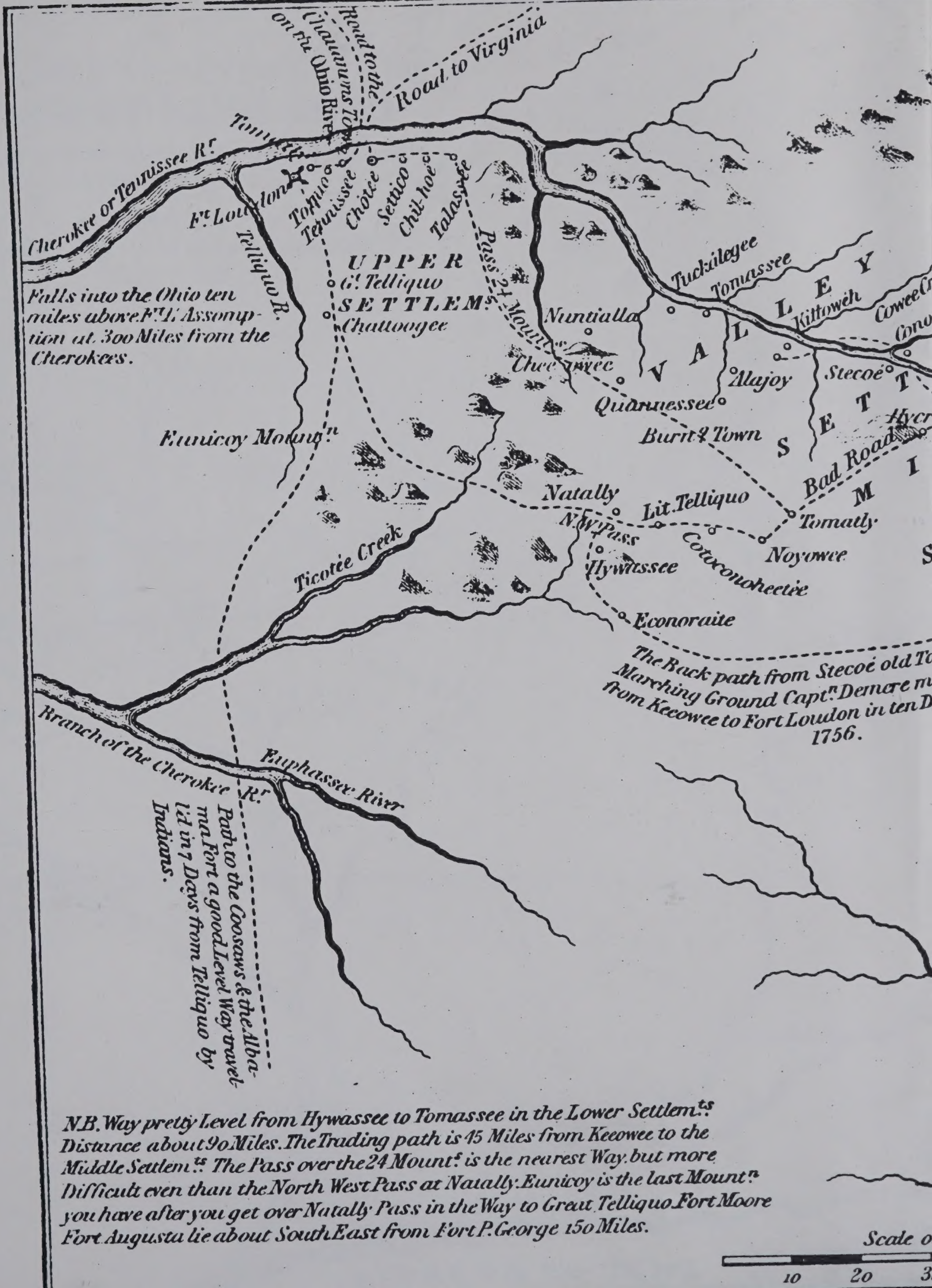
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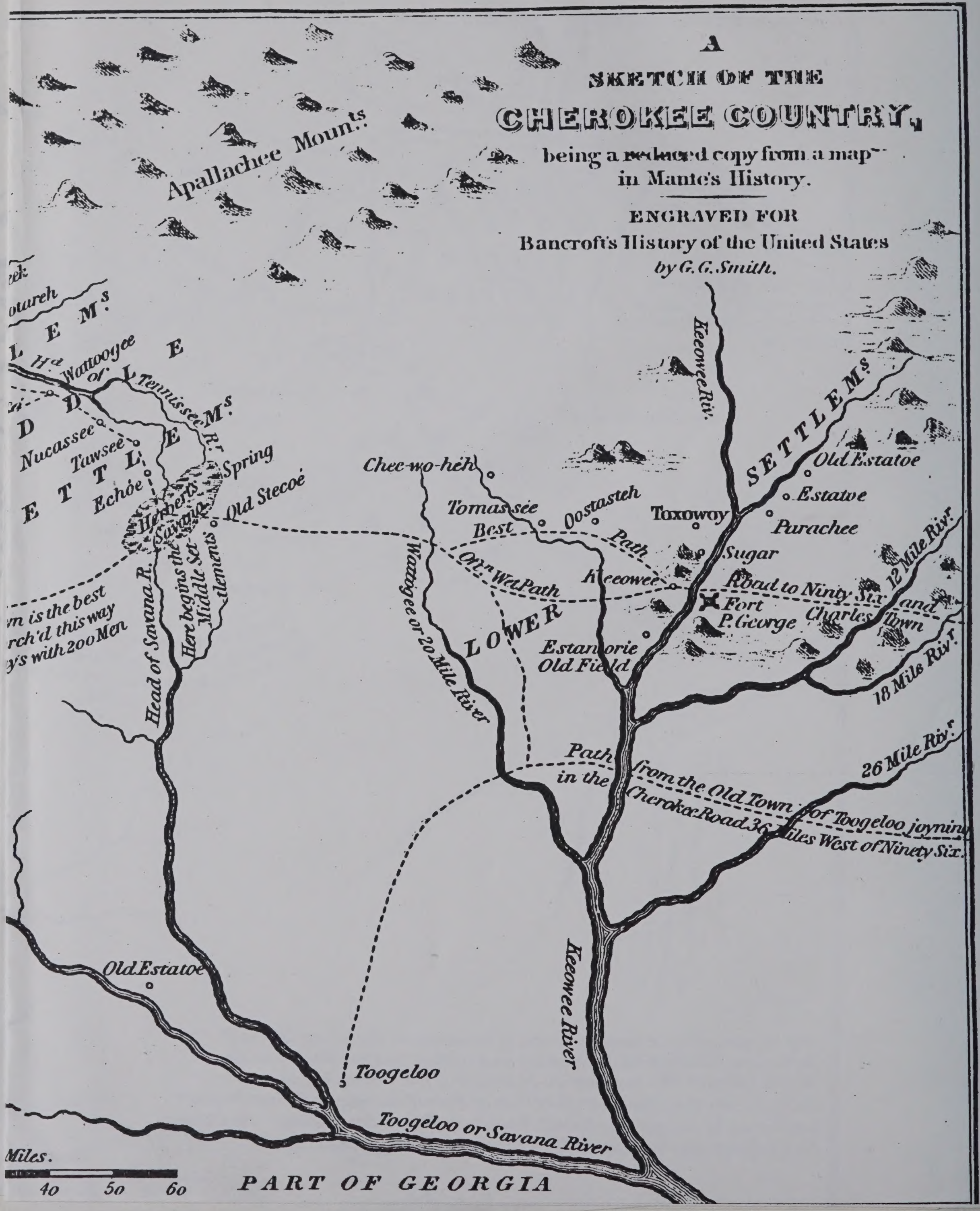

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Toogeloo or Savana River
Miles.
40
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PART OF GEORGIA

, Jean and Elizabeth Kirkham, to Jonathan Whitley. Robert Kirkham, merly of Augusta, had bargained to Wm. Cleghorn, and Cleghorn to athan, but Robert died without making deed and Jonathan has brought :. Conveys 30 acres on James River. Teste: Jno Semple, Jno. Gilmer. livered: Samuel Hunter, 1763.

Page 512.—17th November, 1757. Jno. Poage to Jno. Maxwell, £100, acres on James River. Delivered: Wm. McKee, May, 1764.

Page 514.—16th November, 1757. James Davies to Wm. Preston, £50,) acres on northwest side of the Catawbo on Davies Branch, patented to vies, 10th September, 1755; signed James (mark) Davies. Teste: James inlap. Delivered: McGilbert by your order, 3d October, 1759.

Page 516.—17th November, 1757. William Christian and Mary to George illson, £30, lot 8 in Staunton, sold by County Court to Thomas Paxton and Paxton to William, 16th August, 1753. Delivered: George, August, 58.

Page 518.—17th November, 1757. Francis Gardiner ( ) to Robert raw, £5, 95 acres.

Page 520.—17th November, 1757. James ( ) Coyle to Wm. Preston, 5, 145 acres by patent, 16th August, 1756, on North River Shanando; cor. enj. Copeland. Teste: Jno. McNeill.

Page 522.—15th March, 1758. Richard Woods and Elizabeth to George ibson, 200 acres on North Branch Colyer's Creek.

Page 524.—29th December, 1757. Patrick Crawford, yeoman, to Samuel ivens. Release of lease, 16th December, 1755. Teste: Wm. Poage, James enderson.

Page 525.— — —— 1758. Henry ( ) Duley, of Bedford, yeoman, and Iartha to John Craige, yeoman, £30, 171 acres, part of 225 acres bought y Henry from Christopher Francisco, and part of Christopher's 3000 acres n Cub Run, cor. Frederick Harmantrout.

Page 529.—18th February, 1758. William Downs to John Madison, £15, 00 acres patented to William, 5th November, 1747; Stover's Mill Creek; and of Wm. Lamb. Teste: Henry Downs, Abraham Miller.

Page 531.—17th March, 1758. John Mills to William Graham, £—, 00 acres, part of a tract deeded to John by James Patton, 17th December, 752, on Buffelo Creek, a branch of Roanoke; cor. David Robinson, Car avan's Creek.

Page 534.—15th March, 1758. Jno. Lyle to James McKee, £35, 210 icres, part of Borden's 92100; cor. Mathew Lyle; cor. Jno. Gray. Teste Wm. Todd, Mathew Lyle, Robert Huston. Delivered: Jno. Lyle, 16th August, 1774.

Page 535.—15th March, 1758. Borden's executors to James McKee, £5, 310 acres, part of 92100; cor. Samuel Norwood on Kerr's Creek, Jno. ~~Wiley's line.~~ Delivered: Wm. McKee, April, 1764.

Page 539.—16th March, 1758. Daniel Harrison to Robert Harrison, £40, 400 ~~acres on~~ head of Dry Fork of Smith's Creek. Delivered: Captain Daniel Smith, January, 1763.

Page 541.—18th August, 1756. James Trimble and Sarah to Hanse Harper, £13, 180 acres on Black Thorn, a branch of South Branch of Potomac. Delivered: Harper, November, 1760.

Page 543.—15th March, 1758. Borden's executors to Michael Bowyer, of Hanover, £1, 226 acres, part of 92100. Delivered: Michael [illegible] April, 1762.

Page 546.—14th March, 1758. Sampson and George Mathews [illegible] of John Mathews, Jr., £8.12, 291 acres on Mill Creek in Fork of [illegible] Thos. Williams line, cor. Joshua Mathews; cor. Wm. [illegible] Andly Paul, Wm. Mathews.

Page 548.—20th February, 1758. Archibald ( ) [illegible] County, North Carolina, to James Clark, Sr., and Wm. [illegible] to convey 163 acres to John Johnston on Jackson River. Teste: [illegible] Patrick Jack.

Page 550.—16th March, 1758. Wm. Smith to Thomas Meek, £10, 200 acres, foot of Brown Hill in line of Wm. McCutchen. Teste: Jno. Clark, Adam Dickenson. Delivered: George Wilson, August, 1758.

DEED BOOK No. 8.

Page 2.—18th March, 1758. Thomas Walker, of Louisa County, to Alex. Sayers, £15, 504 acres on a branch of Reed Creek where the Buffalo lick is, part of a tract patented to Thomas, 4th July, 1752; cor. Montgomery, the Barrens. Sent to Col. Wm. Preston, October, 1773.

Page 4.—15th March, 1758. James Davis to sons Henry, William and Samuel Davies, love and affection, 1,300 acres known as Davies' Fancy on the Indian River. 1st, to Henry,a portion on the South Fork known as the Beaver Dam, down the said Fork to where the two Forks meet; 2d, to son William, 350 acres; 3d, to son Samuel, 350 acres. Signed: James ( ) Davies. Delivered: Wm. Davis, May, 1765.

Page 6.—17th March, 1758. John Young to Robert Allen, £[illegible], [illegible] acres in Beverley Manor, on Back Creek; corner Hugh Young; John Trimble's corner; corner Wm. McFeeters, James Young's corner. Delivered: Hugh Young, August, 1762.

Page 8.—18th March, 1758. Robt. Breckinridge to James Simpson, £35, [illegible] acres by patent, 19th October, 1753, on south side Buffelo Creek, opposite Long Berch, top of the Whiskey Hill. Delivered: Jno. Mathews, son of Richard, March 6, 1773.

Page 10.—2d May, 1758. Robert Reagh (Reah, Reaoh), carpenter and joiner, and Sara to Archibald Reah, Jr., yeoman, £60, 118 acres on Hays Creek; corner widow Smyley. Teste: Wm. Reah. Delivered: Archibald Reah, 23d March, 1768.

Page 12.—17th May, 1758. Joseph Hanna and Ann to Rob. McCutchen, [illegible], 213 acres on a Sinking Branch of the south side Naked Creek.

Page 14.—14th November, 1758. Borden's executors to Wm. Buchanan, [illegible], 280 acres, part of 92,100; corner James Miles, on North Branch of James; several corners of the very crooked river.

Page 17.—13th May, 1758. John Wilson ( ) and Mary ( ) to Henry Perkey, £80, 388 acres on Mill Creek of Shanando purchased by Jno. from Wm. Russell; corner said Perkey's line. Teste: Robt. Hook, Jacob ( ) Persenor (Persinger, Parchinger), Charles Rush.

Page 20.—13th May, 1758. Peter Hull and Susanna ( ) to Charles Rush, £32, 210 acres, part of larger tract purchased by Peter from Francis [illegible]; corner to Trout's land, on Cub Run, line of Pence's land. Same witnesses as above. Delivered: Charles Rush, February, 1765.

Page 23.—16th August, 1758. John Lusk and Elizabeth ( ) to Alex-

Chalkey – Chron. of Scotch-Irish Settlmt in VA

Alcoran, James Ryne. To William Mountgomery. Due by Peter Harman, Jno. Thompson, Jr., Joseph Crockett, Andrew Gaughagen.

Page 356.—29th May, 1751. Jackson and Joseph Allen's bond as administrators of Mary Allen.

Page 358.—29th May, 1751. Lucretia Griffith's bond as executrix of Mathusalem Griffith, with sureties Erwin Patterson and Tasker Tosh.

Page 359.—22d May, 1751. Improvements valued on Samuel Porter's plantation, by John Poack and James Davis, on Buffelow Creek.

Page 360.—29th May, 1751. Robert Rose's bond as guardian of Wm. Rieley, orphan of John Rieley, deceased, appointed guardian.

Page 361.—23d May, 1751. Improvements valued of William Henderson's plantation on North Branch of James River, by John Mathews and John McClure. (Sworn by John Mathews, Sr.)

Page 361.—20th April, 1751. Andrew Bird's appraisement, by Wm. White, Wm. Carrol, John Ruddle.

Page 362.—29th May, 1751. Appraisement of Jacob Pence, by Robert Hooks, Wm. Williams.

Page 366.—15th August, 1751. Reuben Allen's appraisement, by John Ruddle, Daniel Holdman, Michael Waren.

Page 367.—27th August, 1751. James Bell's appraisement, by John Archer, Wm. McPheeters, Samuel Wallace.

Page 368.—6th August, 1751. James Robinson's appraisement by Thos. Moore, John Bryant, John McDonal. Due by Daniel Murley and John Patton.

Page 370.—27th August, 1751. John Hodge's appraisement, by Wm. Draper, Robert Caldwell, Wm. McGee. Due from John Lee, Robert Caldwell, Nicholas Seahorn.

Page 372.—27th August, 1751. David Edmondson's appraisement, by Wm. Finley, Wm. Jonston, Samuel McCune.

Page 372.—23d May, 1751. Gilbert Campbell's appraisement, by Alex. McMullan, Robert Allison, James Thompson, Andrew Hays.

Page 373.—23d May, 1751. Appraisement of goods left by Gilbert Campbell to his wife, Prudence Campbell, alias Puran.

Page 374.—27th August, 1751. Thomas Housen's (signed Joho Housen) bond as administrator of James Porteus, with sureties David Kingkade, W. Russell.

Page 375.—27th August, 1751. Frederick Sea's bond as administrator of George Sea, with surety Andrew Lewis.

Page 377.—24th August, 1751. Inventory of Richard Ticktum from the gap of the North Mountain upon Shannadore, by Charles Dayly, John Steats, Uriah Humble, all of the place aforesaid.

Page 379.— ——— Daniel Gibson's will—Wife, Elizabeth Gibson, executrix. Teste: Alex. Blair, John Nickel, Robert Gambell. 28th August, 1751, no probate order.

Page 379.—28th August, 1751. John Scot's bond as administrator of Alex. Scot.

Page 381.—28th August, 1751. Thomas Lewis' bond as surveyor, with sureties Andrew Lewis, Jno. Madison.

Page 381.—28th August, 1751. Andrew Lewis' bond as deputy surveyor.

Page 382.—28th August, 1751. James Trimble's bond as deputy surveyor with sureties Silas Hart, Robert Breckinridge.

Page 383.—28th August, 1751. Peter Moser's bond as administrator of Daniel Mouse, with sureties Frederick Sea, John Scott.

Page 384.—28th August, 1751. Andrew Hay's bond as guardian to Robert Lusk, orphan of John Lusk; appointed.

Page 385.—28th August, 1751. John Moore's bond as guardian of Margaret Bell, orphan of James Bell; appointed.

Page 386.—28th August, 1751. Archibald Graham's bill of sale of a negro boy, 11 years old, to Robert Bratton. Teste: W. Wilson, Ralph Laverty.

Page 386.—29th August, 1751. John Graham's bond as guardian to James and David Graham, orphans of Wm. Graham; appointed.

Page 387.—10th January, 1751. Robert Davison's will, yeoman—Son, John Davison, 13½ pence; daughter, Mary Huston, 13½ pence; wife, Ann. Executrix, Ann. Teste: John Mackey, William Lusk. 29th August, 1751, proved by all witnesses. Ann refuses to execute, and administration granted to John Davison.

Page 388.—4th September, 1751. Vendue by George Anderson and Robert Patterson upon estate of James Crawford. To Wm. Bell, Mathew Armstrong, Thomas Story, Edward Ritledge, Robt. Craig, Saml. Mullene, John Patterson, Saml. Keer, Pat Crawford, James Henderson, Timothy Coll.

Page 390.—17th October, 1751. John Rutledge's will—Aged father; nephew, George Rutledge, was partner with James Bell in a tract of land; 400 acres on Long Glade conveyed to them by Thos. Gilespy; brother, Wm. Rutledge; brother, Thomas Rutledge; sister, Catherine Marshal; sister, Jean Rutledge. Executors, Thomas Rutledge and James Bell. Teste: William Armstrong, John Flood, Hugh Means. Proved, 26th November, 1751, by all witnesses, and Thomas Rutledge qualifies executor, with sureties Wm. Thompson, Wm. Preston.

Page 392.—6th June, 1751. Appraisement of Isaac Jones by Abram Vanderpool, Henry Shipler, John McDade.

Page 393.—26th November, 1751. Jacob Thomas' bond as administrator of John Windlekite, with sureties Henry Long, Jacob Miller.

Page 394.—26th November, 1751. John O'Briant's bond as executor of Cornelius O'Briant.

Page 395.—27th November, 1751. Robert Davison's appraisement by Mathew and Daniel Lyle and James Edmondson.

Page 396.—23d April, 1751. John Gray's will, yeoman—Wife, Agness; son, Jacob; son, William; son, David; son, Joseph; son, Benj.; daughter, Ann Gray; son, Saml.; son, John; daughter, Elizabeth. Executors, son Samuel and John Lyle. Teste: Archd. Alexander, James McClung, Daniel Lyle. 27th November, 1751, proved by all witnesses, and both executors qualify, with sureties Archd. Alexander and James McClung.

Page 399.—23d April, 1751. Appraisement of Daniel Davis by Wm. White, John Ruddle, Michael Waren.

Page 400.—10th August, 1751. Edward Cherry's appraisement by Abel Westfall, Peter Thorn. Due by Loury Myers. Due by Abra. Hite.

Page 401.—27th November, 1751. John Archer and John Pickins' bond as guardians of Elizabeth and Catherine King, orphans of Robert King with surety John King, Robert McClenachan, appointed.

Page 227.—24th February, 1749-50. Christian Miller's appraisement, by seph Langdon, John Cook, Joseph Cokenour.

Page 228.—1st March, 1749. Andrew Martin's appraisement, by Andrew ickens, James Walker, James Coulter.

Page 229.—2d March, 1749. Peter Kinder's appraisement.

Page 231.—2d March, 1749. Mathew Edmiston, Danl. Harrison, Gabriel ickens, farmers. Mathew's bond as guardian of Robina, daughter of mes Patterson. Robina did not chose guardian.

Page 232.—11th December, 1749. Saml. Crockett's will, of Reed Creek, rmer—Wife, Esther; executors, Wife and James Montgomery; son, hn; five sons; some of children are infants; daughters, Agness, Jane, atherine; guardian of children, Joseph Crockett. Teste: Joseph Crockett, hn Noble, John Downing. Proved, 22d May, 1750, by Joseph Crockett d Jno. Noble; and both executors qualify, with surety Joseph Long.

Page 234.—6th December, 1749. Samuel Brown's will, farmer—Brother, enry Brown, colt that runs at Round Oak; two youngest brothers, Daniel d David; wife, Mary, mare bought of Robert Gay; two children, Adam ldest) and Henry Brown, infants. To eldest born, Adam, house and nd at Round Oake. Executors, Adam Dickinson and brother Henry rown. Teste: Benj. Hardin, John Dickinson, Isaac Scholley. Proved, d May, 1750, by Hardin and Dickinson.

Page 236.—22d May, 1750. Executors qualify on above, with sureties o. Pickins and Wm. Acres.

Page 237.—6th January, 1749-50. John Woodley's will—Son, Jacob, & illings; son-in-law, Nicholas Seahaven. Executor, Nicholas Seahaven. este: Daniel Holdman, John Rudle, Hans Heinrich Neff. Proved, 22d ay, 1750, by all witnesses, and executor qualifies.

Page 239.—11th September, 1749. Mathusalem Griffie's will, of Round Oak, farmer—Wife, Lucretia; youngest son, John; three sons; eldest son, Morrice Griffie, 300 acres on Meason's Creek by the Lick; executors, son Morrice and wife; son, Benjamin; daughter, Elizabeth Griffie, under 21; daughter, Hannah, infant; daughter, Lucretia, under 25. Teste: Thomas Tosh, Tasker Tosh, Thos. Acres. Proved, 22d May, 1750, by Thos. Acres, and others to be summoned.

Page 240.—22d May, 1750. Elizabeth Barber's bond as administratrix George Barber, with sureties Jno. Smith, Robert Looney.

Page 241.—6th April, 1749. Robert Edmiston's will—Wife (Jean?); gatee, Jean Edmiston; daughter, Dorothy Edmiston; son, James; son, illiam. Executors, Thos. McSpaden, Wm. Edmiston. Teste: Jno. Ediston, Samuel Buchanan. Proved, 22d May, 1750, by Buchanan, and dmiston summoned.

Page 242.—22d May, 1750. Elizabeth Lucas' bond as administratrix of ichard Lucas, with sureties Maurice O'Freel, Joseph Crockett.

Page 244.—26th February, 1749. Andrew Boyd's will, farmer—Wife, ebecca; two sons, Thomas and John; cousin, Jno. White, 1 cow, if he me to live here. He is to live 3 or 4 years at a Spring between (betwixt) ndrew's dwelling house and the Half Way Creek. Executors, wife and mes Fulton. Teste: Wm. Hay, Jennat Boggs, Robert Alexander. Proved, d May, 1750, by Hay and Boggs, and both executors give bond, with reties Patrick Hays. Rebecca's mark——

Page 246.—22d May, 1750. Archibald Clendenning's appraisement, by Hugh Coffey, Alex. McCray, John Cartmel. Books.

Page 247.—4th August, 1749. George Draper's appraisement, by Richard Hall, Wm. Ingless, Thomas Ingless.

Page 248.—23d May, 1750. William Henry's bond as guardian of James McCord, orphan of Wm. McCord, with surety Francis McCown.

Page 249.—25th May, 1750. John and Eleanor Fletcher's bond as administrators of John Hindman, clerk, whereof John Stevenson was administrator, with sureties John Lewis, Wm. Hamilton, Jno. Graham.

Page 250.—7th March, 1750. James Berry's appraisement by Thomas Beard, James Trimble, David Hays.

Page 252.—2d July, 1750. Richard Ticktom's will—Wife, Rose, the mare that was Frederick's; son, Joseph; son, Richard; daughter, Mary; daughter, Nanny (the horse at John Miller's, and cow at Ben Hass). Teste: Wm. Miller, Thos. West, John States. Presented by Rose Ticktom, 28th August, 1750, and witnesses summoned. Proved, 20th February, 1750, by States, and Rose qualified administratrix, with sureties Daniel Love, James Hamilton. (No bond here.)

Page 253.—Shannandore, 4th June, 1750. Caleb Job's will—Wife, Barbary; four children, Samuel, Jacob, Nathan, Elizabeth. Executors, wife and Ephraim Leith. Teste: Abraham Job, Moses McKay. Proved, 28th May, 1750, by Job and McKay, and both executors gave bond (no bond recorded).

Page 254.—10th August, 1750. Andrew Boyd's appraisement, by James Fulton, Wm. Moore and Robert Alexander. Jennet Steel's note; Alex. McCorkle's note; David Moore's note.

Page 255.—28th August, 1750. Daniel Holdman's account against estate of Rudy Brock for services done to the children—3d November, 1750, cash paid for George Brock's land; Efey Brock's share of grain.

Page 255.—28th August, 1750. Ephraim Leath and Barbary Job's bond as executors of Caleb Job.

Page 257.—20th August, 1750. Appraisement of James Shields, cordwinder, by John Wilson, Wm. McCutchen, David Karr.

Page 259.—4th July, 1749. Samuel Scott's appraisement, by Wm. Lamb, James Beard, Mathew Thompson.

Page 262.—29th August, 1750. Hugh Parker's bond as administrator of James Rutledge, Gent., deceased, with sureties Jno. Stephenson, Hans Baumgartner.

Page 263.—29th August, 1750. Wm. Edmondson's bond as executor of Robert Edmondson, deceased, with surety John Edmondson.

Page 265.—30th August, 1750. William James' appraisement, by Wm. White, John Rudle, Reuben Allen.

Page 266.—27th December, 1749. Simon Acres' appraisement, by Erwin Patterson, Joseph Robinson, John Meson.

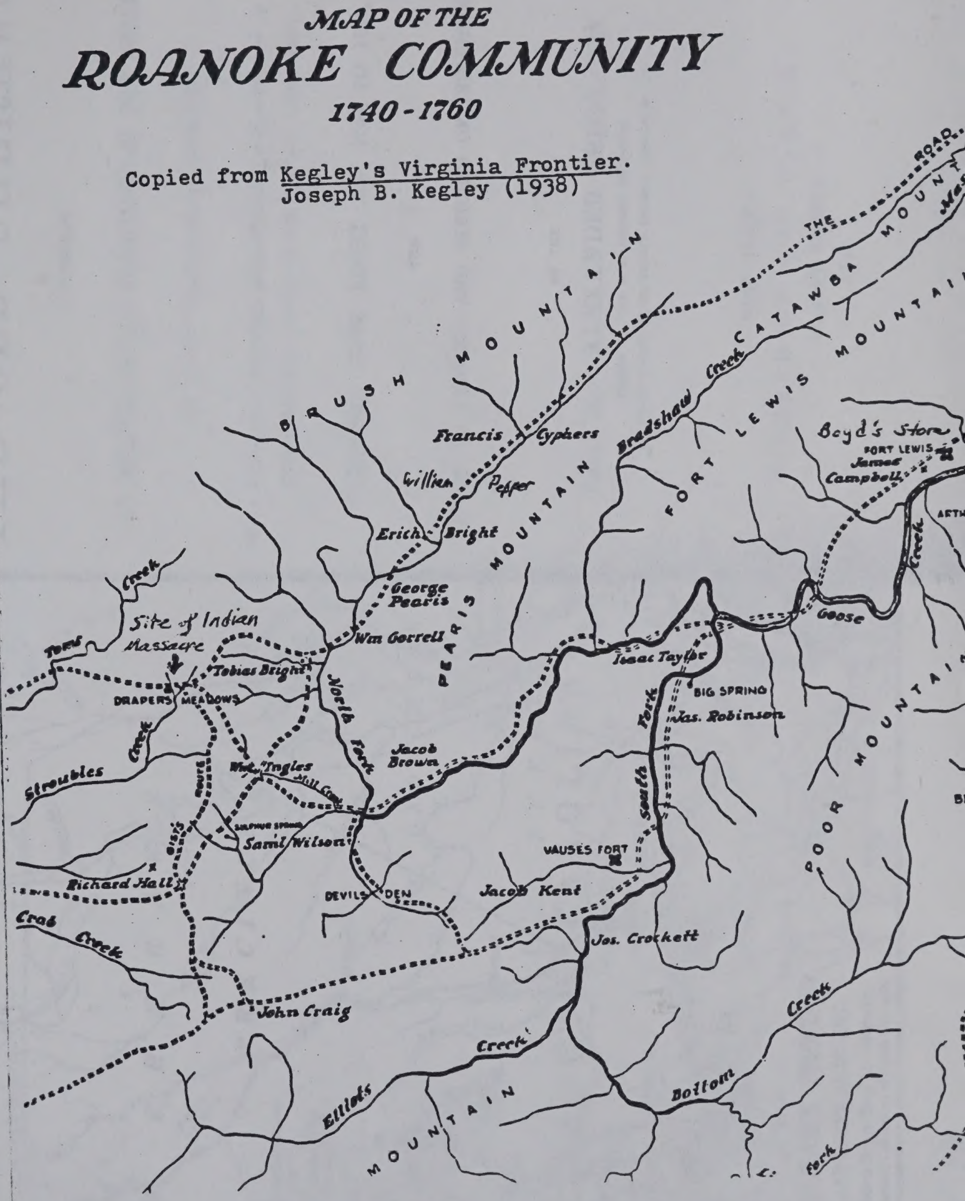
Page 267.—27th November, 1750. Paul Lung's bond as administrator of Rudy Mauck, with sureties Frederick Fraelich (Frailey), Peter Scholl.

Page 268.—18th July, 1750. George Barber's appraisement, by Henry Houlston, Robert Williams, William Terry, Joseph Robinson.

Page 269.—25th July, 1750. Abraham Job's will—Wife, Elizabeth; son, Elisha, trustee for the widow, and after her widowhood, equal executor with her; children Rebecca, Isaac (infant), Phoeby, David (infant), Hannah;

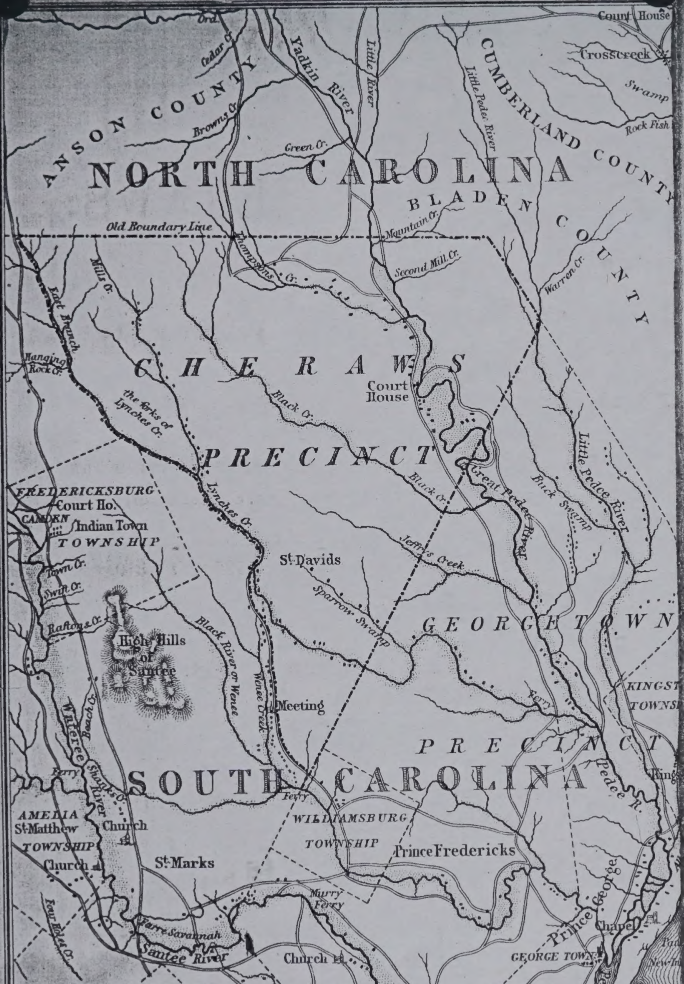
-26th February, 1746-7. Isaac Bean's estate; settlement. Sworn
, 1748. May 16th, 1748. Received of James Burk full satis-
he within account I say received by me.—Moses McClure.
-18th May, 1748. Margaret Adams' bond as administratrix of
ms, with sureties Richard Dicton, Samuel Wilkins.
-27th July, 1748. Joseph Harrison's appraisement by Samuel
n. MaGill, David Logan.
-24th October, 1747. John Taylor's Inventory by Thomas
. Carrel, Thomas Milsap. To an improvement of land sold by
ow administratrix.
-18th August, 1748. John Campbell's estate; settlement by
on.
-18th August, 1748. Jacob Glaspy's bond as guardian of James
orphan of Wm. Humphreys, with surety John Davies. James
rdian.
-10th August, 1748. Daniel Monahan's appraisement by James
ark Evans.
Sale bill of above estate, 13th December, 1744, purchasers, viz:
Wm. Akers, Pat Shirkey, Chas. Ewing. John Thomas, Mary
las Harford, Mary Kinder, Wm. Armstrong, Wm. Carson,
imes, Wm. Mills, James Burk, Bryan Cuff, Wm. Armstrong,
n, Daniel Creeley, Pat Shirkey, Mark Cole, George Barberer,
, Peter Kinder, Joseph Love, Methusalem Griffith, Tobias
McFall, Wm. March, Mark Cole, Jasper Terry, Henry Brown,
ry, Stephen Rentfro. 1740—The estate of Daniel Monahan,
id Joseph Tate. Cash paid Edmond Cartledge. 1743—Cash
Gaughagin.
Cash for John Jennet. Cash for thrashing grain. Cash paid
Cash for Jno. Finley. Edmond Smith's account. Cash paid
ey, Robert Rowland, Jno. Bramham. Cash paid Andrew
th June, 1747—Daniel Monahan to Simon Akers, 1 year's
ild, £4, 7, 6. Paid John Bird. (Here James Porteus begins
id., page 282.)
16th January, 1748-9. Rudal Brock's will—Son, Frederick;
daughter, Christiana Funkhouser; daughter, Julian Brock;
. Executors, John Dobikin and Wm. James. Teste: John
Peter Gartner, Hans Ber. Proved, 15th February, 1748, by
and John Bare.
5th February, 1748. Executors qualify as above, with sure-
ewman, Jacob Woodley.
6th January, 1749. Johannes Hockman, will (in German)—
, all estate. Teste: Henry Pfifer, Henry Gochenour, Chris-
ess), Ulrick Hockman. Proved, 15th February, 1748.
5th February, 1748. Jane Skaine's bond as administratrix of
e.
5th February, 1748. Swain Rambo's bond as administrator
mbo.
5th February, 1748. Jonathan Cobourn's bond as adminis-
s Cobourn, with sureties John Dobikin and Michael Stump.
15th February, 1748. Samuel Newman's bond as adminis-
han Newman.

This map overlaps that on the next page. George Pearis, Jr's first settlement was as shown below, a very dangerous location near Drapers Meadows, scene of an Indian massacre.


MAP OF THE
ROANOKE COMMUNITY
1740-1760
THE ROAD
CATAWBA MOUNT
BRUSH MOUNTAIN
Francis
Cyphers
William
Pepper
Erich
Bright
Bradshaw Creek
FORT LEWIS MOUNTAIN
MOUNTAIN
Boyd's Store
FORT LEWIS
James Campbell
Creek
George Pearis
PEARIS MOUNTAIN
Wm Gorrell
Creek
Toms
Site of Indian Massacre
Tobias Bright
DRAPERS MEADOWS
Goose
Isaac Taylor
BIG SPRING
Jas. Robinson
North Fork
Jacob Brown
Creek
Stroubles
Wm. Ingles
Mill Creek
South Fork
POOR MOUNTAIN
SULPHUR SPRING
Saml Wilson
VAUSES FORT
Richard Hall
DEVILS DEN
Jacob Kent
Crab Creek
Jos. Crockett
John Craig
Creek
Creek
Elliotts
Bottom
MOUNTAIN
Fork

Copied from Kegley's Virginia Frontier.
Joseph B. Kegley (1938)

F 269 G81 W1 5HS


ANSON COUNTY
NORTH CAROLINA
CUMBERLAND COUNTY
BLADEN COUNTY
Yadkin River
Little River
Little Pedee River
Court House
Crosscreek
Swamp
Rock Fish
Cedar Cr.
Browns Cr.
Green Cr.
Old Boundary Line
Mountain Cr.
Thompsons Cr.
Second Mill Cr.
Warren Cr.
Mills Cr.
East Branch
Hanging Rock Cr.
CHERAWS
Court House
Black Cr.
the forks of Lynches Cr.
PRECINCT
Great Pedee River
Buck Swamp
Little Pedee River
FREDERICKSBURG
Court Ho.
CAMDEN
Indian Town
TOWNSHIP
Lynches Cr.
St. Davids
Jeffrys Creek
Town Cr.
Swift Cr.
Sparrow Swamp
GEORGETOWN
Raftone Cr.
High Hills of Santee
Black River or Wenee
Wenee Creek
Meeting
KINGST TOWNS
Wateree
Beach Cr.
Shanks Cr.
River
Ferry
PRECINCT
SOUTH CAROLINA
Pedee R.
Ferry
WILLIAMSBURG TOWNSHIP
AMELIA
St. Matthew
TOWNSHIP
Church
Church
St. Marks
Prince Fredericks
Prince George
Chapel
Murry Ferry
Four Holes Cr.
Farre Savannah
Santee River
Church
GEORGE TOWN
St. Stephens
Ferry
Church
St. James Santee
Santee
ATLAN
OCE

A MAP OF

CHERAWS PRECINCT

AND PARTS ADJACENT,

Taken from Map in Carroll's
Historical Collections of South Carolina.

Lyman C. Draper
March, 1871.

HISTORY

OF

THE OLD CHERAWS:

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ABORIGINES OF THE PEDEE,

THE FIRST WHITE SETTLEMENTS,

THEIR SUBSEQUENT PROGRESS, CIVIL CHANGES, THE STRUGGLE OF THE
REVOLUTION, AND GROWTH OF THE COUNTRY AFTERWARD;

EXTENDING FROM ABOUT A.D. 1730 TO 1810,

WITH

NOTICES OF FAMILIES AND SKETCHES OF INDIVIDUALS.

BY THE

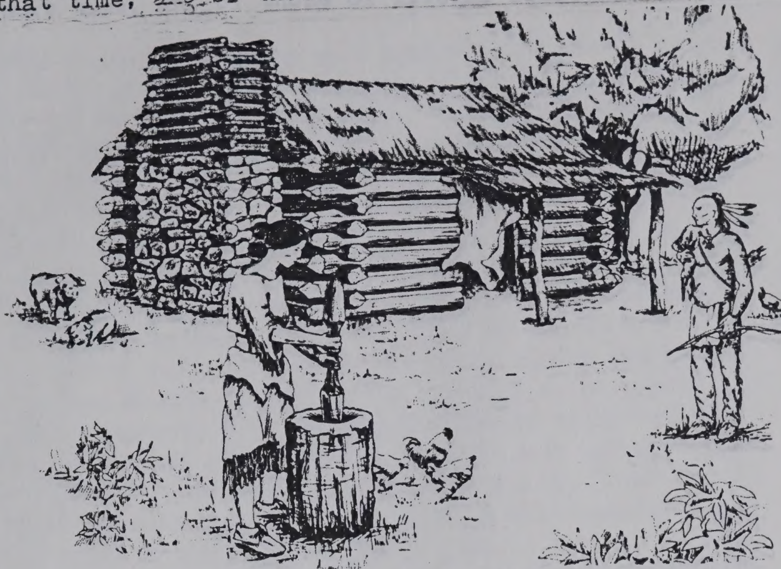
RIGHT REV. ALEXANDER GREGG, D.D.

BISHOP OF THE P. E. CHURCH IN TEXAS,
FORMERLY RECTOR OF ST. DAVID'S CHURCH, CHERAW, SO. CA.

NEW YORK:
RICHARDSON AND COMPANY,
14, BOND STREET.
1867.

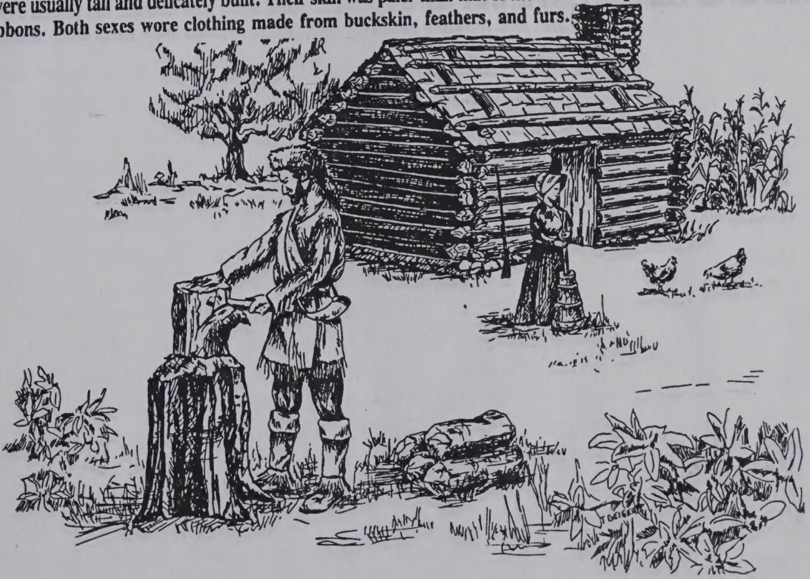
PEARIS FAMILY

One author-artist's conception of typical homesites of Cherokees of that time, and of those of illegal squatters on their land.



TYPICAL CHEROKEE HOMESITE

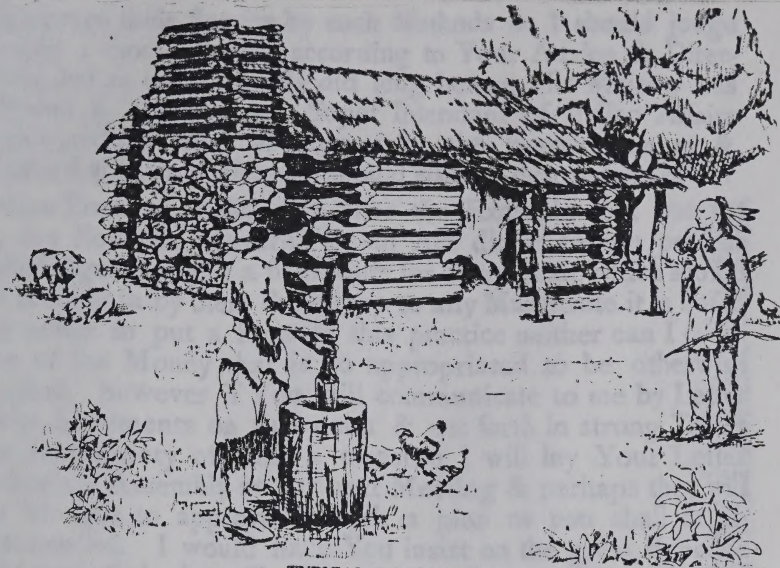
Located in the fertile bottom lands along the mountain streams, each Cherokee homesite had its own vegetable garden, orchard, hog pens, poultry coops, and hot-house. In structure, the one-story log cabin was similar to that of the whites. They had dirt floors and were usually windowless. A mat or an animal skin covered the small doorway. Cherokee men were of medium height and muscular. They had bronze skin. Their heads were shaved except for a patch of hair dangling from the crown, decorated with beads, feathers, and porcupine quills. Cherokee women were usually tall and delicately built. Their skin was paler than that of the men. Their jet-black hair was worn long, decorated with beads and ribbons. Both sexes wore clothing made from buckskin, feathers, and furs.



TYPICAL "BACKWOODS" HOMESITE

Illegal squatters on land reserved for the Indians, the inhabitants of the Old West lived in constant danger from Indian attack. Most lived in a one-room log cabin with a lean-to at the back. The cabin was built of logs in the round and chinked with clay and moss. The chimney was made of either stone or of mud and sticks; sometimes it was half and half. Generally speaking, the cabin gave protection against Indian attack. Men and women married early and raised large families. They lived a life of hardship, working from sunup to sundown. Most men chewed tobacco and their women smoked pipes. Most women could shoot a rifle as well as their man. Cabin raisings, weddings, and quiltings were festive occasions that all neighbors participated in.

One author-artist's conception of typical homesites of Cherokees of that time, and of those of illegal squatters on their land.



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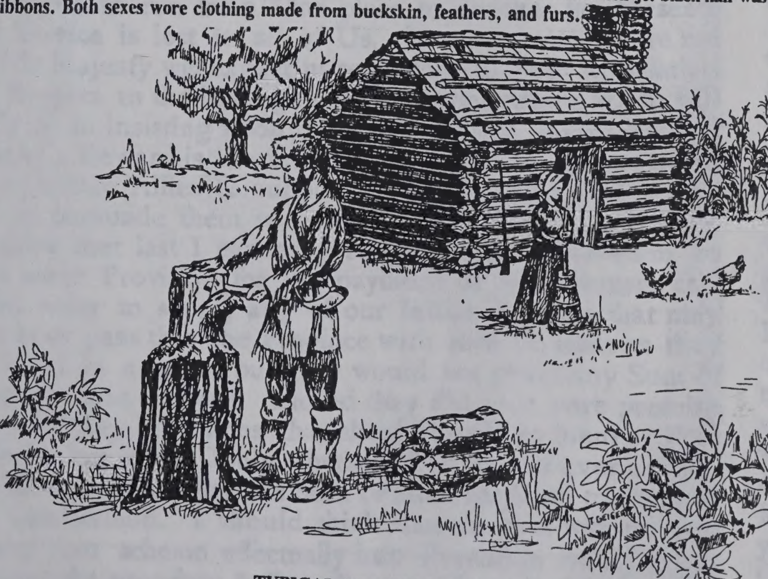

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encourage their Service by such Methods as I should judge proper I shoul proceed according to Your Advice & Directions but as the Assembly did long before His Majesty was pleased to appoint you Super Intendant of Indian Affairs appropriate a Sum of Money for the Encouragement & Reward of such of them as should take or destroy any of our Indian Enemies & did also after the Example that was set by the Northern Govern^{ts} by an Act direct certain persons called Agents to pay a fixed Sum for every Scalp which should be brought in by them & deld up to any Magistrate it is not in my power to put a Stop to this practice neither can I order any of the Money that is so appropriated to be otherwise applied, however if You will communicate to me by Letter Your Sentiments on this point & set forth in strong Terms the Impropriety of such a measure I will lay Your Letter before the Assembly at our next Meeting & perhaps they will be brought to approve of such a plan as you shall fit to recommend. I would have You insist on the great Expence that these Colonies will subject themselves to by continuing the present Method as I am apt to think that such a Consideration will have its weight with our People & I do not think it would be amiss for you to observe that while the Indians are encouraged to run from One place to another for Presents their Service is lost to all of Us, You may also assure me that His Majesty will expect us to conform to Your Regulation with Respect to the Management of these Indians which will justify me in insisting upon the Repeal of that part of our Act whereby a Reward is allotted for such Scalps as shall be taken by our Indian Allies & support the Arguments that I may urge to persuade them to adopt Your Scheme. When the Assembly met last I earnestly recommended it to them to make some Provision for the payment of such Persons as I should order to supply any of our Indian Friends that may come to or pass thro the Province with such Victuals as they may stand in need of but they would not grant any Sum of Money for that purpose, Indeed they did as it were promise to pay for any Provisions that should be dld to them at Fort Frederick but it is a Doubt whether M^r Ross will ever receive any Allowance for what has been or shall be given to them at Fort Cumberland. I should think that the best way for you to carry your scheme effectually into Execution would be to represent the propriety & Expediency of it to the Ministry & if they shall be pleased to approve thereof the Governors of these Provinces may expect to receive Instructions to pass no
Act relative to Indian
to Your plan, & to ge
& interferes therewit
from Colo Stanwix w
Croghan to purchase
the Cherokees that w
tell him that I could
Assembly had not le
When I gave Capt Pe
did not intend to tak
Service to this Provi
any New Duty. I u
employed several oth
could not be engage
raising to encourag
having been told th
sufficient to support
Conduct has neither
Approbation howev
at Fort Cumberland
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has taken him & t
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was one that was giv
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Affection for Pearis w
Enemy to him if th
Wahachee has falsifie
that he had the Mana
part I cannot help ent
Fellow & do not desi
I have forbidden Pe
other of the Cherokee
ness whatever with th
shall at any time com
with provisions as us
& deliver them up
force the Agents will
you choose to give su
Goods therewith &
Speech that you shal
I am &c.

This letter photocopied from Maryland Archives 9:59-61, Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe. The letter from Richard Smith was on pp 44-5.

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I would have You insist on the great Expence that these Colonies will subject themselves to by continuing the present Method as I am apt to think that such a Consideration will have its weight with our People & I do not think it would be amiss for you to observe that while the Indians are encouraged to run from One place to another for Presents their Service is lost to all of Us, You may also assure me that His Majesty will expect us to conform to Your Regulation with Respect to the Management of these Indians which will justify me in insisting upon the Repeal of that part of our Act whereby a Reward is allotted for such Scalps as shall be taken by our Indian Allies & support the Arguments that I may urge to persuade them to adopt Your Scheme. 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I lately received a Letter from Colo Stanwix wherein he pressed me to impower Mr Croghan to purchase & in my Name to deliver a Present to the Cherokees that were then with him but I was obliged to tell him that I could not comply with his Request as the Assembly had not left any publick money to my Disposal. When I gave Capt Pearis a Commission in our Provincials I did not intend to take him from the Indians or to restain his Service to this Province nor was he thereby required to attend any New Duty. I understood that the Governt of Virga had employed several other Interpreters & as I thought too many could not be engaged I gave him a Company that was then raising to encourage him also to continue in the Service having been told that his Allowance from Virga was scarcely sufficient to support him. I am very sorry to find that his Conduct has neither met with Yours nor Goverr Dinwiddie's Approbation however as an Interpreter will be much wanted at Fort Cumberland while the Cherokees continue to go that way to war he might be of Service there & as Colo Stanwix has taken him & the Rest of our Officers under his own immediate Command I have desired him to order Capt Pearis thither. I suppose the Belt that Wahachee enquired after was one that was given to Yatanou upon Wahachee's refusing to part with either of them that had been dld with my Message. I am told that that Young Warrior shews a great Affection for Pearis which makes the old Fellow jealous & an Enemy to him if this is the Case it is not improbable that Wahachee has falsified in what he says of his having told him that he had the Management of Indian Affairs, for my own part I cannot help entertaining a very bad opinion of that old Fellow & do not desire to hear of his Return to this Province, I have forbidden Pearis to make any Promise to him or any other of the Cherokees in my name or to transact any Business whatever with them on behalf of this Province but if they shall at any time come to Fort Frederick they will be furnished with provisions as usual & if they should bring in any Scalps & deliver them up while our Act of Assembly continues in force the Agents will not refuse to pay the præmium tho if you choose to give such Directions the Agents will purchase Goods therewith & deliver them in your name or with any Speech that you shall desire them to make on such occasion. I am &c.

This letter photocopied from Maryland Archives 9:59-61, Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe. The letter from Richard Smith was on pp 44-5.

Affairs unless it be entirely consonant
any Act that has been already made
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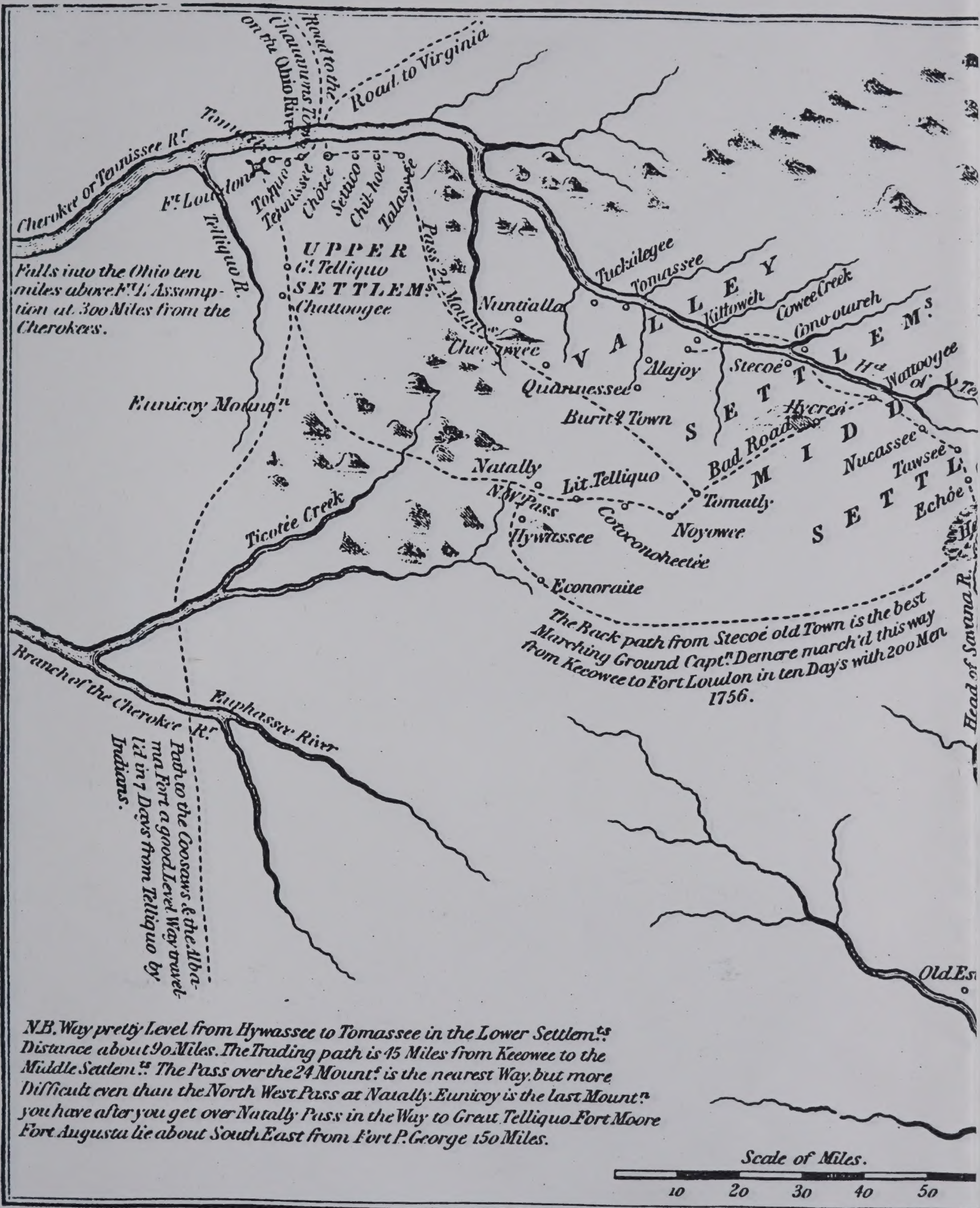
This map shows the locations of the Overhill Cherokee towns as of about 1760, & also the Lower Cherokee settlements in South Carolina.


Road to the Chauanons Town on the Ohio River
Road to Virginia
Cherokee or Tenissee R.
Ft. Loudon
Tomotly
Toquo
Tenissee
Choteé
Settico
Chil-hoe
Talassee
Telliquo R.
UPPER
Gt. Telliquo
SETTLEMs.
Chattoogee
Falls into the Ohio ten miles above Ft. L. Assomption at 300 Miles from the Cherokees.
Pass 24 Mountns.
Nuntialla
Cheewohee
Tuckalegee
Tomassee
Kittoweh
Cowee Creek
Cono-otureh
VALLEY SETTLEMs.
Quanuessee
Alajoy
Stecoe
Wattoogee
Eunicoy Mountn.
Burnt Town
Hycrea
Bad Road
MIDDLE SETTL.
Nucassee
Tawsee
Natally
Lit. Telliquo
Tomatly
Echóe
N.W. Pass
Hywassee
Cotocanoheetee
Noyowee
Ticotee Creek
Econoraite
The Back path from Stecoe old Town is the best Marching Ground Captn. Demere march'd this way from Keowee to Fort Loudon in ten Days with 200 Men 1756.
Head of Savana R.
Branch of the Cherokee R.
Euphasee River
Path to the Coosaws & the Albama Fort a good Level Way travel'd in 7 Days from Telliquo by Indians.
Old Es
N.B. Way pretty Level from Hywassee to Tomassee in the Lower Settlemts. Distance about 90 Miles. The Trading path is 45 Miles from Keeowee to the Middle Settlemts. The Pass over the 24 Mounts. is the nearest Way but more Difficult even than the North West Pass at Natally. Eunicoy is the last Mountn. you have after you get over Natally Pass in the Way to Great Telliquo. Fort Moore Fort Augusta lie about South East from Fort P. George 150 Miles.
Scale of Miles.
10
20
30
40
50

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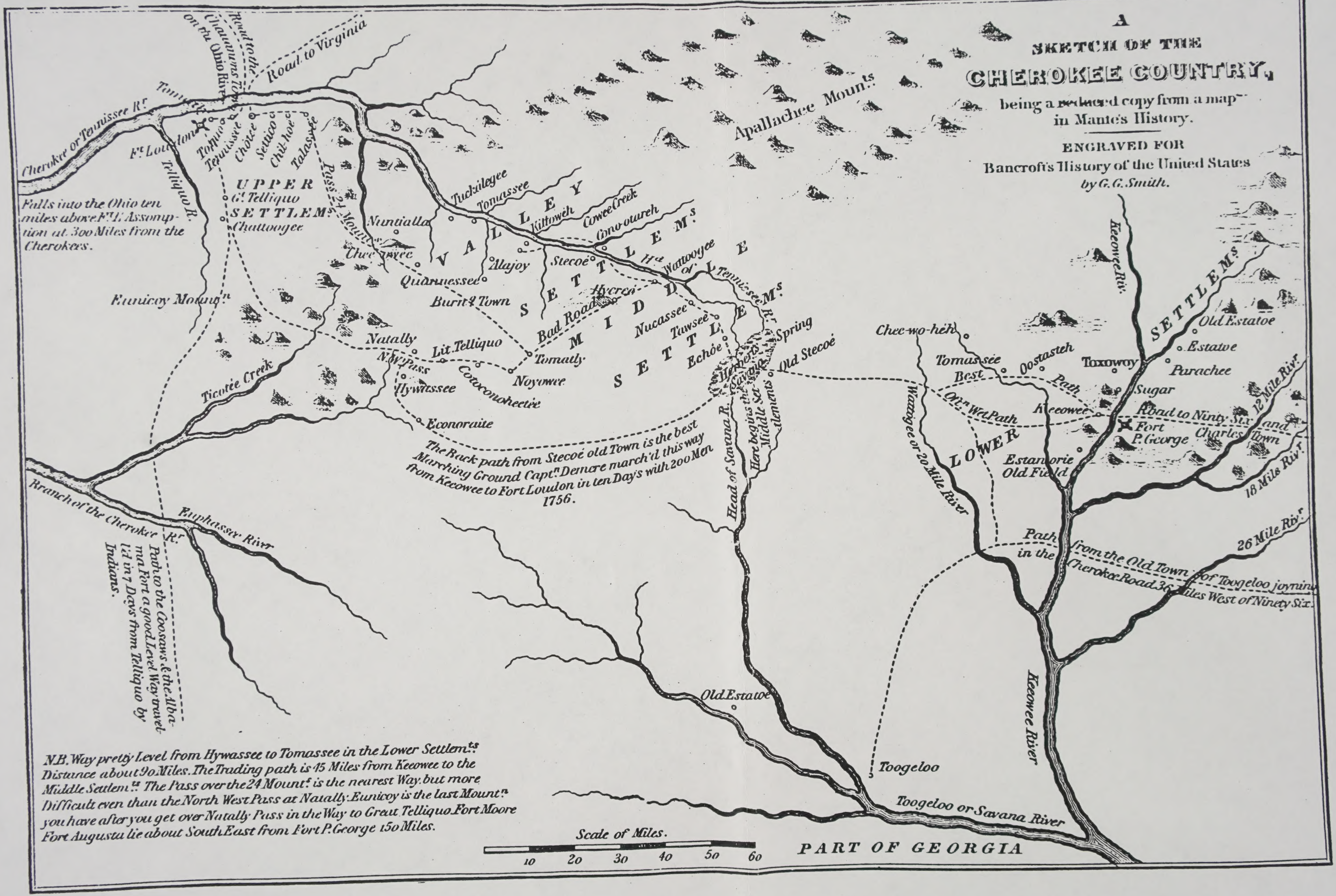
A
SKETCH OF THE
CHEROKEE COUNTRY,
being a reduced copy from a map in Mante's History.
ENGRAVED FOR
Bancroft's History of the United States
by G. G. Smith.
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Telliquo R.
Toqua
Tenassee
Chotee
Settico
Chil-hoe
Talassee
Pass 24 Mount.s
UPPER
G.t Telliquo
SETTLEM.s
Chattoogee
Falls into the Ohio ten miles above F.t L. Assomption at 300 Miles from the Cherokees.
Eunicoy Mount.n
Nuntialla
Cheewayee
Quanuessee
Tuckalegee
Tomassee
VALLEY SETTLEM.s
Kittoweh
Cowee Creek
Cono-oureh
Alajoy
Stecoe
Burnt Town
Hd Wattoogee
Hycree
Bad Road
MIDDLE SETTLEM.s
Nucassee
Tawsee
Echoe
Tennissee R.r
Spring
Old Stecoe
Natally
N.W. Pass
Lit. Telliquo
Tomatly
Noyowee
Hywassee
Cotocanoheetee
Econoraite
Ticotee Creek
Head of Savana R.
Here begins the Savana
Middle Settlements
The Back path from Stecoe old Town is the best Marching Ground Capt.n Demere march'd this way from Keeowee to Fort Loudon in ten Days with 200 Men 1756.
Branch of the Cherokee R.r
Euphassee River
Path to the Coosaws & the Albama Fort a good Level Way travel'd in 7 Days from Telliquo by Indians.
Apallachee Mount.s
Keeowee Riv.
Chee-wo-heh
Tomassee
Best Path
Oostasteh
Toxoway
LOWER SETTLEM.s
Old Estatoe
Estatoe
Parachee
Sugar
Keeowee
Old Wet Path
Road to Ninty Six and Charles Town
Fort P. George
Estanorie Old Field
12 Mile Riv.
18 Mile Riv.
Wattogee or 20 Mile River
Path from the Old Town of Toogeloo joyning in the Cherokee Road 36 Miles West of Ninety Six.
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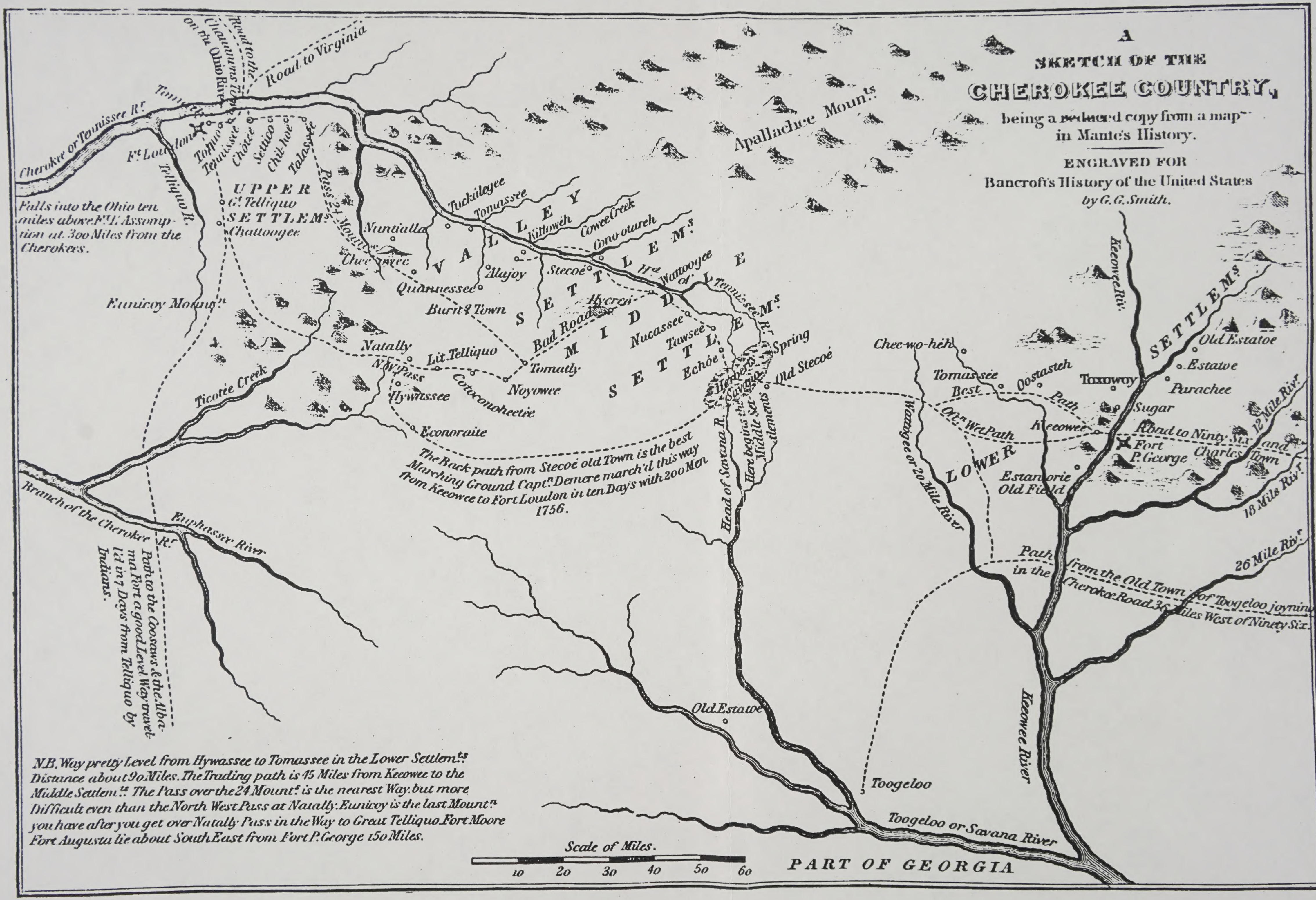
Scale of Miles.
10 20 30 40 50 60
PART OF GEORGIA

This map shows the locations of the Overhill Cherokee towns as of about 1760, & also the Lower Cherokee settlements in South Carolina.



A SKETCH OF THE CHEROKEE COUNTRY, being a reduced copy from a map in Mante's History.

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Road to the Chaouanons Town on the Ohio River
Road to Virginia
Cherokee or Tenissee Rr.
Tomotly
Ft. Loudon
Toqua
Tenassee
Choté
Settico
Chil'hoe
Talassee
Telliquo R.
UPPER
Gt. Telliquo
SETTLEMs.
Chattoogee
Pass 24 Mounts.
Apallachee Mounts.
Tuckalegee
Tomassee
VALLEY
Kittoweh
Cowee Creek
Cono-oureh
Nuntialla
SETTLEMs.
Cheowee
Alajoy
Stecoé
Quanuessee
Burnt Town
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Wattoogee
Tennissee R.
Eunicoy Mountn.
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MIDDLE SETTLEMs.
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Echoe
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Noyowee
Old Stecoé
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Ticotee Creek
Head of Savana R.
Here begins the Middle Settlements
Branch of the Cherokee Rr.
Euphasee River
Chee-wo-heh
Tomassee
Best
Oostasteh
Path
Toxoway
Old Estatoe
Estatoe
Parachee
Keeowee Riv.
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Old Wt. Path
Keeowee
Sugar
Road to Ninety Six and Charles Town
12 Mile Rivr.
Fort P. George
LOWER
Wattogee or 20 Mile River
Estanorie Old Field
18 Mile Rivr.
26 Mile Rivr.
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Toogeloo
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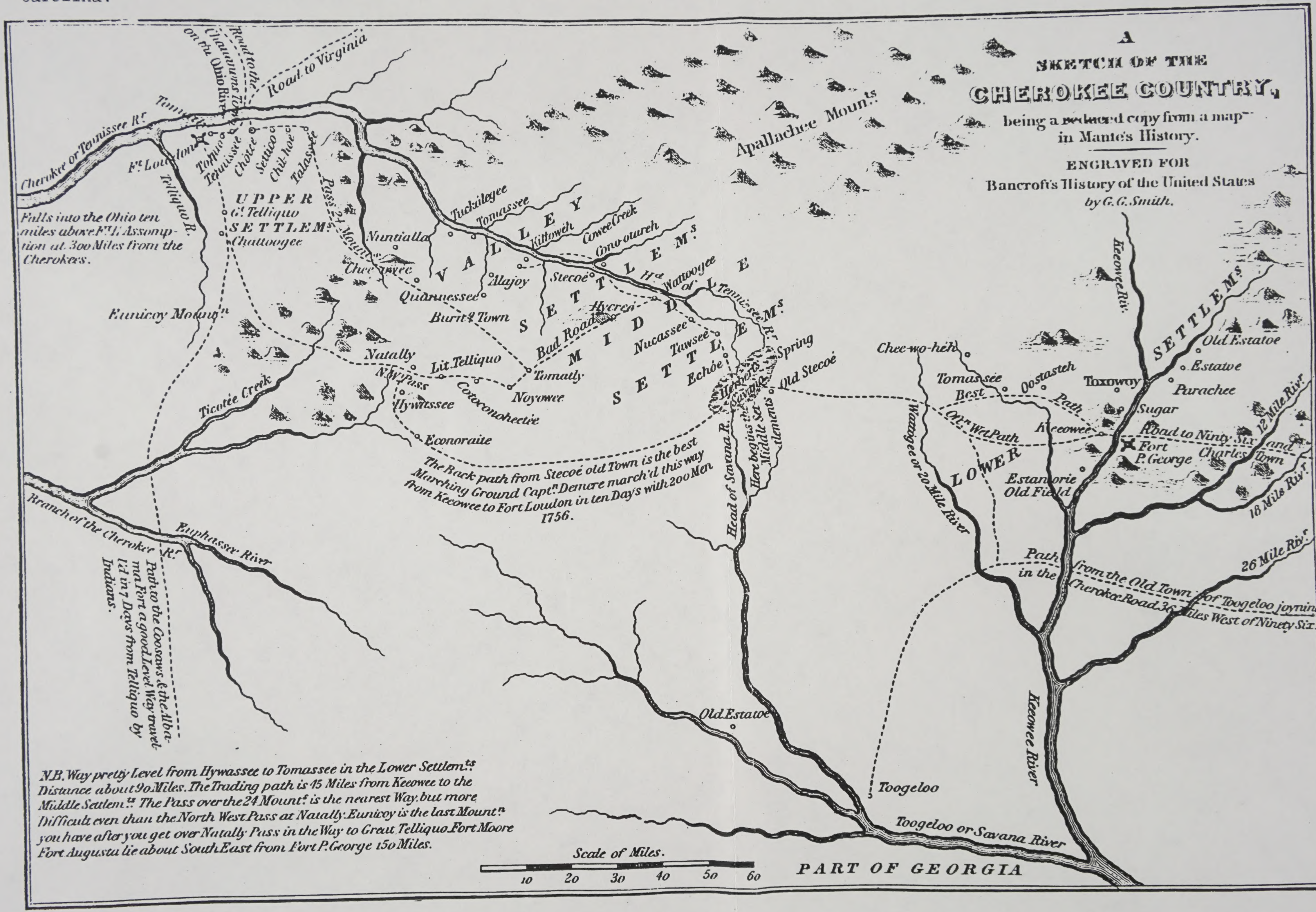

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Cherokee or Tenissee Rᵗ
Fᵗ Loudon
Toquo
Tenassee
Choté
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UPPER
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Pass 24 Mountˢ
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VALLEY
Kittowah
Cowee Creek
Cono-otareh
Alajoy
Stecoe
SETTLEMˢ
Hᵈ of Tennessee Rᵗ
Wattoogee
Hycrea
Burnt Town
MIDDLE
Bad Road
Nucassee
Tawsee
Echoe
SETTLEMˢ
Eunicoy Mountⁿ
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N.W. Pass
Lit. Telliquo
Tomatly
Noyowee
Hywassee
Cowonoheetee
Econoraite
Ticotee Creek
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Spring
Old Stecoe
Here begins the Middle Settlements
Head of Savana R.
Apallachee Mountˢ
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Euphasee River
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Chee-wo-heh
Tomassee
Best
Oostasteh
Path
Toxoway
Keowee Rᵗ
SETTLEMˢ
Old Estatoe
Estatoe
Parachee
Sugar
Keowee
Road to Ninety Six and Charles Town
Fort P. George
12 Mile Rivᵗ
18 Mile Rivᵗ
Our Wet Path
LOWER
Estatoorie Old Field
Wattigee or 20 Mile River
Path in the Cherokee Road 30 Miles West of Ninety Six.
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Toogeloo
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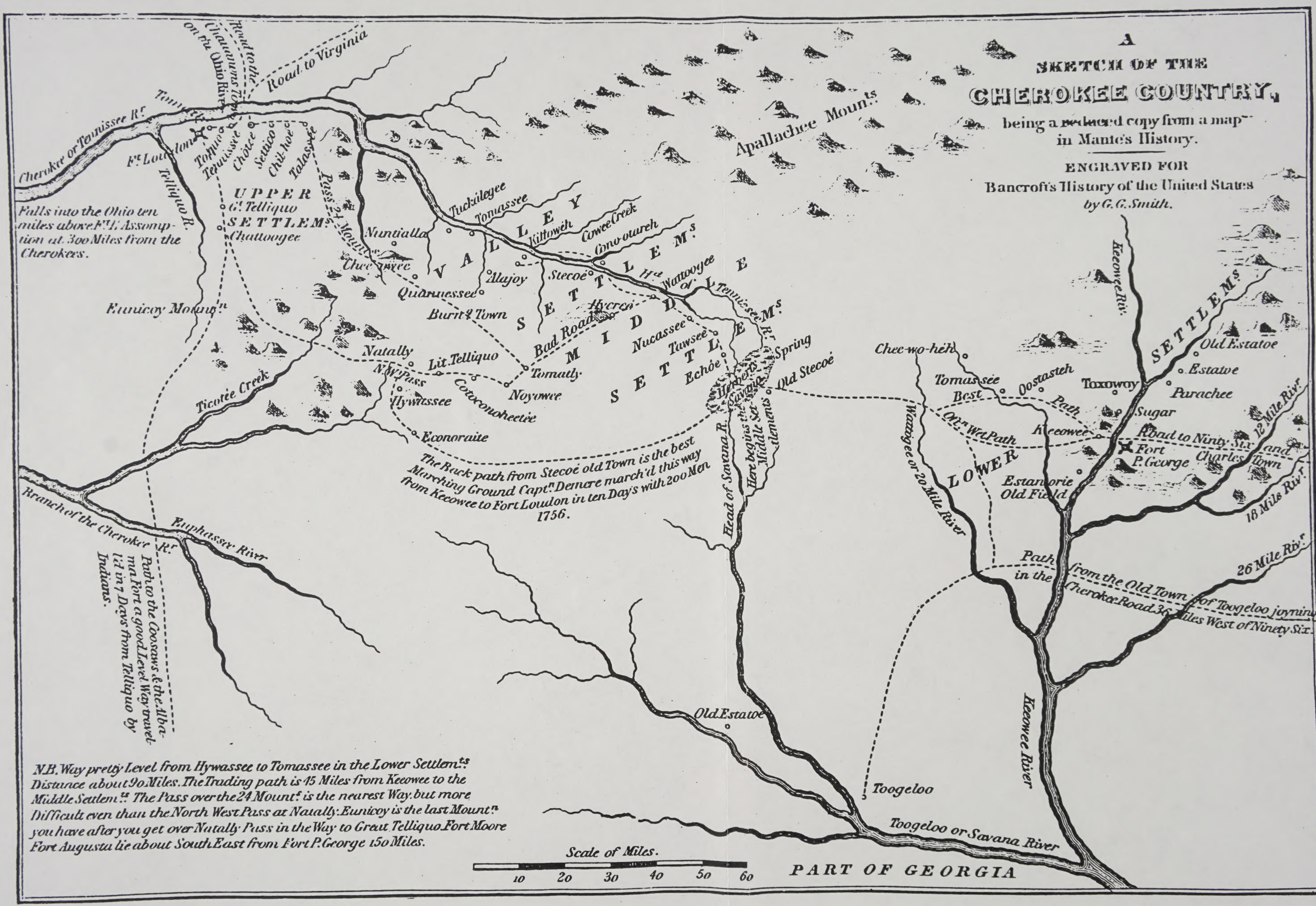
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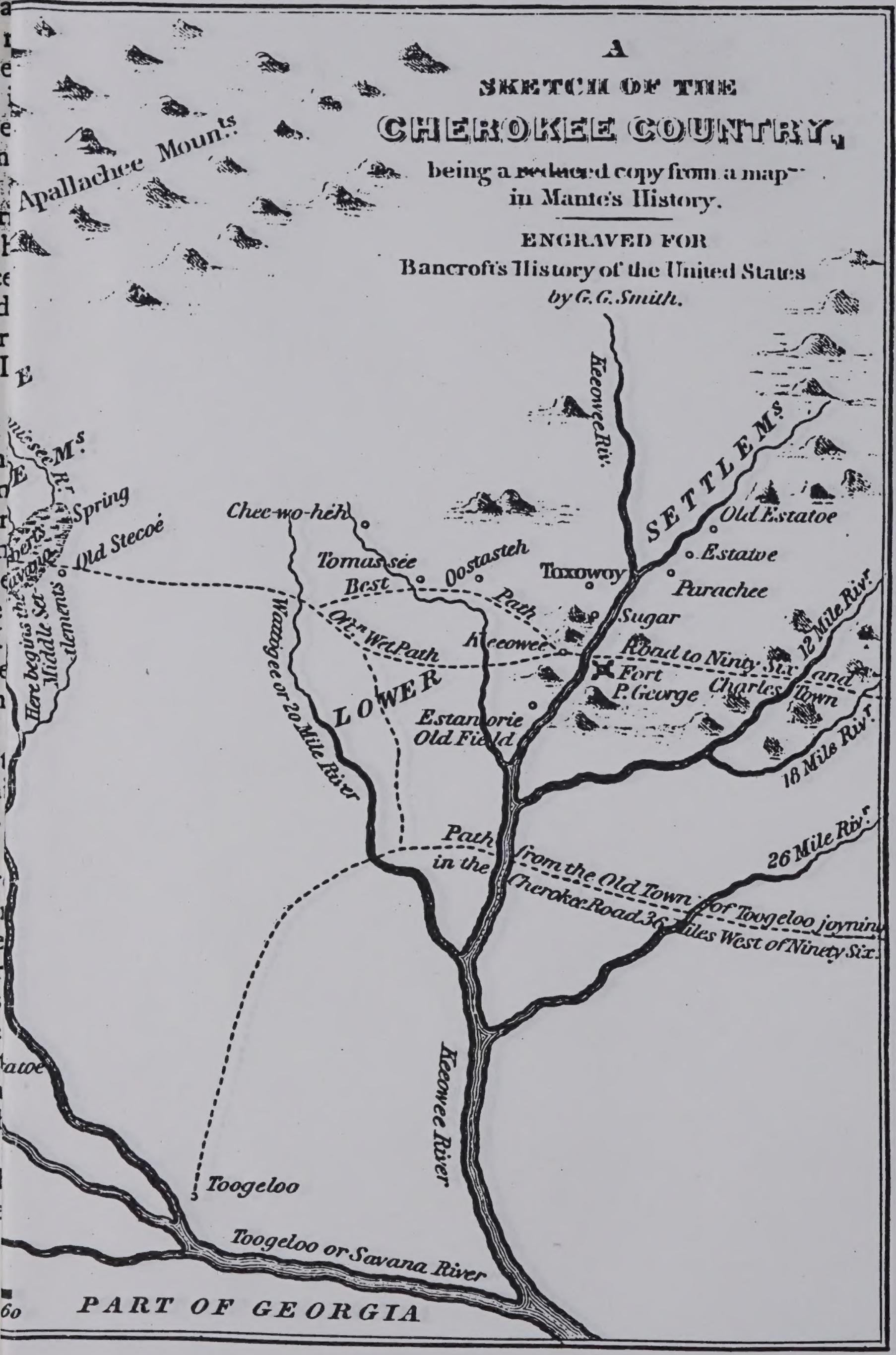

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Toogeloo or Savana River
PART OF GEORGIA
Old Stecoe
Spring
Here begins the Middle Settlements
E M^s
R.
E
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The three Cherokee chiefs who visited London in 1762. Shown in this picture are, left to right, their interpreter, who was poisoned and died en route to London; the Mankiller; Osteneco, who is holding his calumet or pipe, the sacred emblem of peace; and Uschesees ye Great Hunter.

Courtesy the British Museum and Bureau of American Ethnology

The Cherokee Frontier

CONFLICT AND SURVIVAL, 1740–62

By David H. Corkran

Dinwiddie's messengers were men known to be interested in developing a Cherokee trade under Virginia license. When Dinwiddie continued to bypass him, Glen hardened and asked the Cherokees not to move until they heard further from Carolina. Then he wrote Dinwiddie that continued intercolonial rivalry over friendly Indians would make enemies for the English.

But even while Glen and Dinwiddie competed for the Cherokees, Chota found itself forced to reconsider the English alliance; for the early spring downriver warfare of the Cherokees had brought retaliation. In June northern Indians hit the towns on Tuckasiegee and the Little Tennessee. Near panic occurred when a captured Canadian Indian tortured at the fiery stake cried out in his death agony that six hundred French and their Indians would come to avenge him.[5] Old Hop hurried off a runner to demand help from Governor Glen and to blame him for the attack. It was due, he complained, to Glen's having imprisoned the Shawnees the summer before. True Indian, Old Hop was blaming the other fellow for his troubles as he began to pull the nation away from co-operation with the English toward neutrality.

To prevent Cherokee neutrality Glen now launched upon a bold project which was to embroil him further with Dinwiddie. Putting together the long Overhill campaign for an English fort

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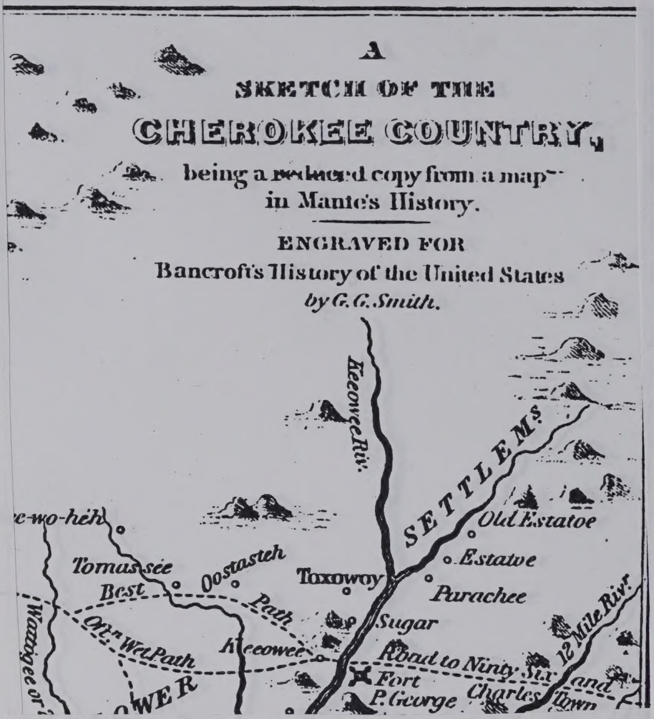
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As the Little Carpenter went, so at this period went Chota. First fruits of Chota's renewed faith in the English treaty were Oconostota's early spring assault upon the Choctaws and the Little Carpenter's foray with Long Jack's brother against French convoys on the Mississippi. Old Hop, however, to preserve a semblance of independence from Carolina, exercised his kingly prerogative to retain French John in his household.

Chota's commitment to Carolina not only blocked the Fire King's French overtures, but it tended to dampen for a time Overhill interest in Virginia. Ignoring the jealous Governor of Carolina, Dinwiddie late in 1753 sent Abraham Smith directly to Chota with an appeal for the Cherokees to come in force the next spring to help repel the French at the forks of the Ohio.[3] The Chota headmen loftily replied that they could do nothing unless Virginia supplied them with ammunition. Then by one Richard Pearis, a pack-horse man who brought trade goods financed by Christopher Gist, Dinwiddie promised to meet Cherokee demands; but Governor Glen, having learned of the Virginia messages, discouraged Cherokee co-operation. He informed the headmen that the Dinwiddie expedition had fort-building rather than war as its objective, implying that the offensive-defensive aspects of the Treaty of 1730 did not hold in this instance. The Chota headmen received Pearis kindly, took advantage of the generous terms on which he traded, and listened to Dinwiddie's talk; but mindful of Glen's opposition and willing to create a bargaining situation, they demanded that the Virginia Governor produce tangibles. Pearis worked hard to change their minds. He refused to write out their reply to Dinwiddie until they should accompany him to Stalnaker's halfway on the path to the Potomac.[4] There he hoped to find rum and presents. But the headmen would not move. Pearis finally prevailed upon the Little Carpenter to entrust him with a message to Dinwiddie stating that Glen had restrained the Cherokees from going to Virginia. Pearis and Smith, each accompanied by half a dozen unofficial Cherokees, arrived in Williamsburg too late for the Washington expedition.

Primarily the Virginia failure in the 1754 negotiations with the Cherokees was Dinwiddie's fault. He had insisted on a unilateral approach even after Glen had assured him of help if he would recognize Carolina's paramount interest in the Cherokees and talk to them only through the Carolina authorities. The Virginia overture threatened the Carolina trade monopoly; for Dinwiddie's messengers were men known to be interested in developing a Cherokee trade under Virginia license. When Dinwiddie continued to bypass him, Glen hardened and asked the Cherokees not to move until they heard further from Carolina. Then he wrote Dinwiddie that continued intercolonial rivalry over friendly Indians would make enemies for the English.

But even while Glen and Dinwiddie competed for the Cherokees, Chota found itself forced to reconsider the English alliance; for the early spring downriver warfare of the Cherokees had brought retaliation. In June northern Indians hit the towns on Tuckasiegee and the Little Tennessee. Near panic occurred when a captured Canadian Indian tortured at the fiery stake cried out in his death agony that six hundred French and their Indians would come to avenge him.[5] Old Hop hurried off a runner to demand help from Governor Glen and to blame him for the attack. It was due, he complained, to Glen's having imprisoned the Shawnees the summer before. True Indian, Old Hop was blaming the other fellow for his troubles as he began to pull the nation away from co-operation with the English toward neutrality.

To prevent Cherokee neutrality Glen now launched upon a bold project which was to embroil him further with Dinwiddie. Putting together the long Overhill campaign for an English fort to protect them and the Raven of Toxaway's 1753 suggestion that the Cherokees could become an English protectorate, the Carolina Governor proposed that Old Hop send deputies to Charlestown to cede Cherokee lands to the crown in return for

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[3] IBSC, IV, 7, 24–26, 94.

[4] Brock, *op. cit.*, I, 232, 268, 274.

[5] IBSC, III, 347–48; IV, 16–18, 39, 135.

a fort on the Tennessee. Old Hop replied that "We and all our lands belong to the Great King George over the water"; but he did not sent deputies or mention the fort. Glen gained the impression that the First Man was evading the issue, that perhaps he was toying with the French, and sent him a reminder of the Cherokee position with reference to Carolina. "The Cherokees," he said, "must depend upon this province for goods . . . for years to come."[6] Help, other than ammunition, he did not send; for he had not succeeded in bringing the Cherokees to the desired negotiation.

Already Old Hop had reopened correspondence with Kerlerec. Neutral and anti-English talk ran high in the nation. From the Upper Creeks came their headman, the Gun Merchant, to enjoy forbidden trade with the Carolina Cherokee traders and to talk among the Overhills of neutrality after the Creek fashion. In the Cherokee Lower Towns pro-French Cowetas peddled a story that the English had built Fort Prince George to enslave the Cherokees. Bad feeling toward the traders developed; for when deep snows penned the Indian hunters in their towns, worried traders dunned them for payment of old debts.

Restlessness with the Carolina trade monopoly lay behind renewed Cherokee interest in Virginia. Dinwiddie, now attempting to obtain Cherokee help for Braddock's expedition in the spring of 1755, sent another emissary, Nathaniel Gist, son of Christopher Gist, the Ohio Company's Indian man, to offer a Virginia trade in return for Cherokee auxiliaries. Gist's promise in Chota town house of a "great and constant trade" roused wild enthusiasm. Gist also brought a message from the northern Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Sir William Johnson, that the Six Nations would join the war against the French.[7] Perceiving that Virginia held the key to both the northern Indian threat and the Carolina monopoly, the Chota headmen evinced great interest in the Braddock campaign. Formal commitment, however, awaited the return of several important headmen from their winter hunts.

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[6] S. C. Council Journals, Aug. 7, Oct. 18, Nov. 22, 1754.

[7] IBSC, V, 44, 48, 71f.

Meanwhile, Glen was pushing his own program for the Cherokees. He had heard from Dinwiddie that the crown had approved his idea of a Cherokee protectorate and had allotted Carolina £1,000 for an Overhill fort.[8] He also heard that Dinwiddie would seek Cherokee help for the Braddock campaign. Glen's problem was to bring the Cherokees into conference for formal agreements before they went off to Virginia. His idea was a late winter or early spring meeting; so in December he sent Richard Smith, brother of Abraham, the former Virginia messenger, off with a message to Old Hop. But Smith was delayed by the deep snows upcountry and did not arrive at Chota until late in February, after Gist. With the propositions of the two Colonial Governors awaiting decision, the Chota bargaining position with the English had never been better. The headmen would gather in the middle of March to decide on their course.

The interlude was lightened by the drama of Richard Pearis, who, unwanted and unauthorized, now again projected himself into the Cherokee scene where he was to be an important factor for several years to come. Pearis having failed in his 1754 mission, Dinwiddie had refused to see him on his return from the nation. The pack-horse man then relayed the Little Carpenter's pipe and message to Dinwiddie, along with a proposal that he and Nathaniel Gist be licensed to open a trading post for the Cherokees at the Great Island of the Holston. This location being within Virginia, Carolina could not complain against it as an infringement of her monopoly. Dinwiddie, apparently believing that the Gists approved the project, relented toward Pearis and sent him a letter approving the Great Island project. But by then Christopher Gist had seen fit to drop his support of Pearis and had sued him for the money he had lent him. The Great Island project collapsed, and Pearis ceased for the time being to have any connection public or private with Dinwiddie.

Pearis was an adventurer, ambitious for wealth and position. Since he had been dropped by Gist, the large sum Pearis had advanced in credit to the Overhill Cherokees became his own

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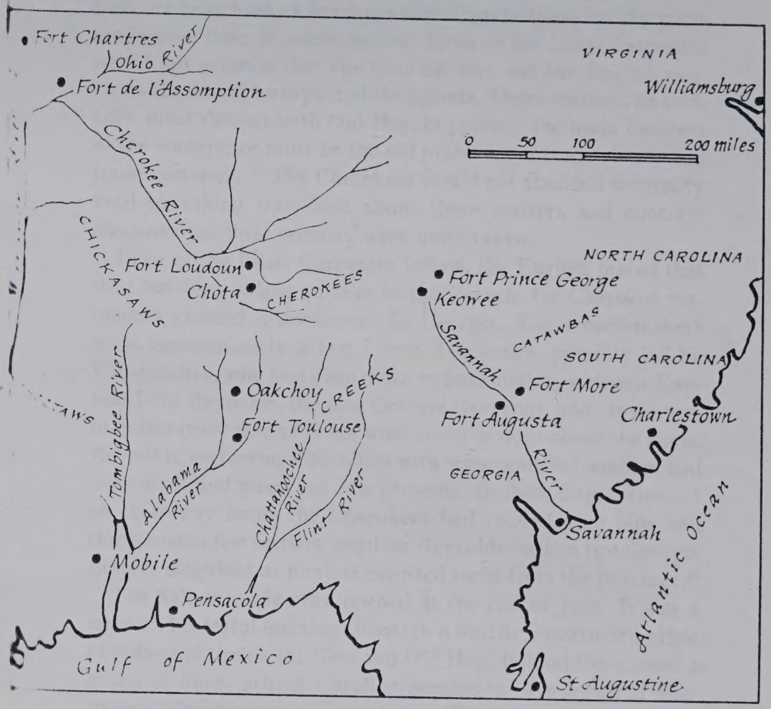
[8] S. C. Council Journals, 1755, pp. 38–39.

liability and he decided that his future lay with the Cherokees. Though bankrupt, he gathered together a few sacks of trade goods and some kegs of whisky and dispatched them to Chota under the care of a pack-horse man to whom he also entrusted a letter to Old Hop in which he unscrupulously or optimistically announced that he would soon come to the nation as Dinwiddie's agent.

Young Gist appears to have had some idea of what Pearis intended; for when Pearis' man was but three days travel from Chota, a gang of Cherokees set upon him and took from him nothing but the letter to Old Hop. In Chota town house Gist had the letter translated to the Fire King while he mimicked Pearis and ridiculed his pretensions. When a few days later Pearis himself passed Chota on the other side of the river, word got around that he had gone directly to his Indian mistress at Toquo. Old Hop summoned the trader to Chota, where amid raucous Indian laughter the Fire King asked him how long the Governor of Virginia had been corresponding with Cherokee wenches. Pearis turned angrily upon Gist and accused him of treachery. But Old Hop silenced him and, sternly ordering him out of the town house, enjoined him to leave diplomacy alone and confine himself to trade. Nevertheless Pearis eventually achieved more for Virginia among the Overhills than did Nathaniel Gist.

In March, with all the headmen present, Chota under Gist's spell resolved to send warriors to Virginia at once—"Seven warriors out of our seven towns and each of them their gang of men." To placate Glen they composed a message stating that all their lands now belonged to the English and that the English could build forts where they pleased. Deputies would soon go to Charlestown. The way appeared smooth for both Dinwiddie and Glen to achieve their objectives with the Cherokees.

Then abruptly the picture changed. The war parties to Virginia halted in the towns. Gist was sent out of the nation with an evasive message to Dinwiddie, and Chota became silent save for the ominous word "neutrality." It was not Glen's doing. Forty northern Indians—Logstown Shawnees and Mingos—had


Fort Chartres
Ohio River
Fort de l'Assomption
Cherokee River
CHICKASAWS
Fort Loudoun
Chota
CHEROKEES
TAWS
Tombigbee River
Alabama River
Oakchoy
CREEKS
Fort Toulouse
Chattahoochee River
Flint River
Mobile
Pensacola
Gulf of Mexico
VIRGINIA
Williamsburg
0 50 100 200 miles
NORTH CAROLINA
Fort Prince George
Keowee
Savannah
CATAWBAS
SOUTH CAROLINA
Fort More
Fort Augusta
Charlestown
GEORGIA
River
Savannah
Atlantic Ocean
St Augustine

The southern Indian country, 1740–62, showing the approximate locations of various important tribes.

come into Chota town house. When Old Hop, summoned from his winter hothouse, limped to the council house doorway and cried out for his people to put the intruders to death, the Shawnees showed no fear. Runners raced away to the Valley and Middle Settlements with calls for help; but in the sanctuary of the Chota town house, no man could be injured; and shortly Old Hop and the Little Carpenter were closeted with the visitors. Presenting messages from the commander of Fort Duquesne, they told of the strong French position on the Ohio, that Canadian enemies were on the path, and worse, that the Six Nations intended neutrality. The message had truth in it; for even then the Canadian Iroquois were deep in the south; and the Onondagas, refusing to agree with the Mohawks, who alone followed Johnson, had resolved "to stand neuter till they should see who would prevail."[9] Shortly after the French emissaries departed carrying a Cherokee agreement for neutrality in the war on the upper Ohio, terror gripped the nation. On the path which the visitors had followed a Cherokee was killed by hands unknown, and the Lower Towns trembled at the report of French Indians lurking in the neighboring forest. Near Chota itself three Cherokee warriors were killed. With security gone and the Virginia path blocked, Cherokee safety lay in neutrality. Gist would take back to Virginia a false tale that Pearis had used liquor to defeat the Virginia project,[10] and Dinwiddie after Braddock's disaster would wildly blame both Glen and Pearis for the Cherokee failure to support the British expedition.[11] But so close did the frightened mountaineers hug their villages that it was only after several weeks of very earnest talking that Richard Smith could induce the Little Carpenter to go to Charlestown to face Glen.

Late in April at Charlestown, after pleading the inability of the Cherokee leaders to leave the nation in the present crisis,[12] the Little Carpenter persuaded Glen to agree to come up to Saluda, halfway to the Cherokees from Charlestown, for the great conference Glen so much desired. Even so the Little Carpenter would not promise that the Overhill fort and the English protectorate should form part of the agenda. Those matters, he said, Glen must discuss with Old Hop in person; the main business of the conference must be the old problems of trade abuses and trade monopoly.[13] The Cherokees would not abandon neutrality until something was done about these matters and concrete measures for their security were undertaken.

Even as the Little Carpenter talked, the English feared that the Cherokees might go over to the French, for Cherokee marauders created disturbances in Georgia. The troublemakers were, however, only a few Lower Townsmen, possibly led by Wawhatchee, who had gone down to Savannah to welcome Captain John Reynolds, the new Georgia Governor, and, as always, to collect presents and to see what could be done about the trade. Reynolds, eschewing difficulties with monopolistic Carolina, had been aloof and given but few presents. In their disgruntlement on their way home the Cherokees had robbed corn bins and threatened a few settlers, until on Reynolds' orders two Georgia rangers disguised as hunters escorted them from the province.[14]

The Saluda conference opened at the end of June. It was a large and colorful meeting. Beneath a hastily constructed arbor of poles and thatch sat Glen and Old Hop. Behind them stood a group of finely attired Carolina gentlemen, five hundred militiamen, Carolina rangers, and smartly uniformed regulars of the Charlestown garrison. Before the two leaders five hundred wildly clad Cherokees sat or squatted on the ground in a great crescent.[15]

Glen's principal object was to bind the Cherokees firmly to the English by making them vassals of the crown and building a fort among the Overhills. But these matters could not be taken up immediately; for the Little Carpenter, conscious that many

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[9] IBSC, V, 13, 44–46, 49–51.

[10] Robert Orme, *Journal*, 15.

[11] Brock, *op. cit.*, II, 77.

[12] IBSC, V, 52–53.

[13] S. C. Council Journals, 206–207.

[14] Chandler, *op. cit.*, VII, 179–81.

[15] *Maryland Gazette*, Sept. 18, 1755.

of his people opposed strengthening their ties with the English, meant to drive a hard bargain. He made discussion of trade grievances the first order of business. Glen proved very accommodating. He promised to increase the number of traders in the nation. He offered a new and more favorable scale of trade prices; and, on the request of the headmen, he agreed to prohibit the sale of rum by the traders. Apparently the concessions pleased the nativists; for around their council fire at night they decided to cede their lands in return for what they chose to regard as a protective fort to be built near Chota by Carolina.[16] On July 2 the Little Carpenter stood before the assembled throng of Indians and whites and in moving forest oratory gave his formal speech of cession:

> What I am about to speak our father the great King George should hear. We are now brothers with the people of Carolina, one house covers us all. We, our wives, and all our children are the children of the Great King George. He is our King, our head, our father, and we will obey him as such.

Then, leading by the hand a child, he said, "I bring this little child that when he grows up he may remember what is now agreed to, and that he will tell it to the next generation, that so it may be handed down one generation to another." Drawing from his garments a small leather pouch full of earth, which he placed at the Governor's feet, he said he placed it there "as a testimony that they not only delivered their lands but all that belonged to them to be the king's property." Then before the Governor he put down a bow and some arrows and asked that the King send them arms and ammunition, and promised to send war parties against the enemies of King George. Finally, presenting Glen with a string of white wampum in token of his sincerity, he turned to his countrymen and asked if he had spoken their will. "Unanimously and with one voice" they assented in a loud "*Yo-hah*." Then with a request that the Governor "put all that had passed between them in writing, that it might be

read in their hearing, that the headmen might put their marks to it, and that . . . the governor and those with him might do the same and that it might be sent to their father to keep forever," he sat down. Gratified, the Governor replied that he would send the nation arms and ammunition and would build a fort among the Overhills.

Glen now believed that he had terminated Cherokee neutrality. It was too late to help Braddock, but he had accomplished what he regarded as his greatest achievement: "The adding of near 10,000 people to his majesty's subjects and above 40,000,000 acres to his territories." Not only the land on which the Cherokee towns were seated but "all the lands on each side of the Tennessee River as far as the Mississippi and all from Tennessee to Ohio River," and possibly also the lands between the Ohio and the lakes to which Glen, citing the Treaty of Lancaster of 1744, found a shadowy claim, had become British.[17] Thus the French claim in this area was refuted, and the Cherokee nation had become something akin to a fief of the British crown.

Old Hop and the Little Carpenter, pleased at the Saluda gains in trade and protection, passed from Cherokee town to Cherokee town explaining the transaction and informing their people they no longer had lands of their own.[18] Returned to Chota, they dispatched war parties under Oconostota down the Tennessee against the French Indians of the Illinois-Wabash region.[19]

They did not, however, send warriors to Virginia. Though reports of the Saluda conference do not show that Glen asked them to, they had reasons of their own for not acting. They still hesitated to break their commitment to the Shawnees, and they awaited the "great and constant" trade which Gist had promised them from Virginia. Only tangibles could move the Cherokee headmen to risk Carolina displeasure, and none had yet come from Virginia.

Shortly, however, due to the efforts of none other than Richard

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[16] S. C. Council Journals, 1755, 397–98.

[17] *Maryland Gazette*, Sept. 18, 1755.

[18] *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, loc. cit.*, 65.

[19] IBSC, V, 85.

Pearis, the Cherokee mood toward Virginia softened. Late in July, having satisfied Gist and regained Dinwiddie's confidence, Pearis returned to Chota. He bore a message from Dinwiddie, penned before Braddock's disaster, urging the Cherokees to send help to the British general.[20] Greeted coldly at first, for Carolina traders had circulated a rumor that he had come to collect £2,500 owed him by Indians, he endeared himself to the Overhills by publicly burning his accounts and ledgers.[21] The Cherokees could not then ignore his mission. Since, however, they had chosen to limit their commitments, they decided to send Old Hop's adopted son Cappy to Williamsburg to feel Dinwiddie out with a proposition limited primarily to defense of the Virginia frontier against invaders.[22] If Dinwiddie would build a fort on the Great Island of the Holston, they would send warriors to protect the lands and properties deserted by the inhabitants of Virginia's southwestern frontier and go against the Shawnees. Pearis had achieved a major coup in winning the Cherokees to this program. So high did they esteem him that they asked Dinwiddie to use him as Virginia's agent in all future communications to them.[23] But the Cherokee contribution to the Colonial anti-French drive in 1755 was destined to be meager. The sanguine moods of early summer soon gave way to pessimism and uncertainty as Glen was slow to implement his Saluda promises and the French threat moved closer to home.

By design or accident that summer French partisans infiltrated the nation. In August the returning Overhill war parties brought news that the French were building Fort de l'Assomption near the mouth of the Tennessee. About a dozen French deserters accompanied them. The Cherokees looked uneasily upon the Frenchmen; then finally, accepting them at their face value, adopted them into families which had lost warriors. However, they took the precaution of sending scouts to watch the French operation at the mouth of the Tennessee lest it prove to be a base for expeditions against them. Shortly a score of Shawnees from above the Ohio appeared at Chota seeking permission to settle among the Overhills. Chota warily consented, warning the newcomers that if they moved away they would be treated as enemies. At the same time anti-English feeling developed in the Out Towns along the Tuckaseigee where deserters from the Virginia forces and free-lance whites hid out. As distrust grew in the nation, and nativists, troubled by the Saluda cession, voiced their discontent, the Little Carpenter sent querulous talks to Glen reminding him of his promises. By October, Old Hop was complaining bitterly of Carolina's failure to improve trade conditions.[24]

Glen, however, was unable to move. The £1,000 that Dinwiddie had sent him for the fort was inadequate, and a recalcitrant assembly refused to grant him further monies to appease the Cherokees. Nor could he improve the trade, for the large Cherokee debt to the traders and the uncertainties of wartime kept Carolina merchants from granting traders badly needed credit.[25] Glen lamely wrote Old Hop that "the ready way to be supplied is to pay for what you get."[26] Though he sweetened the suggestion with gifts for Old Hop, the Little Carpenter, Osteneco, and Oconostota, his and Carolina's prestige continued to fall.

Nevertheless, the Little Carpenter and Old Hop, politically unable to accept Saluda as a failure, continued to support the English alliance. In late October or early November they refused to eat the flesh of an English soldier proffered them by a Shawnee deputation from north of the Ohio. The Shawnees threatened them with a French invasion, but the Overhills determined to take the risk.[27] As soon as the French Indians left,

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[20] Brock, *op. cit.*, II, 76–77.

[21] H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Journal of the House of Burgesses of Virginia*, 1752–58, pp. 279–81.

[22] *Virginia Gazette*, Sept. 16, 1755; *Maryland Gazette*, Sept. 18, 1755.

[23] Paris, France, Archives Nationales Colonies, C.O. XVI, 453–55.

[24] IBSC, V, 82, 85.

[25] S. C. Council Journals (photostats), 1755, pp. 505–506.

[26] IBSC, V, 83–84.

[27] S. C. Council Journals, 1755, p. 557.

130 Overhills, led by Osteneco and the Yellow Bird with Richard Pearis as interpreter, departed for the Virginia frontier where, based on David Robertson's fort on New River, they stood that winter between southwestern Virginia and the Shawnees.[28] Thus the Cherokee headmen finally demonstrated to both Glen and Dinwiddie their sincerity in the English alliance. His people committed, the Little Carpenter with 120 followers went in person to Charlestown to press Glen for action.

The December meeting with Glen was not a happy one. To hold his people to the English alliance, the Little Carpenter had to have positive results, which Glen, oppressed by the knowledge that his parsimonious assembly resented the expense of his Cherokee policy, could not give. When the Little Carpenter painted a grave picture of sentiment in the nation and bluntly questioned Glen's sincerity in the Saluda treaty, the Carolina Governor squirmed with excuses. Hoping for eventual favorable action from his assembly, he held the Indian in town with talk of an impending conference with the Creeks; to keep him happy he lavished attentions upon him, entertained him in his home, and took him to visit churches, forts, and ships. Finally on advice of his council, but without authority from his assembly, he told the Cherokee the fort would be built in April. At the same time he urged that Old Hop surrender French John; and to expedite matters, the Little Carpenter agreed. Perhaps the Second Man hoped to return to the nation with a fort-building party; but, after lingering three weeks and discovering that Glen still could not act, he retracted his promise to deliver French John and left town discontented. He knew his people would be dissatisfied and that implementing his own commitments to the English alliance would be more difficult. To Glen he alleged that his unhappiness arose from the Governor's refusing his regal request for the release of a British sailor held for capital punishment in the brig of an English man-of-war in Charlestown harbor.[29] But the ways of diplomats are devious. The continued presence of French John in the nation constituted a threat. Glen, gazing at the cold back of the retiring Second Man, hurriedly induced the man-of-war captain to free the prisoner; and shortly, on his own responsibility, dispatched an agent to Chota to survey the fort site. But by the time this news reached the nation, the angry Little Carpenter had turned from Carolina to Virginia to salvage his English commitment. Glen was again confronted with the possibility that Virginia would supplant Carolina in the Overhill trade.

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[28] Brock, *op. cit.*, II, 296–97.

[29] S. C. Council Journals, 1755, pp. 570, 579; 1756, pp. 88–89.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Turn to Virginia

IN DECEMBER, 1755, Osteneco, ambitious for Virginia favor and impatient of defense along the quiet southwestern Virginia frontier, suggested an attack upon the Shawnee town of Scioto on the Ohio. Advised of the proposal by Richard Pearis, Dinwiddie authorized Andrew Lewis to lead 250 Virginians and 100 Cherokees down the Tug Fork of the Big Sandy against the Shawnees. The forces gathered on February 11 at Fort Frederick, and after a week of prayers and daily sermons by Presbyterian ministers and ceremonial dances by the Indians, marched into the Allegheny wilderness.

The Cherokees quickly won commendation. Their Spartan conduct had excited the admiration of the young Virginia officers whose Presbyterian austerity had been distressed by the "cursing, swearing, and confusion" in their own camp. The Cherokees did not reciprocate, for to them the switching of a man for profane swearing seemed undignified.[1] The Indians proved excellent scouts. Though the sight of an occasional fleeting figure by the stream bank ahead and of recently deserted Shawnee hunting camps convinced them that the enemy had detected the English movement, they did not talk of failure or retreat.[2] In heavy rains with the soldiers they forded and reforded the tumbling stream. When game became scarce, Indian as well as white went hungry. The only apparent discontent was that of the soldiers who complained that the Cherokees, expecting a share of what food there was, did not hesitate to stride silently to the carcass of a Virginia slain deer and cut off a portion for their own use.[3]

When the fork deepened, the Indians fashioned dugout canoes for themselves. Lewis' men followed suit but made the fatal mistake of piling the sacks of ammunition and flour which they had borne on their backs into but one or two of their boats. Ineptly handled in the wild river, the Virginia supply-laden canoes soon swamped. Guns, ammunition and the meager food supply were lost. With this accident the expedition disintegrated, and the soldiers began to straggle for home in small groups. Osteneco then advised Lewis to turn back. Though he himself was ready to go on with the officers, his warriors, he said, would be discouraged by the soldiers' defection.[4] It was not a Cherokee failure. Mindful of this, and that during their stay on the Virginia frontier the Cherokees had received no rewards, Dinwiddie invited Osteneco to Williamsburg, where on April 26 he received him with the unguents of diplomacy and flattery. Osteneco rode down Duke of Gloucester Street in the Governor's coach and four between long files of the local militia standing at present arms.[5] Thenceforth Osteneco was to believe himself the proprietor of Cherokee relations with Virginia.

The presence of the former Tacite of Great Tellico in Williamsburg dramatized the newly made Treaty of Broad River which Dinwiddie was about to ask his burgesses to implement. Contracted in the wilderness of North Carolina with the Catawbas and Cherokees, the treaty represented Dinwiddie's disillusionment with pack-horse and trader diplomacy and his determination to treat with the Cherokees on a serious level. Late in 1755 he had decided that "gentlemen of standing" should carry a "handsome present" to the reluctant red men and con-

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[1] Brock, *op. cit.*, II, 294–97, 319–23, 336–37.

[2] Draper MSS, Preston Papers, QQ, pp. 106–107.

[3] *Virginia Historical Register and Literary Notebook*, Vol. IV, No. 3 (July, 1751), 143–47.

[4] Draper MSS, Preston Papers, QQ, pp. 119–21.

[5] *Maryland Gazette*, May 6, 1756.

clude "a permanent league" with them.[6] He had appointed William Byrd and Edmund Randolph commissioners, and dispatched Abraham Smith to Old Hop with an invitation for the Cherokee headmen to meet his commissioners on March 5 at the junction of Pacolet and Broad rivers where the old Lower Towns path to the Catawbas crossed.[7]

Delayed by high waters, Smith did not reach Lower Towns Keowee until February 5. There he found the Little Carpenter homebound from Charlestown, disturbed by his ill success with Glen. The Second Man quickly decided that Cherokee opportunity lay with the Virginians on Pacolet River,[8] where on March 13 the Overhill deputies for whom he had sent joined him. Though unaccompanied by Old Hop, who deigned to leave the nation only to meet a man he considered of equal rank, the deputies were the heart of the Chota council: Standing Turkey or Connetarke, within three years to succeed Old Hop as Fire King, the Great Warrior Oconostota, and Willinawaw, Prince of Toquo and the Little Carpenter's cousin, and others of lesser note. Few Lower Towns and Middle Settlements leaders came, for Chota did not want them. As usual a large crowd of attendants—women, boys, and young men—had been brought along to bear witness to the words and partake of the presents.

Formal discussions opened on March 14 with the Virginia commissioners reading Dinwiddie's message to a great crescent of Indians seated on the ground against a backdrop of white-blooming shadbush and pale blue mountain ranges. Asserting the Virginia Governor's friendship and cautioning them against allowing the French to build a fort in their country, it countered the Shawnee report of Six Nations neutrality with the news that the Mohawks had fought for the English in the great September victory over the French on Lake George in upper New York colony. It proclaimed support for the new treaty from the great King George with whom the Cherokees had made the Treaty

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[6] *A Treaty Held with the Catawba and Cherokee Indians*, v.

[7] Brock, *op. cit.*, II, 267–68.

[8] S. C. Council Journals, 1756, p. 182.

of 1730. There would be presents of powder and lead and great quantities of goods to be distributed before the Indians went home. All this the Cherokees greeted with a loud, approving "*Yo-hah.*"

Byrd and Randolph then developed the British case against the French. With strings of wampum they emphasized each point. The French had tricked the Shawnees and Delawares into deserting the English and attacking the Virginia frontier. The French desired not only the English lands but those of the Indians also. The fate of the Natchez in 1729, the assaults upon the Chickasaws, the repeated attempts to disrupt the Six Nations all demonstrated this. The Cherokees should therefore join the English in resisting the French, and the English would provide their warriors with arms, ammunition, provisions, and clothing. They concluded their bold message with an invitation for the Cherokees to seal the alliance by sending two boys to William and Mary College at the expense of the mission societies of Virginia. They were at pains to refute the rumor snaking through the Cherokee camp that the Virginians had already given most of the presents to the Catawbas.

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The next day the Little Carpenter, who had from memory repeated to his people the interpreter's full rendition of the talks, gave the Cherokee reply which had been worked out about their council fire at night. It was a direct bid for Virginia entry into the Cherokee trade. Asserting that the Cherokees might go over to the French because Glen had "forfeited his word" by failing to build the promised fort, he asked that Dinwiddie meet Old Hop at Stalnaker's far out on the Virginia frontier to talk of trade. Ominously he pointed out that the Overhills suffered from high prices, a scarcity of goods, and unreliable smooth-bore muskets which were no match for the long-range, accurate rifles which the French supplied to their Indians. He concluded by spreading before the Virginians a deerskin, forceful reminder of the importance of trade.[9]

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On the third day, the commissioners formally promised Vir-

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[9] *A Treaty Held with the Catawba and Cherokee Indians*, xiii–xvi.

ginia aid in building the Overhill fort. Informally, for it does not appear in the treaty, they probably agreed to enter the trade, and they must have led the Cherokees to believe that Dinwiddie would meet Old Hop.[10] In return they asked that two hundred Cherokees go immediately to the Virginia frontier.

On the fourth and final day of the conference, after the Little Carpenter had talked, the headmen set their marks to the treaty while a harassed secretary laboriously supplied spellings for their wild names. By the terms of the formal instrument the Cherokees agreed to fight the French, to report any French attempts to induce them to break away from their treaty, and to prevent the French from building a fort among them. In return for Virginia assistance in building the Overhill fort, the Cherokees agreed to send four hundred warriors to Virginia whom Virginia would supply with clothes, arms, and ammunition. Both sides would punish violators of the treaty.

The Broad River treaty was a major diplomatic triumph for the Little Carpenter. He had obtained Virginia's promise to build the fort which Glen had failed to provide and which he had determined should be the seal of the protectorate. He had also obtained, as it appears from subsequent acts of the Virginia assembly, a Virginia promise to break the Carolina trade monopoly, a promise to be ratified in a meeting of Old Hop and Dinwiddie. These benefits would dampen the smouldering nativist criticism of the Little Carpenter's Saluda treaty with Glen.

The day Osteneco rode in state through Williamsburg, Dinwiddie presented the Treaty of Broad River to his burgesses. They immediately underwrote the construction of the fort with up to £2,000 of Virginia paper.[11] On April 24, Dinwiddie ordered Andrew Lewis to proceed with sixty men to the Cherokee country to work on the fort. Lewis was to help Carolina; but if Carolina failed, he was to construct the fort on his own responsibility. Thus in two weeks' time Dinwiddie set in motion something

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[10] IBSC, V, 162–63.

[11] *A Treaty Held with the Catawba and Cherokee Indians*, xix–xxiii.

Glen had been unable to do in a year. South Carolina's position with the Cherokees was now in peril.

Meanwhile, prodded by Washington's pleas for Indian help on a harassed frontier, Dinwiddie pressed Osteneco's warriors to go to the Virginia borders.[12] They agreed to do it, but not until they had treated the entranced populace of Williamsburg to a four-day spectacle of dances, ceremonial pipes, and orations while they cemented their ancient league with the Nottoways visiting from southeastern Virginia. Then all save Osteneco, who decided to accompany Andrew Lewis to the nation, set off for Winchester.[13] At Augusta from the Virginia stores they picked up a few presents and met a party of the Big Sandy Cherokees, already returning from a success on Washington's front. They had defeated a French patrol and had taken the scalp of its commander.[14]

All, however, was not harmony. Some of the participants in the Big Sandy failure, not having received rewards for their services, had traveled homeward exacting compensation from the countryside. During early May they had foraged southward along the path through North Carolina and to the Lower Towns, stealing horses and saddles, picking up a runaway indentured white woman who from private spites advised the Indians whom to plunder. Behind them they left knots of angry settlers, bitterly swearing to repel "force with force."[15] The King of the Catawbas finally caught them, took away their prizes, and haled them before Justice Hensley at Salisbury for a reprimand. The foray sowed seeds of later trouble. While settlers along the route future parties of Lower Townsmen would follow to Virginia were in a vengeful mood, the disgruntled marauders took home a festering sense of the Englishman's iniquity. For their six months' hardship on Virginia's behalf they had nothing to show.

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[12] Koontz, *op. cit.*, 955–56.

[13] Brock, *op. cit.*, II, 445–46.

[14] Koontz, *op. cit.*, 955–56.

[15] W. L. Saunders, ed., *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, V, 604–605.

mitted on white settlers by Middle Settlements Indians. The Prince of Joree's young men had brought horses, a rifled gun, and some women's apparel into their town, probably looted from settlers on the south Catawba and Broad rivers. Demere sent a firm message to the Prince demanding that the booty be delivered up at once and that the Prince give his people a strong talk on the subject.

The summer of 1756 had been bad for the English cause among the Cherokees; and Demere must have experienced great relief when on the twenty-fourth of September he saw riding up the path from Charlestown a party of horsemen in scarlet and blue uniforms. They were Captain Stuart and the officers of the reinforcements come to build the Carolina Overhill fort, fifteen months after the Treaty of Saluda.[18]

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[18] IBSC, V, 175–76, 189–91, 196, 201.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Conspiracy of Tellico

THE MOOD OF THE OVERHILLS in September, 1756, was black. Undercurrents of dark doubts eddied to the surface as the French-inspired story that the English came to enslave their women and children snaked through the nation. Chota runners, sent ostensibly to welcome Stuart and Demere, stopped first at Keowee to inquire how the English behaved toward the Cherokee women. A Seneca deputy had stalked into Chota presumably to offer the Cherokees the alternatives of joining the French or of maintaining neutrality after the fashion of the Onondaga council in New York colony.[1] Tentatively favorable answers to the overtures of Kerlerec in Louisiana and Vaudreuil in Canada had been prepared.[2] When on September 2, Andrew Lewis went into Chota town house with a final plea for aid to Virginia, a grim and hostile council refused to give him satisfaction.[3] Even the Little Carpenter, harassed by nativist distrust, French pressures, Carolina failures, and apparent Virginia perfidy, uttered harsh words against the English and demanded that the Virginian go to Fort Prince George and tell Stuart and Demere to leave the nation. Only Lewis' stern talk, reminding them of their trade dependence, brought them grudgingly to agree to welcome the Carolinians. Even so the Major and his men left Chota fearing an attack before they reached Fort Prince George.

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[1] IBSC, V, 222, 230.

[2] S. C. Council Journals, 1756, p. 386; O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, X, 592.

[3] Saunders, *op. cit.*, V, 612–14.

However, at Keowee a far different disposition prevailed. Bad talk which had flared in mid-August had died down. The presence of two hundred English soldiers was a damper, but even more important was Lyttelton's acceptance of Wawhatchee's bid for recognition as a power independent of Chota. Lyttelton had invited the Lower Towns' First Warrior to Charlestown. To discredit Chota and to build confidence in themselves, the Lower Towns headmen reported the Overhill bad talk to Demere. When arrogant Creek emissaries, bearing anti-English talk, loitered on the outskirts of Keowee, the Keowees asked Demere to make a demonstration of Cherokee-English solidarity.[4] Demere paraded his red-coated troops to Tomatly Old Fields where they marched around the startled Creeks and fired volleys answered by the swivel guns of the brave fort across the river. The delighted Keowees told Demere that if the Overhills became hostile, the Lower Towns would divide the nation. When in the quiet hours of the night in Keowee town house the undaunted Creeks proffered assistance in destroying the English troops, the Cherokees refused.[5] In the anti-English mood of Chota, the Lower Towns saw an opportunity to slip from under Overhill dominance.

Already the Lower Towns had responded to the Virginia appeal. Twenty of their men under the leadership of Estatoe warrior Seroweh had left with Richard Pearis to fight the French on the Monongahela.[6] That only ten more joined Lewis was occasioned in part by the opposition of Estatoe trader Beamer, who objected to losing his customers in the hunting season, and in part by the intentions of many to go with Wawhatchee to Charlestown.[7] They were not, however, the four hundred warriors Attakullaculla had promised Byrd and Randolph in the spring. Young Colonel Washington, riding through the autumn color in southwestern Virginia to greet the long-awaited Cherokee auxiliaries, was dismayed when he met Lewis and his little band coming up the path.[8]

As Lewis trekked back to Virginia, Wawhatchee with Tistoe, headman of Keowee, and two hundred Lower Towns folk went joyfully to Charlestown where Lyttelton treated them to the greatest martial welcome Cherokees had ever received. The uniformed Charlestown militia regiment lined Broad Street. The Carolina horse paraded, and formations of red-coated regulars volleyed salutes. Answering the French threat in the nation, Lyttelton demonstrated the might which supported the wilderness garrisons. Wawhatchee had come to town to be wooed and won, and he did not hesitate to point up his accessibility by tales of Chota correspondence with the French and of Creek bad talks. When Lyttelton complained that Cherokee marauders annoyed the Long Canes settlers, the Conasatchee warrior promised to restrain his young men, and when asked to send warriors to Virginia, he said he had already done so. Pleased, Lyttelton assented to his every demand. When the warrior complained that three meals a day were insufficient to appease the irregular appetites of Indians, he made food available at all times.[9] A demand for weapons and a horse he likewise fulfilled. And not yet attuned to the trading interests' pressure, he heaped sufficient presents on the red men to supply two or three traders' stores for a year: white linen shirts; blankets; scissors; needles; buttons by the gross; yard upon yard of duffels; calico, linen plains, and gartering; pounds of vermilion face paint; brass wire for earrings—paraphernalia enough to dress scores of Indian dandies and their women in handsome style. Wawhatchee had demonstrated to his henchmen that he was a good provider and that following him to the English could be immediately profitable. While Charlestown felt more secure, it was a disaster for Chota and in the long run for the Cherokees: for Wawhatchee neither respected the English nor had that fundamental devotion to policy which characterized the more astute Overhill leadership.

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[4] IBSC, V, 225.

[5] Koontz, *op. cit.*, 1107–1109.

[6] S. C. Council Journals, 1756, pp. 384–85.

[7] IBSC, V, 215; VI, 31–32. Brock, *op. cit.*, II, 555.

[8] J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington*, I, 477.

[9] S. C. Council Journals, 1756, pp. 373–74, 382–83, 385–86.

While Wawhatchee luxuriated in his Charlestown success, Demere marched toward the gloomy Overhills. On the morning of September 21 with 180 men he forded Keowee River, passed the tawny autumn cornfields of the village, and followed the rocky path over Tomassee Mountain to Stecoe Old Fields. By-passing the Middle Settlements, he marched by the shortest route to the wide flatlands of the Valley. On the twenty-seventh by swift-flowing Hiwassee River he met the Old Raven of Hiwassee in the last conference that staunch friend of the English was to have with an agent of the Great King. For a generation in times of trouble the Carolina traders and authorities had relied on him, and he had never failed them. Now he listened quietly while Demere reported that Pennsylvania Shawnees had deserted the French and had made a treaty with Sir William Johnson. Then in awareness that both the Ohio and southern Shawnees schemed at Chota in the French interest, he reported the hostile talk of the Overhills, the undercurrents of bad feeling in the Lower Towns, and that an important delegation had left Great Tellico for Fort Toulouse. Even so, he perhaps did not know the full extent of French John's intrigue with Old Hop and that an Overhill mission had gone to Detroit. Yet he was a Cherokee and apprehensive that the English should be building another fort in the nation. But that prospect was not to trouble him for long. In three months he was dead.

On the twenty-ninth the redcoats marched by Great Tellico. No welcoming delegation came from that sullen and silent town, rumored to be seeking a French fort and perhaps fearful that punishment was at hand. Only when the soldiers encamped three miles beyond did the once regal Ammonscossittee and his wife, who, working in their fields, had looked up in surprise to see the military and their train of pack horses filing past, appear bearing a gift of squashes. With them came the Tellico headmen. Demere, chiding them for their pro-French activity, accepted their invitation to stay over a day to listen to the talks they would give. The next morning, while his cooks prepared a sumptuous repast, the Captain listened to the Tellicoes repudiate hostile intentions and profess hatred of the Shawnees. But the details of Shawnee perfidy and Tellico good will Demere never heard; for the conference ended abruptly with a message from the Little Carpenter denouncing the Tellicoes as evil and unauthorized to treat. It ordered the Tellicoes to break off their talks and come to Tomatly with Demere where they would hear the Little Carpenter and Old Hop speak for them. Leaving his guests to eat their dinner without their hosts, Demere put his men into immediate movement.

Up the path four miles the Little Carpenter approached on horseback with a great number of headmen and warriors who came to greet the long-awaited Carolinians. On nearing Tomatly, Demere ordered his swivel guns fired in salute. Cherokees hoisted the English colors to the top of the town house, and the Captain commanded his men to attention. According to Demere:

> Old Hop in the midst of two hundred warriors was at a little distance all painted and dressed in their best. He sent two warriors to me who desired me to alight from my horse. They supporting me under each arm carrying me to Old Hop. We embraced each other lovingly and many compliments passed one to another.[10]

There was no hint here of deep intrigue and bitter doubt, only the Oriental urbanity of the Fire King extending his people's courtesies to an ally who came at the head of a force not to be trifled with.

On October 2 formal talks took place in Chota town house. Demere spoke eloquently to allay Indian fears and suspicions. His men, he said, had no hostile intent and their delay had been due merely to a change of governors. The English force, though the largest ever seen in the Cherokee towns, was the smallest possible for the task. It came not in treachery as the French and Shawnees alleged, but to give the Overhill women and children the protection Chota had asked. The Cherokees should not trust the French; for, as they all knew, the French could not supply their needs. Only the English could do that. The Overhills must

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[10] IBSC, V, 239, 241, 248.

summer at Fort Prince George. During the winter Elliott had supplied Fort Loudoun with corn, which had been transported by Indians hired with promises of rum which he did not have. He told his help that Captain Demere had his rum and that they must see him about it. Old Hop, accompanied by Oconostota, who also had a claim on Elliott's rum in a horse trade, listened while Demere patiently and humorlessly invoked the Saluda prohibition on providing the Indians with rum. Unwilling to be bilked of their pay, the Indians forced Demere to summon Elliott to the fort to vouch for their claims and then give them orders for their liquor on Ensign Boggs, now commanding Fort Prince George. Elliott's prestige among the Overhills rose appreciably from its December low.

In mid-April the Little Carpenter returned, and the warriors who had lingered at home began to move. Despite Lyttelton's request that he remain among the Overhills to encourage warriors to go to Virginia, the Little Carpenter set off down the Tennessee to waylay French bateaux on the Ohio and the Mississippi.[13] Shortly Oconostota followed him with the main force of Overhills. Even the Mankiller of Tellico, under the Little Carpenter's discipline, changed his tune and went out against the Twightwees.[14] Only secondary parties under Osteneco, who had a promise to keep, and Youghtanno's Chilhowee and Telassie men went to Virginia. The empty Virginia fort and Virginia's failure to provide a trade spoke too eloquently to the Little Carpenter of failure. The bulk of the Cherokees appearing in Virginia in 1757 were Lower Towns warriors, who under Wawhatchee's headstrong leadership pursued their own course. They may not have been unwilling to reply to Chota's harsh slights by upsetting the Overhills' bargaining position.

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[13] *South Carolina Gazette*, June 9, 1757.

[14] IBSC, VI, 43.

CHAPTER NINE

"They Acted Like Freebooters"

IN THE SPRING AND SUMMER OF 1757, 250 or more Cherokees were among the 400 Indians who defended the Virginia frontier.[1] They came in seven or eight bands numbering from 13 to 60 warriors. The largest group was Wawhatchee's Lower Townsmen which included the band of Swallow Warrior from Estatoe. From the Overhills came Youghtanno's band, followed in June by Osteneco's. There were few from the Middle Settlements. The bands usually subdivided into war parties of 13 or 14 Indians, which, joined with an equal number of soldiers under a lieutenant, composed a forest patrol. Most operated from Fort Cumberland far out on the Virginia-Maryland frontier. They patrolled the south branch of the Potomac or out the north branch and over the mountains into the neighborhood of Fort Duquesne.

Their presence in Virginia was not an unmixed blessing. Early in April, Dinwiddie received an anguished letter from Clement Reed, justice of the peace in Lunenburg County. He had found 128 angry Cherokees unexpectedly encamped upon his place. Led by Wawhatchee, and accompanied by Richard Smith as interpreter and Pearis as guide, they behaved barbarically and terrified the justice and his family into living almost as slaves for the duration of the Indian stay. The justice dared not refuse their demand that he write an insolent letter for them to Dinwiddie. He, however, tossed in an account of his own trials:

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[1] Koontz, *op. cit.*, 1353.

> He [Wawhatchee] further ordered me not to fail to inform you that the presents wrote for he expected would be sent up to Winchester soon, and he made me promise that they should, and seeing that I have promised it and the appearance of the Indians at my house . . . equipped for war when I had only five white men and ten negroes at home and unprepared would have made Alexander the Great have promised it . . . . For, sir, the evening before they had their grand council, they tomahawked, ripped up the bowels, and scalped a fellow in the yard. . . . they gave me leave to bury him after which myself and the whole family behaved with the greatest order and decorum towards them, granted them all they asked and yielded to every demand . . . . However by our passive obedience and non-resistance after their eating and destroying 1000 lb. of pork and bread and meat in proportion in about thirty hours they were persuaded to march toward Bedford Court House for their presents. But in their way, following the practice and lewd example of their leader, two of them ravished a girl of about 12 or 13 years old, they met on the road five or six miles from my house and tore her in a manner too indecent to mention and visited every plantation within three or four miles of the road plundering the plantations and frightening the inhabitants . . . in short, sir, they acted like freebooters in an enemy country and on our court day in the morning . . . . crowds of people came to my house and solicited me to do something . . . . they appeared enraged and ready to take up arms . . . . At Lunenburg Court House they [the Indians] mutinied and they were for returning. Smith prevailed upon them to stay there until I could be sent for. I went and pacified them. I prevailed on them to consent to go to Winchester to Colonel Washington . . . . they should have their presents, they should be provided for according to treaty, should be well used.[2]

The cause of the Cherokee insolence at Reed's was the Justice's failure to provide the presents they had expected. The main store of Virginia Indian presents lay at Bedford Court House, convenient to the Overhills' route to the Potomac. The Lower Townsmen had traveled a more easterly route. There was nothing for them at Lunenburg. Disappointed, Wawhatchee, following the usual Cherokee pattern in such instances, appears

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[2] Amherst Papers, Apr. 5, 1757, B.P.R.O., W.O. 34/35.

to have given his following free license. The Indian they murdered on Justice Reed's lawn was a Chickasaw who had rebuked them for their excesses.[3]

Reed blamed Pearis for the trouble.[4] The Virginia council had employed Pearis to meet approaching bands of Cherokees and to guide them in an orderly fashion to Winchester. But at Justice Reed's Pearis, absorbed in the charms of a young Catawba woman, was indifferent to Cherokee excesses. Very likely he felt very much as the Cherokees did.

On receipt of Reed's letter, Dinwiddie sent the Justice orders to raise the county militia and "in a mild method" to round up the Indians and send them down to Williamsburg.[5] But by the time the order reached Reed, the Indians were well advanced toward Winchester by way of Bedford. Though at Bedford they had received "a considerable present," at Winchester they expected more.[6] Captain Mercer, Washington's deputy, had nothing. Angry, Wawhatchee refused the wampum Mercer held out at the end of his talk and stalked away, leaving Swallow Warrior to bully the Captain and to threaten Cherokee desertion to the French. The distraught Mercer, risking everything upon his own word, urged them again to take the wampum and promised that he would have presents when they returned from war. Swallow quieted and said that he personally did not want anything but that his men had followed him because he had promised presents, and he was angry that the Governor had made a liar of him amongst his own men.

Wawhatchee strode about Winchester demanding that Dinwiddie himself come to the frontier to appease him. Mercer, almost frantic with fear that the whole Cherokee nation would go over to the French, lifting English scalps on the way, wrote Washington who was at Winchester, urging him to send presents immediately. But presents were not to be had.[7] Everything

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[3] Pennsylvania *Archives*, Ser. 1, III, 175–76.

[4] Journals of the Executive Council of Virginia, Mar. 18, 1757.

[5] Brock, *op. cit.*, II, 613.

[6] Pennsylvania *Archives*, Ser. 1, III, 175–76.

[7] Amherst Papers, Apr. 24, Apr. 26, 1757, B.P.R.O., W. O. 34/47.

at Bedford had been given out; and Sir William Johnson had bought for the use of his northern department the Ohio Company's entire supply of Indian goods stored at Cresap's farther west on that frontier. Confronted with Mercer's pleas, the Virginia council relayed them to the burgesses which had been complaining of the expense of Indian presents. The council also appealed to the newly appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern District, Edmund Atkin, to travel to Winchester.[8]

Cherokees continued to arrive at the frontier base. But, despite their disappointment, they did not intend to give up the war. Leaving Mercer to make good his promises, they separated into two main parties to go against the French. Eighty gunmen, led by Swallow Warrior, with Richard Smith as interpreter, accompanied Major Lewis up the Potomac to Fort Cumberland. The others, including Youghtanno's Overhills from Chilhowee and Telassie, followed Wawhatchee and Pearis farther north, ostensibly to track enemy marauders.

It was Wawhatchee's party which initiated the new superintendent of southern Indians into the complexities of his office. On April 29, having been successful in an action in the Pennsylvania hills, Wawhatchee's men arrived at Fort Frederick in Maryland where Captain Beale gave them a hearty welcome. Maryland, too, needed Indian allies. Wawhatchee, Pearis, and Beale soon reached an understanding. The Cherokee leader composed a letter to Governor Sharpe indicating a willingness to serve Maryland and an expectation of presents for what they had already done.[9] Without waiting for Sharpe's reply, Pearis, the Cherokees, and some Maryland troops under the command of Lieutenant Shelby left Fort Frederick to go toward the forks of the Ohio. Virginia's auxiliaries had for the time being become Maryland's.

[13] *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, VII, 353–55.

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[8] Journals of the Executive Council of Virginia, May 3, May 7, 1757.

[9] Pennsylvania *Archives*, Ser. 1, III, 143–44.

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At Annapolis Sharpe, receiving Wawhatchee's talk, asked his assembly to appropriate at once for Indian presents. But the assembly, having already posted a £50 scalp bounty, debated long before it voted the Governor £150 for Wawhatchee's party. On news of the mixed patrol's success, Sharpe added the bounty for four scalps to the assembly's grant, spent £300 on presents, and sent them in wagons under his secretary to Fort Frederick. He commissioned Pearis captain in one of the newly authorized Maryland emergency regiments. Confronted later by Atkin, Sharpe maintained that he had no intention of detaching Pearis and his Indians from the Virginia service but wished to reward with a temporary appointment a man for whom a parsimonicus assembly would make no provision.[11]

Wawhatchee's party, returning from its success, stopped briefly at Fort Lyttelton in Pennsylvania where they learned that Armstrong, the Pennsylvania Indian agent, conferred at Lancaster with the Mohawks and other friendly Indians. Pearis sent the agent word of Wawhatchee's success on Pennsylvania soil and talks from Wawhatchee and Youghtanno inviting him to meet them at Fort Frederick in Maryland.[12] The Pennsyl-

[10] *Maryland Gazette*, May 19, 1757.

[11] Horatio Sharpe, *Correspondence of Governor Sharpe*, I, 551; II, 8, 17–18.

[12] Pennsylvania *Archives*, Ser. 1, VII, 528–29.

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There remained the matter of Pearis' conscienceless carrying Virginia's dear-bought allies into Maryland and Pennsylvania d, incidentally, into the jurisdiction of George Croghan and William Johnson. This constituted not only a menace to Virnia's frontier defense but an invitation for the northern officials trespass upon the authority of the newly created southern perintendency. Moreover, Dinwiddie, suspecting that Pearis ed the Cherokees to further his own interests, had decided to op him from the Virginia service, and had chosen Atkin to liver the news. When Pearis informed Atkin of the Cherokee gagement to go to Pennsylvania, Atkin told him he had acted thout authority; for he had been discharged from the Virnia service before the date of his conference with Colonel Armong at Fort Frederick. Having thus informed Pearis of his scharge, the Superintendent enjoined him to keep the matter cret from the Cherokees.

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[13] *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, VII, 353–55.

[14] Sharpe, *op. cit.*, II, 7–8.

[15] Brock, *op. cit.*, II, 619.

[16] Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, II, 36–37.

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Though Wawhatchee remained in Winshouting that he would take his people home at once, flung from the room, slamming the door as he left.

But the door-slamming, it developed, had been but figurative. r route to forbid Croghan's giving the present; and the crestn Indians slunk back into Winchester to join their headman reparations to go home.

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Indeed, according to the superintendent's report, the Indian seemed highly pleased—perhaps because the old unpleasant Haig and Brown matter did not come up. That afternoon in public conference with the Cherokees he repeated his morning's talk to Wawhatchee. In addition he emphasized that

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[17] Journals of the Executive Council of Virginia, May 24, 1757.

they must make no arrangements with any government without his approval. The talk ended, Wawhatchee again expressed his approval.

There remained the matter of Pearis' conscienceless carrying of Virginia's dear-bought allies into Maryland and Pennsylvania and, incidentally, into the jurisdiction of George Croghan and Sir William Johnson. This constituted not only a menace to Virginia's frontier defense but an invitation for the northern officials to trespass upon the authority of the newly created southern superintendency. Moreover, Dinwiddie, suspecting that Pearis used the Cherokees to further his own interests, had decided to drop him from the Virginia service, and had chosen Atkin to deliver the news. When Pearis informed Atkin of the Cherokee engagement to go to Pennsylvania, Atkin told him he had acted without authority; for he had been discharged from the Virginia service before the date of his conference with Colonel Armstrong at Fort Frederick. Having thus informed Pearis of his discharge, the Superintendent enjoined him to keep the matter secret from the Cherokees.

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[23] Pennsylvania *Archives*, Ser. 1, III, 186–89, 197; Ser. 1, VII,

[24] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, II, 131.

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Though Wawhatchee remained in Winchester, rumor said that thirty-five of his band had left in the night to collect on their own Croghan's Pennsylvania present. When Atkin heard the news, he dispatched a messenger by another route to forbid Croghan's giving the present; and the crestfallen Indians slunk back into Winchester to join their headman in preparations to go home.

No longer in the Virginia service, Pearis received Atkin's permission to take up his new duties in Maryland. Then, having promised not to leave Winchester until Richard Smith returned from Fort Cumberland to act as interpreter, he walked out on the Superintendent. For a few days Atkin was unable to communicate with his Cherokee charges.

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[26] Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, II, 114–15.

[27] Sullivan, etc., *op. cit.*, IX, 763, 806, 809.

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of doors before all his warriors, Wawhatchee asserted his dying loyalty to the English, promised to send out fresh war rties when he returned home, and ceremonially bowed out of Superintendent's presence.[18] When late in the month his nd left, Virginia lost sixty-two much-needed auxiliaries.

Zealous to assert his supremacy in his first encounter with his w Indian charges, Atkin had brought an arrogant and avari- ous Indian to heel, but at the cost of the services he was ap- inted to obtain.

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[23] Pennsylvania *Archives*, Ser. 1, III, 186–89, 197; Ser. 1, VII, 630–31.

[24] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, II, 131.

[25] IBSC, VI, 82–83.

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Meanwhile, Sir William Johnson had taken steps to thwart the adverse effects of Cherokee correspondence with Onondaga. Through the Mohawk Little Abraham, who visited with Croghan at Lancaster, he persuaded the Mankiller of Estatoe to send deputies to Johnson Hall to talk with the Mohawks. There over the scalp of a dead enemy the deputies proclaimed friendship for the English and cemented the alliance by joining Johnson's brief August excursion to Fort Edward to oppose Montcalm's invading army.[27] Finally, accompanied by the famous Mohawk Silver Heels, they carried a Mohawk belt back to the nation.[28]

By August 1 most of the Lower Townsmen had gone home from Virginia. Thereafter small Overhill bands provided the Virginians with scouts. As if by prearrangement a rotation of parties occurred. In mid-August Osteneco's party returned to Winchester after nearly two months on the South Branch.[29] A smaller group took its place. A month later another band consisting of twenty warriors and one woman joined Major Lewis and appears to have fought the quarter-hour battle on George's Creek eight miles from Fort Cumberland in which a French officer was killed and scalped and his orders carried to the fort. The victors, thinking they had done enough, set out for home to show the scalp they had taken. In November, thirty Chotas—led by Cappy and Sour Hominy—on their way to Winchester encountered three enemy Indians and took two scalps.[30]

War parties returning to the nation with scalps were received

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[26] Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, II, 114–15.

[27] Sullivan, etc., *op. cit.*, IX, 763, 806, 809.

[28] IBSC, VI, 119–20.

[29] Atkin to Connetarky [*sic*], Aug. 6, 1757, Loudoun Papers.

[30] Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, II, 141, 150.

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[18] Pennsylvania *Archives*, Ser. 1, III, 175–81, 197–200.

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[19] *Maryland Gazette*, June 16, July 14, 1757.
[20] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, II, 91.
[21] Pennsylvania *Archives*, Ser. 1, III, 189.
[22] Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, II, 51.

at the forts with presents and the firing of the cannon. One coming into Fort Prince George was induced by Wawhatchee to demand double the scalp bounty. Though Lachlan McIntosh, then in command, wailed to Demere that Wawhatchee was "one of the greatest villains unhanged," he paid the price. As for the Indians, the bounty was their only bonus, and they had no pensions.

It is remarkable that there was not more friction between the Colonials and the Cherokees. The system of guides, passports, and supply planned by Atkin failed. Hiring guides proved difficult. The Cherokees preferred travel through the heart of Virginia to Williamsburg rather than along the frontier paths to Winchester. The inhabitants "were greatly disquieted, being often robbed and otherways ill-treated." But the Indians also suffered. Wrote Atkin, "Many of the inhabitants living on this rout [*sic*] purchase from the said Indians with spirituous liquors (the cause of the most disorders) and much undervalue the presents given to them, and often make use of indiscreet speeches and behavior toward them prejudicial to the service." Atkin optimistically hoped that future serious trouble could be avoided if the Cherokees were "guided to Fort Cumberland along the line of the frontier forts west of the Blue Ridge."[31] The language barrier also caused trouble. Atkin himself was something of a problem. Conscientious and systematic, he was new to his job and lacked that fluency and flexibility which caused Indians to feel that Sir William Johnson was one of them. Where Johnson was a prodigal, Atkin, limited to what the parsimonious southern assemblies would grant him for presents, pinched pennies, and lacked the suavity to cause Indians to forget that what he gave was much less than what they expected. Though his eliminating of scalp bounties in favor of larger rewards for all Indians was statesmanlike, he angered the Indians by doing away with the familiar and expected. Finally, he had not yet learned to delegate authority. When he was not on the scene, no one had power to act with the Indians. Exasperated, Washington wrote Dinwiddie:

> The sincere disposition the Cherokees have betrayed to espouse our cause has been demonstrated . . . . But in the stead of meeting with that great encouragement which . . . that brave people . . . merit, several of them after having undergone the rudest toils and fatigues . . . destitute of all conveniences and almost necessities of life, and . . . in that situation went to war, and in the way behaved nobly . . . and when they returned here with an enemy's scalp . . . they must have gone home without any reward or thanks, or even provisions to support them on the march, justly fired with the highest resentment for their maltreatment, had not I and my officers strained a point and procured them some things of which they were in absolute want.[32]

Virginia failed to recognize that the Cherokees were mercenaries. Though high policy made them allies, their headmen had the duty of requiring the English to reward their services. The mischief lay in the term "presents," a holdover from the peacetime practice of giving annual presents to allied tribes and distributing gifts at Indian conferences. Actually, in wartime presents constituted an Indian's pay. The Cherokees not only expected their employers to outfit them but knew that they must take home from the Englishman's war what they otherwise might have made from hunting. When they fought for glory and excitement only, they could not stay long in the field. They must return home in time to hunt to pay their debts to the traders and buy "necessaries" for their families.

Virginia and Atkin handled the matter of presents badly. Though Cherokee threats to go over to the French were bluster, failure to meet their expectations could have serious consequences. The Cherokees, like mercenaries in other times and lands, would collect forcibly from the citizens the pay their employers failed to give them. When vulnerable Virginia, having promised much, failed to keep its promises, friction between traveling bands of Cherokees and the Virginia settlers became inevitable.

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[31] Atkin to C. Gist, Nov. 16, 1757, Loudoun Papers.

[32] Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, II, 156–59.

request for silver arm bands be met; there weren't enough silversmiths in Charlestown to do the job. He had to be content with a wagonload of ammunition and a heap of sundry presents, a bare sufficiency to indicate English good will. Lyttelton honored him with a review of the Charlestown militia and the regular garrison; and he returned to the nation apparently ready to go to the Virginia wars.

In the nation the Byrd mission was proving fruitless. Arriving at Keowee on April 7, Colonel Byrd found no great conclave of warriors awaiting him. His aid, Colonel Howarth, went conscientiously from town to town presenting the British case. At Chota, Old Hop said that all his men intending for war that year had already gone—as indeed they had. At Great Tellico the town was celebrating a mass drunk brought on by an itinerant peddler who had become senseless on his own wares. At Hiwassee the headmen, perhaps reflecting a past carelessness with backwoods horseflesh, perversely said that Virginia was too dangerous, for they always had trouble with the settlers. Then the Mankiller of Great Tellico, his banishment apparently figurative, appeared and promised sixty warriors in return for cloth with which to bind up his conjuring instruments. Howarth provided it, but the Mankiller, true to form, failed to keep his promise. At Joree no one would go, alleging lack of authority from Old Hop. Joree trader James May had spoken ominously of death awaiting Cherokees in Virginia. Even the sixty Overhills assigned to Byrd by the Little Carpenter had impatiently gone home.[8] When on May 1st, Byrd set out to join Forbes in Pennsylvania, but fifty-nine Cherokees, mostly Estatoes, accompanied him.[9] The fact of the matter was that already nearly four hundred Cherokees had gone north from the Overhills, the Middle Settlements, and the Lower Towns. It was near the maximum number of warriors the Cherokees ever committed to one theater of action. Their dependence upon spring hunts, the demands of home defense in wartime, and their unwillingness to risk too

much in one quarter probably prevented further commitment.

Certainly the ominous note of Cherokee-Virginia hostility struck here and there in the nation had not been in evidence in the north in the winter months. Throughout the winter devoted Cherokees accompanied by volunteers from the Virginia provincial regiment attempted fruitlessly to spy on Fort Duquesne. One party was caught in deep snows and forced to hole up near the fort for ten days. Finally discovered and attacked by enemy Indians, they fled through the winter woods to Fort Cumberland.

The continual disappointments affected even the stoic Indians. Round O's group from Stecoe working out of Fort Frederick with Richard Pearis blamed the partisan Captain for their failures and went to Annapolis in mid-March to complain to Governor Sharpe. Honored guests, they were lodged in a house on the main street and pampered and visited, wined and dined.[10] In the Statehouse they conferred with the Governor and his council in the grand manner with calumet, talks, beads, and presents, and the assembly voted substantial sums for additional presents.[11] Gratified, the Indians entertained the townsmen with ceremonial dances and after three weeks of the white man's fare returned to outpost duty at Fort Frederick with Pearis' high standing in Maryland unaffected.[12] They carried with them the impression that Forbes's ponderous expedition would soon be moving.[13]

The presence of Cherokees on the Virginia-Pennsylvania frontier complicated the English effort through Teedyuscung, headman of the eastern Delawares, now at peace, to detach the Ohio Shawnees and Delawares from the French. In the previous autumn Teedyuscung had sent a belt to Keowee with the deputies returning from the six Nations. But he feared that the Cherokees might attack deputies of the French Indians on their way to negotiate with the English; and the English, fearful that the southern Indians might withdraw from the war if they heard

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[8] S. C. Council Journals, Apr. 10–12, 1758.

[9] Amherst Papers, May 14, 1758, B.P.R.O., W.O. 34/35.

[10] Sullivan, etc., *op. cit.*, II, 784–85.

[11] Sharpe, *op. cit.*, II, 163.

[12] *Maryland Gazette*, Apr. 6, 1758.

[13] Sharpe, *op. cit.*, II, 185–86.

of these overtures, kept the negotiations secret. However, the chance of a clash was remote; for already the Lower Towns with Chota's approval had sent Teedyuscung a favorable reply.[14]

Toward the end of March, the early tide of Cherokees began to register in Virginia. With the arrival of 150 Lower Townsmen at Winchester the number of Cherokees on that front reached 250, with 200 more on the way. The Overhills journeyed along the Warrior's Path from Chota to the Great Island of the Holston and thence to the Shenandoah Valley. Through the spring woods of budding oak and poplar they came in parties of 10 to 40 men each. The Lower Townsmen in larger force followed the Catawba path through Salisbury, North Carolina, and across the Yadkin to the Moravian log and stone village of Bethabara. At Bethabara, which they designated "the Dutch Fort where they are good people and much bread,"[15] they usually lingered several days, camping in the pastures, watching the settlers at mill and forge, and never tiring of the chapel bell which summoned to morning and evening worship. Leaving Bethabara, they crossed Dan River into Virginia, reaching the Warrior's Path just before it entered the Shenandoah Valley. Near the junction stood the hospitable home of Andrew Lewis. At Winchester, Atkin's deputy, Christopher Gist, outfitted them from Virginia stores at royal expense. They then dispersed, some to Fort Cumberland and the forts on the South Branch, others to Fort Frederick, and to Forbes' advanced posts at Shippensburg and Carlisle.

Though hearts still burned, the intercolonial rivalry for Indian auxiliaries had officially ceased. Washington might grumble that Cherokees went to Pennsylvania rather than to the Virginia frontier, and Governor Sharpe could rejoice in Indians based on Fort Frederick; but the Indians belonged to one force, that under Forbes. Gone, too, was the dispute between Johnson's deputies and Atkin's. All Indians regardless of nation when north of the Potomac were Johnson's; when south, Atkin's.[16]

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[14] Sullivan, etc., *op. cit.*, II, 842–51.

[15] A. L. Fries, ed., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, I, 194.

[16] A. P. Jones, *Writings of General John Forbes*, 138.

Both principals being far away, their deputies, Gist for Atkin, Trent and Croghan for Johnson, handled matters amicably. The only defect was the usual shortage of goods and presents which crown and colony too slowly remedied.[17]

As the snows dissolved in the Alleghenies, Cherokees and Catawbas probed toward Fort Duquesne and kept it under almost constant surveillance. Some of Wawhatchee's men scouted as far north as Venango on the Upper Allegheny and Presque Isle on Lake Erie.[18] From the pen of George Washington comes an account of one party's adventure:

> The first of last month [April] Lt. Gist [Christopher's son] with 6 soldiers and thirty Indians left the south branch of the Potomac River; and after a tedious march occasioned by deep snows . . . they got upon the waters of Monongahela, where Mr. Gist . . . got lamed and was rendered incapable of marching. . . . the white men and some Indians stayed with him, and the remainder of the Indians divided into three small parties . . . . Ucahula and two others went down the Monongahela in a bark canoe, and landed on the north side not far from Fort Duquesne . . . . They lay concealed two days to make discoveries and, if possible, get a prisoner; but no favorable opportunity offering . . . they attacked a canoe in which two Frenchmen were fishing; both of whom they killed and scalped in sight of some other Frenchmen also fishing . . . . He saw a party on the other side of the river, which he supposed to be newly come, because there were several canoes near them and they seemed to be putting up bark huts . . . . When he had got . . . fifteen miles this side of Fort Duquesne he came upon a large encampment and tracks steering toward Virginia . . . . Lt. Gist came upon a track of another large party . . . . These parties have since fallen upon the back inhabitants of Augusta County . . . . I have . . . engaged Ucahula with a small party of brisk men, to go immediately to Fort Duquesne to try to get a prisoner.[19]

1757?

Late in April manifestations of Cherokee discontent appeared. The "Raven" party—probably of Estatoe—arrived in Win-

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[17] Sullivan, etc., *op. cit.*, II, 784–85.

[18] Henry Bouquet, "Papers," Ser. 2, 81.

[19] Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, II, 191–92.

chester from Fort Frederick bearing two scalps which the Raven presented to Washington with a demand for a reward. Other Cherokees at the base knew the scalps as spurious—probably those of the whites killed on the Catawba path to avenge the Edisto murders. Indignant, they alerted the young Colonel, who rejected the Raven's demand. The disappointed trickster departed southward from Winchester, perhaps, as Washington thought, in a consciousness of guilt and the dread of being called to severe account by his countrymen; but not before Christopher Gist, who feared the Indian would give bad talks on the path, had sweetened him with presents.[20]

About this time Cherokees approaching Winchester met some of their disgruntled countrymen coming away and turned back with them, saying that the English were rogues and the French and Shawnees good people.[21] And on April 13 the Augusta county court had indicted one Hugh McNamara on suspicion of attempting in the French interest to seduce Cherokees from the English cause.[22] With two large parties of unhappy Cherokees in Virginia, serious trouble was probable.

Nor was it long delayed. About May 1 marauding Cherokees returning from Winchester alarmed settlers on Otter Creek in southwestern Virginia. The Indians entered homes, threatened people, took clothing and household utensils, ripped featherbeds, and carried off plunder on stolen horses. Settlers flocked from the region in panic. When sterner souls followed the thieves to retrieve their stolen goods, the Indians fired upon them.[23] The whites fled but, reinforced, soon returned, eleven in number, amongst them one William Verdiman. The official report of what followed states that when the pursuers came to Staunton River they

> . . . heard the Indians war halloo on the other side . . . . when they got over . . . they found a small fire just kindled and at some small distance . . . the enemy. William Verdiman aged about sixty went foremost . . . when they came up to the enemy they found they had tied their horses . . . to the bushes, that most of the Indians were painted . . . others painting, some black, some red but mostly black . . . . Old Verdiman pulled off his hat, bowed and accosted them . . . and said Gentlemen we came in brotherly fashion to ask you for our horses and other goods . . . . the Indians gave a kind of grunt and determined for mischief, stripped themselves . . . struck their tomahawks into trees and demanded . . . if they would fight. . . . whilst Verdiman was still . . . bowing and treating . . . the Indians attempted to environ them and actually got into a half circle before [the whites] were aware. . . . [the whites] all retreated . . . with their faces toward the enemy and took to the trees . . . . The Indians threw tomahawks . . . one of them would have hit old Verdiman but luckily he parried it with an elder stick . . . and the Indians pursuing and they retreating . . . they were nearly pushed to the river bank . . . a gun was fired upon which the engagement ensued . . . in which [one of the whites] fell . . . mortally wounded . . . three Indians fell.[24]

Out of ammunition, the whites retired. Militiamen rallied and went after the Indians. On May 10, eight or nine miles from Bedford, thirty-five Virginians encountered a large party of Cherokees. As the Virginians reported it:

> A captain and a lieutenant . . . went up to talk with ye Indians . . . and desired to be in friendship with them. The Indians answered "no brothers, no Cherokees," they were Shawnees [who] took the cap of[f] the Lt. . . . and stripped and beat them. They were glad to get of[f] naked . . . on which the rest of the men pursued and got before the Indians and had a scrimmage with them. But ye . . . Indians computed 60 or 70 and ye white men about forty and sum [sic] part of ye white men run before a gun fired. Others broke soon after without being of any service[.] The Indians kept the ground.[25]

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[20] *Ibid.*, II, 201.

[21] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, II, 312–14.

[22] J. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia*, 78–79.

[23] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, II, 307, 310–11.

[24] IBSC, VI, 154–56.

[25] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, II, 296–98, 309.

Altogether seventeen or eighteen Cherokees, Middle Settlements and Lower Townsmen, were killed in the two encounters, a heavy toll to lose to an ally.[26]

The bad effects of the episodes were cushioned and delayed. The Indians in British service heard the news first from the English; and, far from home and among potential enemies, they behaved. When the Cherokees with Colonel Byrd learned the story at Bedford, they raged for vengeance and threatened to go home, but Byrd induced them to continue on to Winchester and sent a messenger to McIntosh at Fort Prince George with the bad news. To prevent further clashes Virginia ordered three hundred militiamen to patrol Cherokee routes but to refrain from warfare, and appealed to Lyttelton to restrain the Cherokees.[27] No more incidents occurred that spring.

But the crest of the Cherokee participation in the Forbes expedition had passed. Cherokee war parties seldom stayed from home more than three or four months. Accustomed to taking the warpath in early spring, they became contemptuous of the midsummer redcoats and their General who in three months' time had made no contact with the enemy and were not halfway to their objective. In May there had been four hundred Cherokees in the British service, but their number began to dwindle in June. British officers, accustomed to specific terms of enlistment, regarded the departing Indians as deserters. Forbes sent orders to Washington at Winchester to prevent further departures, and the harassed young Colonel even rode out from town to persuade one party which had left to return.[28] But no one could stay Wawhatchee. He had held his warriors at Carlisle all through May awaiting Forbes, but when he learned of the bloody encounters between his countrymen and the Virginians, he left for the Lower Towns in anger.[29] With talks and presents Colonel Bouquet in command of Forbes' advanced forces labored among the remaining Indians to renew interest in the campaign. Only the arrival of the old South Carolina Indian hand Abraham Bosomworth escorting a warrior band prevented his failure.

First word of the Virginia clashes reached Keowee late in May when the battered warriors who had suffered in Virginia arrived with a letter from Colonel Byrd to McIntosh reporting their disaster and asking that he do something to appease them.[30] The Little Carpenter then at Keowee en route from Charlestown had no sympathy with the injured Indians; for he understood his countrymen and suspected that there had been misbehavior. He very sensibly told McIntosh that whites and Indians having suffered, the matter should be dropped. In Keowee town house he rebuked his countrymen, and he sent orders to the warriors with Forbes to behave themselves until he should come to put things right in Virginia. Then he set out for the Overhills with George Turner, an agent Byrd had left to bring more warriors north. A difficult road lay ahead of him; for at Joree he saw faces painted black in mourning for relatives slain in Virginia and heard violent talks of vengeance.

With each returning war party the nation became more agitated. Without the Little Carpenter's tempering influence bad feeling festered in the Lower Towns. Wawhatchee had returned in a rage. The Overhills became grim, and even the Little Carpenter hesitated to go into dangerous Virginia. Finally he told Turner that the omens were bad and that he could not go. Fearing for Turner's life, he sent him under escort to Keowee from whence the Virginian departed the nation.[31]

But the conciliatory forces were still strong. The Virginia explosion had been unexpected. Horse-stealing was not new to the Cherokees, for on the frontier settlers' horses roamed unfenced until their owners caught them. House-plundering had occurred before when Cherokees believed that Colonials had slighted them, and had gone unpunished. The armed encounters caused surprise and dismay among the headmen, who feared an English

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[26] IBSC, VI, 165.

[27] Journals of the Executive Council of Virginia, May 20, May 29, 1758.

[28] Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, II, 198–200.

[29] Bouquet, *loc. cit.*, Ser. 2, 84.

[30] McIntosh to Lyttelton, May 27, 1758, Lyttelton Papers.

[31] IBSC, VI, 151–53, 165.

war. The strong talks Lyttelton sent to Keowee and Chota demanding satisfaction for English losses led Tistoe and the Wolf to take a conciliatory line.[32] They blamed Wawhatchee for the bad talk. Old Hop, accusing the warriors of Overhill Settico, apologized to Paul Demere; and when Wawhatchee, seeking support for his vengeful mood, went to the Valley, the Fire King forbade anyone's taking the hatchet. Meanwhile a new alarm developed at Keowee. A Georgia trader, who had surreptitiously bought Virginia plunder from the Cherokees, spread a story that Lyttelton conspired with the Creeks to destroy them.[33] The excited Lower Townsmen plotted to attack Fort Prince George, but the Little Carpenter hurriedly sent important Overhill warriors to counsel patience.[34] When in August the Little Carpenter set out for Virginia, it appeared that the incidents could be peacefully settled.

In the north to allay Cherokee apprehensions over the Virginia troubles and to stem the exodus of the tribesmen many old southern Indian hands were employed. Colonel Byrd, though entitled to a regiment, stayed with his fifty-nine Indians. Richard Pearis made repeated journeys between Fort Frederick and Forbes's advance to lead Cherokees into forward positions in the campaign. Abraham Bosomworth remained in Winchester to persuade tribesmen returning from Fort Cumberland to join Forbes in Pennsylvania. Even former Governor Glen was active. By the end of June the few Cherokees remaining seemed to have recovered their spirits. Bouquet saw them doing "what I never heard of any Indian doing before. That is working for us and carrying a quantity of bark to roof our storehouse."[35]

Vexations, however, did not end. Colonel Byrd's party refused to leave Fort Cumberland to join Bouquet at Reastown, giving as their reason that they did not care to march to Fort Duquesne over any road but Braddock's. Interestingly, the

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[32] P. Demere to Lyttelton, July 30, 1758, Lyttelton Papers.

[33] McIntosh to Lyttelton, July 28, Aug. 1, 1758, *ibid.*

[34] P. Demere to Lyttelton, July 30, 1758, *ibid.*

[35] Bouquet, *loc. cit.*, Ser. 2, 105.

Cherokee impatience with Forbes's interminable road-building reflected Byrd's and Washington's hostile point of view concerning the feasibility of a new Pennsylvania road when a usable road already existed. Aware of the Fort Cumberland heresy, Bouquet sent Glen to fasten onto any new Indians who came there before they became infected. Cherokees escorted by Richard Pearis to various points tended to collect presents and then follow him when he left.[36] There was also the problem of identification. Indians pretending to be Cherokees killed two wagoners, and Forbes ordered Cherokees to wear "a yellow badge or fillet . . . around their heads or tied about their arms or breast."[37] But as July ended, the likelihood of a Cherokee coming to grief from mistaken identity had lessened considerably; barely forty were with the army.[38] Too few to fight, they were used as scouts. The Virginia partisan Colley Chew depicted one party at work in August near Fort Duquesne:

> We hid ourselves in a thicket until the Indians had congered and painted after which we went down the river to within 3/4s of a mile of the fort then turned to the SE. and went up a stony ridge where the chief warrior took his congering implements and tied them about the necks of the three . . . young Indians . . . and told them they could not be hurt; round my neck he tied the otter skin in which the congering implements had been kipt [*sic*] and round the sgt's neck hc tied a bag of paint that had been kipt with the implements. he then told us not one of us could be shot . . . he then made us strip ourselves of all our clothes except our breechcloths and mocasins [*sic*] and then shook hands with us and told us to go fight like men for nothing could hurt us.[39]

The hallowed preparations led, however, to nothing; for the enemy Indians were too numerous about the fort.

Not all the Cherokees in the north that summer were on

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[36] *Ibid.*, Ser. 2, 113, 121.

[37] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, II, 348.

[38] Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, II, 248.

[39] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, III, 39–40.

the warpath. Deputies from Keowee, headed by Moyeman, or Kool, who had been at Fort Johnson in 1757, carried an answer to Teedyuscung and the Six Nations.[40] Agreed to by Chota, it was a pledge to even more ardent war against the French and their Indians. Moyeman arrived in Philadelphia about June 1, but became ill with pleurisy and for two weeks hovered between life and death. Fearing that the business might be delayed, the Pennsylvania authorities persuaded Moyeman to give his talk for the Delawares from his sickbed. A week later, carried to the Statehouse, he dictated the talk he had for the Iroquois. As Henley, his assistant, brought out tokens and implements in their proper order, the sick man gave the talk with full ritual of pipe, wampum, and belts as he had memorized it in Keowee. Learning that the famous Mohawk conjurer, Seneca George, was near, he called him to his bedside. Shortly the authorities received a petition from Moyeman reading, "I desire Seneka George may have two bottles of rum, he thinks it necessary for my service and designs it as an offering."[41]

Effectively doctored, Moyeman proceeded to New York where he taught another set of Colonial officials how to entertain Cherokee deputies. The New Yorkers, wishing to speed the envoys, had engaged a sloop to take the Indians to Albany the day after their arrival. But the Cherokees expected a full ceremonial hearing—a four-day affair with reception by the Governor and council, talks, and gifts. That is what they received, to the extent even of the Governor's visiting the ailing Moyeman in his lodgings. The gifts from the frugal council were, however, disappointing: saucepans, ribbons, gartering, vermilion, and six pounds of soap.[42]

When the Cherokees arrived at Fort Johnson on July 19, Sir William returned from the Lake George frontier to receive them, and with his usual feeling for protocol and dispatch, launched without delay into the proper ceremonial. Condoling with the

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[40] IBSC, VI, 117–18.

[41] Sullivan, etc., *op. cit.*, II, 860–64.

[42] New York Council, "Minutes," XXV, 245–48.

Cherokees for their losses in battle, he presented Moyeman with a French scalp taken at Ticonderoga in symbolic replacement of Swallow Warrior killed the year before.

On the twenty-first in the presence of Sir William and Mohawk, Oneida, and Seneca sachems, Moyeman delivered his talk and belts.[43] Iroquois and Cherokees under English auspices sealed their friendship in a pledge to fight the French and thus laid the ghost of the backdoor intrigue for neutrality between Chota and Onondaga. On August 12, the amenities completed, Sir William symbolically cleared the path to enable the Cherokees to depart in peace, and Moyeman and his companions set out on the long path of far return.[44]

Since May in southwestern Virginia there had been no conflicts between settlers and Cherokees. Most parties leaving the Potomac went home by unfrequented routes or else under escort through the province. But for unguided groups there were hazards undreamed of even by Indians.

On August 19, not far from Draper's Meadows on New River, Captain Wade's frontier patrol came upon five Valley Cherokees going toward the Tennessee with horses, possibly stolen. The temptation was too great. Virginia paid a £50 scalp bounty, and none could tell whether a scalp was Shawnee or Cherokee. According to one of the men:

> After the captain heard the opinion of the people he past sentence of death upon them. . . . we overtook and past them because the captain said they were in such order we could not kill them all . . . . They were agoing toward New River . . . the men knew of two fords and they emagined they would cross one of them . . . . We laid an ambuscade at each ford . . . and the captain's orders were to fire at them as they crossed the river . . . . But after we had placed ourselves and sat awhile 2 or 3 of the men came . . . and informed us that the Indians had cross't at the Loer ford and they did not fire because they were all together. So the captain and the men went down toward the Loer ford and as we went along we saw 4 of the

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[43] Sullivan, etc., *op. cit.*, IX, 945–49.

[44] Johnson to Abercrombie, Aug. 12, 1758.

> Indians; but we did not fire . . . the captain concluded to ly by for awhile and let them all get together. . . . soon after the other Indian followed them and the captain's orders was for twelve of the best men to follow them. . . . the captain proposed . . . to dog them till night then to ly by until brake of day and then follow them. But we did not approve his skemes . . . we followed them and overtook them at a peach orchard just as they were leaving it . . . and fired at them and followed them up until we killed four of them, and wounded the other. We skelped them that we killed and then followed the other . . . . He bled very much . . . he went into the river and to an island . . . some of the men left looking for him and went down to the fort and some went after the Indians' horses. But myself and four or five more we search't the island until late in the afternoon and when we came to the fort the captain and the men were handling the Indians' goods . . . . Next morning we pack't up in order to return homeward for signs of Indians was plenty and we had little ammunition. But before we left the fort we were sworn not to tell we had ever heard them say they were Cherokees.[45]

It was murder and robbery by forces acting under Virginia commission and intent on perpetrating a fraud on the colony. It was not intended that there be a survivor to report the incident in the nation. But the wounded warrior, who skillfully evaded pursuit, came naked into the Valley with news of the death of three important Valley headmen.[46]

Inflammatory as this incident was, more crucial to the future course of events was the clash which occurred at Bedford about the same time. Settlers, angry over horse-stealing, set upon the Lower Townsmen who had accompanied Colonel Byrd north in the spring. They were returning under escort. According to their interpreter, trader James Beamer's mixed-blood son: Son

> Thirty or forty miles from Winchester they all put their horses into a pasture and that night there was six horses stole out. . . . one of them James Holmes that went out of this nation with an express to Virginia. . . . the Indians that lost their horses two of them was warriors belonging to this town [Estatoe]. . . . the Indians said since the white people began to steal horses from them first, they would take horses which [young Beamer] as soon as he see them would make the Indians turn loose.

At Bedford Courthouse young Beamer was told that as he went out the next day he would be waylaid by the inhabitants. He sent one of the two white men in his party to ask the inhabitants to refrain from mischief for he would keep the Indians from doing any harm. But at Goose Creek the next day, "the white people all rose up . . . and ordered the Indians to ground their arms which they did and the white people fired on them." Four Indians fell, three dead and one wounded. Beamer and the two white men a little distance behind rode up as fast as they could. The Indians threw off their packs and picked up their guns. By that time Beamer and Holmes were riding back and forth between the whites and Indians and succeeded in preventing further bloodshed. Two of the dead had distinguished themselves but shortly before in a fight against a patrol of French and Indians.[47] The outraged Indians hurried toward the nation. At the time, the Little Carpenter with thirty warriors was on the road to Williamsburg to ask for an adjustment of the spring disorders.[48]

But even as the Second Man went up the path, reports of the new clashes poured into the nation and the towns seethed with hatred of the Virginians. Vengeance-seeking warriors started north, and runners raced toward the Creeks and the Chickasaws to raise them against the whites.[49]

The Lower Towns traders, their lives at stake, worked feverishly to prevent war. Beamer talked earnestly to the Estatoe headmen, and Lachlan McIntosh hurriedly sent to Lyttelton for gifts to meet Wawhatchee's furious demands.[50] On September

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[45] W. P. Palmer, S. McRae, and W. H. Fleurnoy, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, I, 255–57.

[46] McIntosh to Lyttelton, Sept. 18, 1758, Lyttelton Papers.

[47] J. Beamer to Lyttelton, Sept. 16, 1758, *ibid.*

[48] Jones, *op. cit.*, 230.

[49] S. C. Council Journals, Nov. 16, 1758.

[50] McIntosh to Lyttelton, Oct. 21, 1758, Lyttelton Papers.

26, Lyttelton in a conciliatory message to the Lower Towns headmen invoked the treaty of 1730. Taking a position which he knew the Indians would understand, he asked that the killings on New River and Goose Creek be regarded not as an act of all Virginia but as that of private individuals who would be punished by the proper authorities and that satisfaction would be rendered by Governor Fauquier. Meanwhile, if the war parties were recalled, he would send presents to the relatives of the slain. However, should conciliation fail, South Carolina would embargo goods and ammunition, and Crown and Colony would move against the nation.[51]

Even Wawhatchee quailed before this ominous warning, and seemed disposed to follow the Lower Towns' moderates in accepting Lyttelton's terms.[52] The First Warrior of the Lower Towns by now knew that the Cherokees stood alone; for the Creeks and the Chickasaws both had rejected his appeal for a league against the English.[53] There was even a prospect of war with the Creeks, for Creek guests at a drunken brawl in Keowee had killed two of their hosts. Wawhatchee hastened runners after the Virginia-bound war parties in hopes of overtaking them before they did damage, and Lower Townsmen once again smiled at traders.

Chota, however, expressed its disillusionment with the Virginians by making peace with the Shawnee allies of the French against whom the Cherokees had fought to protect the Virginia frontier. The move led to further Cherokee isolation. Before the year was out it ruptured Catawba-Cherokee friendship. Cherokees returning from Virginia allowed Shawnees to pass them and attack a near-by party of Catawbas.

In the north, a few Cherokees still stayed with Forbes, but they were of little value. When the French and their Indians attacked Bouquet at Loyalhanna, none of the Cherokees would fight.[54] Indeed they all threatened to go home unless they received presents. To the sick General they and their interpreters appeared "imposing rogues" who sought to blackmail him. Evidently he thought that Cherokees, unlike loyal subjects of the crown, should fight for nothing. He grasped eagerly at the Little Carpenter's presence in Virginia to resolve his difficulties and sent Glen to Winchester to divert the Second Man from his Williamsburg mission. The former South Carolina Governor succeeded in bringing the Cherokee to Reastown.[55]

Forbes at first disdained the protocol of presents implicit in the Cherokee headman's visit. He treated the diplomat "with the greatest signs of indifference and disdain" as a mere seeker of bribes.[56] Nevertheless, the Little Carpenter contented himself with a token acknowledgment and agreed to hold his warriors with the army, thereby demonstrating to both English and Cherokee the disposition of Chota to peace.

His services, however, disappointed Forbes. The General could not understand why the Little Carpenter's men refused to join the November advance to capture Fort Duquesne. The reason seems to have been an unwillingness to be allied to an attack which might endanger Shawnees, for the Little Carpenter made peaceful contact with the Shawnees and was informed that the French would abandon the fort. Possibly he also learned from the Shawnees that relations between his countrymen and the Virginians had further deteriorated, and concluded that it was necessary for him to go to Williamsburg as soon as possible. He reported to Forbes that Fort Duquesne would be abandoned, stated that there was grave possibility of a Cherokee war with Virginia, and went off to complete his mission of peace.[57] The General regarded him as a deserter to the enemy and sent couriers to have him seized, stripped of arms, and escorted from post to post from Virginia.[58] To James Glen at Fort Cumber-

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[51] Wawhatchee to Lyttelton, Sept. 18, 1758, *ibid.*

[52] S. C. Council Journals, Nov. 14, 1758.

[53] Chandler, *op. cit.*, XXVIII, Pt. 1–A, 242–43.

[54] Jones, *op. cit.*, 226.

[55] S. C. Council Journals, Apr. 17, 1758.

[56] Jones, *op. cit.*, 224.

[57] S. C. Council Journals, Apr. 17, 1759.

[58] Jones, *op. cit.*, 256.

land fell the assignment of subjecting his old antagonist to the humiliating order.

Meanwhile in South Carolina with the approach of the hunting season the Virginia incidents appeared to be moving toward a peaceful resolution. In November, Tistoe and the Wolf of Keowee, the Mankiller of Keowee, Conjurer Jaime of offended Estatoe, and two headmen of Toxaway, having been received with military honors in Charlestown, conferred with Lyttelton. Though the governor blamed the Cherokees, he pointed out that Virginia had now repealed the scalp bounty which had caused the New River episode in August, that she would return all the plunder then taken from the Cherokees, and had taken measures to prevent further outrages. He said that if the Cherokees would recall their war parties and send a peace delegation to Virginia, the King's forces would not attack; but if war came, the Cherokees would stand alone, for no southern Indians would league with them. The headmen informed him that his conditions were in the process of being met. Thereupon Lyttelton promised particular presents to the headmen whose relatives had been slain and said he would not embargo the trade.[59] Seemingly appeased, the headmen set our for home to place before their towns the settlement they had made.

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[59] Lyttelton to Amherst, Dec. 27, 1759, Amherst Papers, B.P.R.O., W. O. 34/35.

CHAPTER TWELVE

A Divided Nation

In the winter of 1758–59, while Cherokee high policy looked to a peaceful resolution of the Virginia trouble, war feeling ran strong among the nativists. Wawhatchee, stirred by fresh English offenses, raged. Moytoy of Hiwassee talked of bitter vengeance. Standing Turkey of Chota, heir-designate of Old Hop, was darkly anti-English.[1] Particular hotbeds of unrest were Lower Towns Estatoe and Overhills Settico. These two towns, related by clan ties, had suffered heavy losses. They fed each other's resentments and were objectives for strong Creek and French propaganda.[2] The Mortar, an anti-English Creek headman who, at French behest, had established a settlement less than a week's journey from the Overhills, frequently visited Settico and chided the Setticoes for their tardiness in avenging their slain. He propagated alarm by reviving the story that the English intended to enslave the Cherokee women and children. He raised hopes that the French might soon come to establish a great trade and to drive the English out of the nation.[3] At Estatoe not only did scheming Creeks urge action but Ensign Belestre, the Frenchman captured in Pennsylvania when the Swallow Warrior fell,[4] had the ear of Seroweh, the Head Warrior of the town, who had taken vengeance for the Edisto murders the year before, and of Conjurer Jaime, the First Man of the town.

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[1] Richardson, *loc. cit.*, Jan. 11, Jan. 20, 1759.

[2] S. C. Council Journals, June 20, 1760.

[3] Richardson, *loc. cit.*, Feb. 1, Feb. 6, 1759.

[4] *Virginia Gazette*, June 7, 1760.

The peace party, consisting, in the absence of the Little Carpenter, of Tistoe of Keowee, Round O of Stecoe, Oconostota of Tanase, and Willinawaw of Toquo, were a powerful and restraining minority.[5] But even these wavered and might if given additional provocation go over to the war party; for all parties had heard of Forbes's insult to the Little Carpenter, and they worried for the Little Carpenter's safety in hostile Virginia.

At January's end it began to appear that the whole nation might soon storm out to war, for new troubles had broken out. Carolina settlers had gone thirty or forty miles over the Long Canes line into the Lower Towns' hunting grounds to kill deer. On news of this, Standing Turkey went about Chota denouncing the English as "thieves and rogues" because they stole the Cherokees' "land, bears, and elks, and beavers." Talk boiled hotly in Chota that an Englishman would die for every Cherokee slain in Virginia. So dark were the looks cast upon white men that the Presbyterian missionary William Richardson, who had come to Chota hoping to make converts, lost his zeal and fled to Keowee. There, save for the members of the Keowee ball team who tried to get him to use his magic on their behalf, his message of Christian love fell on barren ground. Wawhatchee went angrily to Fort Prince George and denounced the English to Ensign Lachlan McIntosh, the commander. Word that Governor Lyttelton, influenced by Forbes's charges, would not receive the Little Carpenter when he returned from Virginia created a furor. Rumor ran that if the French attacked Fort Loudoun, hundreds of disaffected Cherokees would join them.[6]

While the nation glowered, in Virginia the Little Carpenter talked peace with Fauquier. During December and January, fearful of traveling unarmed in Virginia, he had lingered at Winchester; but on January 9, guided by Abraham Smith, he appeared in Williamsburg. Before the cold Governor, the Cherokee diplomat was humble. His people, he said, had at the beginning acted unjustifiably, "but since later the English had offended," he proposed that the troubles be forgotten. Finally rallying to his mission, he strove to achieve a bargaining position. The path to Virginia, he said, could be made open and clear if Virginia would fulfill her Broad River promises of trade and a garrison. There must, however, be presents.

Though eager to avert a war, Fauquier took a strong stand. Denying presents to his visitor, he accused the Cherokees of violating the Treaty of 1730 by failing to surrender those Indians whose misbehavior had caused the troubles. He stated flatly that the British never again would reward Indians until after they had rendered services. He disavowed any Virginia obligation to garrison the Chota fort, for Virginia had agreed only to co-operate in Carolina's fort-building.[7] Then, surprisingly, he proposed to open the promised Cherokee trade that very spring; for the burgesses in 1757 had agreed to support an official Cherokee trade under a board of commissioners who had already ordered £5,000 in trade goods from England. The Little Carpenter realized that he had won a great victory. Despite the Governor's violent tongue-lashing and his failure to offer presents, Virginia had granted what he desired, peace and trade.[8] The elated diplomat hurried a runner off to inform Tistoe at Keowee and to tell him to go at once to Chota with the good news.

But the Little Carpenter was to be tried as no Cherokee headman before him had been tried in historic times. The nation was plunging toward an English war which even he might not be able to prevent. In Chota town house French-allied Ottawas made overtures for peace and alliance; and, the pro-French Creek headman, the Mortar, delivered a French talk and sought permission to settle on Cherokee lands at Hiwassee Old Town and Old Estatoe.[9] In Settico the Mortar conspired with the Moytoy of that town, who on pretense of making his winter hunt shortly set off to take scalps in Virginia or North Carolina. Even

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[5] J. Adair, *History of the American Indians*, 263–64.

[6] Richardson, *loc. cit.*, Jan. 30, Feb. 24, 1759.

[7] Journals of the Executive Council of Virginia, Jan. 19, 1759.

[8] Richardson, *loc. cit.*, Mar. 14, 1759.

[9] S. C. Council Journals, Apr. 21, 1759; IBSC, VI, 178.

in the Middle Settlements the war fever burned; for "renegade" Virginians with grudges of their own to settle excited the hotheaded with anti-English talk.

The Little Carpenter, swallowing his anger at a North Carolina attempt to kill him on his way home, held to his purpose of averting what he foresaw as certain calamity to his people.[10] On March 13, unware of what the Setticoes intended, he stood triumphant in Chota town house to denounce French lies and to lay before the headmen the Virginia talk of peace and trade.[11] Chota, despite Fauquier's failure to give satisfaction for those killed on New River, and unaware of new trouble in the making from forces out of control, eagerly confirmed the peace. Sending Fauquier a promise that all mischief would end, the Little Carpenter set out for Charlestown to reassure Carolina and to allow Lyttelton to make a demonstration over him which would signify friendship.

Lyttelton now desired very much to see the Little Carpenter, for he had heard of both the Virginia peace and the rumored French attack upon Fort Loudoun.[12] But like Fauquier he was determined to be firm. His reception of the ambassador on April 16 was cool. When the Cherokee came into the council chamber bearing a French scalp upon his scalp pole, Lyttelton sternly charged him with having deserted the Forbes army. Only after he heard the headman's lengthly defense did he deign to take his hand. When the Indians returned to their camp, they saw that Carolina had provided but lean fare. Sensitive to the slight, the Little Carpenter next day pleaded in moving terms for Lyttelton's confidence:

> I am not a rogue, nor given that way. Many bad and false talks have been sent your Excellency of the Cherokees and many such have also been sent me of the white people, but I believe them not. My love for my own people and their young ones has always determined me to do everything in my power to prevent their falling out with the white people having told them they would be thoroughly destroyed . . . . I am the only one alive of those who went to see the Great King. He told me never to take a Frenchman by the hand nor to have anything to do with them but to take care and to love and to behave well to his children the white people . . . . I have always done so and will always continue to do so . . . . I have brought two strings of wampum to your excellency of equal length. The one denotes the lies that are told to your Excellency; the other the lies that are told to me. I present them to you as a token and pledge of my fidelity to the Great King over the water.[13]

Lyttelton relented and ordered large quantities of provisions sent to the Cherokee camp. He invited the Little Carpenter to his home for dinner and ordered a parade and review of the colony's troops in his honor. Nevertheless, on the last day of the conference, the Governor was a proconsul talking to a vassal. For after asking the Little Carpenter to remain at home that summer to counter anti-English talk and to thwart the Creeks and the French, he put him on probation. Handing him a string of white beads terminated by three black beads connoting the three bad reports he had heard of him, he said, "When you come to see me again I desire you will bring this string with you . . . and if I then find you have acted the part of a good and faithful friend to the English . . . I will pull off these beads with my own hands and leave it all white."[14] Presents, he said, would not be as plentiful as the last time he came down.

Subdued, the Little Carpenter promised to stay the summer in the nation. However, he had little evidence of English esteem to take home with him. It was small consolation that in the final minutes of the conference Lyttelton granted his request that a trader be established at Keowee, where none had been since Richard Smith had left to serve Virginia in 1757. He had been rebuked before his own people, and his leadership did not bring what it had once brought from Carolina.

Meanwhile, events in the nation surged toward a new crisis.

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[10] Richardson, *loc. cit.*, Mar. 14, 1759.

[11] S. C. Council Journals, Apr. 18, 1759.

[12] Journals of the Executive Council of Virginia, Apr. 17, 1759.

[13] S. C. Council Journals, Apr. 18, 1759.

[14] *Ibid.*, Apr. 21, 1759.

"Nothing is more easy than to make Indians sensible, that they ought not to expect to be paid by different Colonies for the same Service; But they have Sense enough not to refuse it.....inclosed Copy of a Letter which I wrote to Mr. Croghan, Sir William Johnson's Deputy in the Northern Department, by way of answer to a Letter Capt. Pearis received from him by the same Express that brought your Packet, inviting the before mentioned Party of Cherokees to Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania, to receive a present provided for them by that Government, in Consequence of the Message they had sent to Govr. Denny, offering their assistance to him also....

"I consider Pearis as the Spring of this Mischief, who being then in the Pay & Service of this Government, and in Breach of his Orders, turning his Back upon & baulking a Matter of Importance (being certainly conscious of his intended Discharge for Misbehavior,) carried Wawhatchee's said Party over Potowmack, in order to make a Merit with Governments of Maryland and Pennsylvania, by offering their Assistance...There are many strokes in Wawhatchee's Message to you...He sent you even a list of what he wanted (as he had done here to Govr. Dinwiddie.) He slighted the present of 100 pounds, tho' he would not have left a less one behind him. He refused to give up the Scalps for the large Reward of 50 pounds each on pretence of a point of Honor, but in Truth, that he might receive the Virginia Reward also. This money might have been saved; because Paris knew that being then in the Pay & Service of this Colony, they were obliged to deliver these Scalps here, for 10 pounds each, and 45 pounds for a prisoner.....

"On the 8th, most of Wawhatchee's Party stole away in the Morning privately, to get the presents intended at Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania. But Mr. Croghan who was to have delivered it, on a few Lines of Notification I sent by Express at their Heels, just to put him on his Guard, resolved, before my other Letter at large reached him, not to transact any thing whatsoever with them. Pearis who the same Day asked Leave of me most earnestly, to go to his new Duty in Maryland, but promised solemnly he would not go until Smith, whom I had sent for, should come to me, followed them the next Morning without saying a Word to me more; leaving me without an Interpreter to speak to those that remained in this Town."

(This very long letter, a larger part of it omitted, rambles on...)

This letter to Governor Sharpe had no affect on the commission as a Captain in the Maryland Provincials which he had just recentl given to Richard Pearis. His feeling on the subject was probably about the same as that of the Pennsylvanians, like Colonel Armstrong's, below. With some reservations, they decided to cooperate with Atkin--who did not realize it, but his penuriousnesses with His Majesty King George's funds was teaching the Colonies how to unite 19 short years later, but this time against King George.

Letter 19 June 1757, Carlisle, Colonel John Armstrong to Honorable William Denny, Governor of Pennsylvania

"May it Please your Honr, On the seventh Inst, per advice of Col. Stanwix, I set out with Mr. Croghan for Fort Loudon, carrying the Provincial Present for the Cherokees, under an Escort of Eighty Men, expecting, after the delivery of the Present, to have been join'd by Capt. Parris & a party of the Indians, and to have reconnoitred the Country towards the Alleghany Hill, as far as was Possible with what Provision the Men cou'd carry on their Backs.

"On going to Loudon, Capt. Croghan recd a long Letter from Mr. Atkins, letting him know that thirty-three Cherokees had Stole away towards Pennsylvania without his knowledge, and without a Chief, for which he also blamed Paris, in first fetching them over Potomack, forbidding Mr. Croghan to send for, speak to, or give any thing to them, but immediately to come to him at Winchester, ..Mr. Croghan shew'd me the Letter and desir'd I would go with him, to which gave them something on acct of the Pennsylvania Present, which Mr. Croghan is to refund him out of it, keeping the residue for a part of the Eighty Indians who, with the Swallow Warrior, have been on duty betwixt Fort Cumberland & Fort Du Quisne, and were to go within Twenty five Miles of Winchester on their return to see Mr. Atkins.

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"Fourteen of those, under the immediate conduct of the Swallow, a few Miles from Fort Du Quisne, fell in with three or four French Subaltern Officers, and a few private men, who had been at the Head of a Party of Soldiers & (Shawnee) Indians whome, when return'd near the fort, they sent a Hunting. The Swallow fir'd first, knock'd down an Officer (French) and, on springing up to Scalp him, was unfortunately shot thro' the head. The party, loosing their Chief, was some what confounded, but kill'd and scalp'd two or three of the Officers, and has brought in an Ensign prisoner....

(After relating the heroic deeds of Cherokees under the Swallow, he tells of a group of men under Lt. Holliday killed in a Shawnee ambush, and of other Indians with French officers preying on the population as well as other soldiers

"This Day Colonel Stanwix is to write your Honour of his preparation to March immediately from this place, having receiv'd intelligence from Capta. Dagworthy at Fort Cumberland, that Six Cherokees that staid to view the situation of Duquesne, observ'd the French hurrying greatly and making preparation, as they thought, to March out an Army; accordingly the Indians watched their motions until, on the 10th Inst., they saw a large Body cross the Monongehela, near the place where Genl Braddock was defeated, with wheel'd Carriages and Guns larger than any at Fort Cumberland, and Men, as the Indians phrase it, that could not be counted. Capt. Dagworthy thinks they are coming against that place where they have but 180 Men, raw troops from Maryland. Col. Washington told me..it was not in his power to assist the Garrison, nor wou'd all his men be more than a Breakfast to the French & their Indians..."

Edmond Atkin, B. 1707 in Exeter, England and longtime Charleston S.C. merchant, was in England 1750-6, when he wrote a lengthy report in which he persuaded the Board of Trade to create the office of Supt. of Indian Affairs for the Southern Colonies and secured the position for himself. But once in America, he was not successful in getting adequate funding due to hesitation on the parts of Lord Loudoun and Sir William Johnson. Dinwiddie, however, was anxious to secure his services to unburden Washington of Indian problems, deal more effectively with southern Indians, and end clashes between Indian agents of the various colonies. He also tried in vain to obtain Atkin's services and Indian presents without costs to Virginia.

Atkin began operations at Fort Loudoun VA on 3 June with the loyal support of Washington. In July, however, his arbitrary methods created a dangerous incident. He believed a party of ten Indians which appeared there were French spies, and imprisoned the whole group--it turned out at least some were friendly Cherokees. Washington stepped in to explain the mistake, and was able, by messenger, to overtake Cherokees on the way home and make amends before the whole tribe would be upset.

Besides Richard Pearis, now a Maryland agent, and George Croghan, Sir William Johnson's deputy, he also involved himself in quarrels with several officers of Washington's regiment. Yet, overall, his mission was not without accomplishment. At Washington & Dinwiddie's request, he appointed the well-known Christopher Gist as his deputy and took his leave to return overland to South Carolina.

*(Information taken from John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier by John Richard Allen-(1944) which provides much more detail.)

PEARIS FAMILY

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PEARIS FAMILY (Excerpts - Spelling Original)

Pennsylvania Archives 3 (Original Series) pages 175-189

Letter 8 June 1757, Winchester, Edmund Atkin, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Southern Dept., to Mr. George Croghan, Sir William Johnson's deputy, Northern District of Indian Affairs. says that

A large body of Catawbas and Cherokees, in going against the Shawnees, had gone through Virginia, and he had found that Colony "just on the Brink of Confusion and distraction, by means of the very Indians that had been drawn with great pains and expence to its assistance. For no person pretended to much knowledge or acquaintance with them and their affairs, the Persons employed as Conductors or Interpreters (there being no regulation entered into) carried them chiefly through the Heart of the Settlements, disorders were committed, and the Inhabitants terrified every where.

"There had then gone up, and were going to this Place and Fort Cumberland, 124 Catawbas, 148 Cherokees, 57 Tusks and other Tributary Indians. 128, part of the Cherokees, then on their way thro' Lunenberg County, not finding what Presents they expected there at the Court House, & extorting promises, committed the most flagrant outrages and violence, frightening, plundering, and even ravishing one poor Girl & killing a Chickawaw in their Company for reproving them. In a word, as Col Read wrote to Governor Dinwiddie, they behaved like Free Booters in an Enemys Country. And though they received a considerable Present at Bedford Court House, yet they bullied with insolent speeches the Commanding Officer at Fort Loudon.....

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"This Governor Dinwiddie thought wrong, as the Indians were brought to the assistance of this Colony, & supported with great Expence to it, & Captain Paris was in its pay and Service by his Commission. Tho' had he not taken, as he did, another Commission from Governor Sharpe (Note: Maryland Governor) I was empowered by Governor Dinwiddie to discharge him in his name, on account of the many Complaints he had received against him in other Respects.

"In my way to the Town, I was informed by a half Breed Catawba, that Wawhatchee's Party had formed a Resolution of going into all the White Peoples Houses on the way home and taking whatever they liked..."

Atkin protested very insistently that that he was commissioned by the King of England to deal with all Southern Indians for all of the colonies. He said that the Indians were succeeding in playing one government against the next, demanding presents in each vicinity for services already rendered someplace else, and making threats if they did not get them. The only way to stop that was by letting him, Atkin, make one present for each service on behalf of the combined governments. He complained that so far he was receiving poor cooperation.

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PEARIS FAMILY

"Fourteen of those, under the immediate conduct of the Swallo
Fort Du Quisne, fell in with three or four French Subaltern (
private men, who had been at the Head of a Party of Soldiers
whome, when return'd near the fort, they sent a Hunting. Th
first, knock'd down an Officer (French) and, on springing up
unfortunately shot thro' the head. The party, loosing their
what confounded, but kill'd and scalp'd two or three of the (
brought in an Ensign prisoner....

(After relating the heroic deeds of Cherokees under the Sw
of a group of men under Lt. Holliday killed in a Shawnee ambu
Indians with French officers preying on the population as wel
"This Day Colonel Stanwix is to write your Honour of his prepa
immediately from this place, having receiv'd intelligence fro
at Fort Cumberland, that Six Cherokees that staid to view the
Duquesne, observ'd the French hurrying greatly and making pre
thought, to March out an Army; accordingly the Indians watche
until, on the 10th Inst., they saw a large Body cross the Mon
place where Genl Braddock was defeated, with wheel'd Carriage
than any at Fort Cumberland, and Men, as the Indians phrase i
be counted. Capt. Dagworthy thinks they are coming against t
where they have but 180 Men, raw troops from Mary.
ington told me..it was not in his power to assist the Garriso
his men be more than a Breakfast to the French & their Indian

---

Edmond Atkin, B. 1707 in Exeter, England and longtime
S.C. merchant, was in England 1750-6, when he wrote a
report in which he persuaded the Board of Trade to cre
office of Supt. of Indian Affairs for the Southern Col
secured the position for himself. But once in America
successful in getting adequate funding due to hesitat
parts of Lord Loudoun and Sir William Johnson. Dinwid
was anxious to secure his services to unburden Washing
Indian problems, deal more effectively with southern I
end clashes between Indian agents of the various coloni
tried in vain to obtain Atkin's services and Indian pr
without costs to Virginia.

Atkin began operations at Fort Loudoun VA on 3 June wi
support of Washington. In July, however, his arbitrar
created a dangerous incident. He believed a party of
which appeared there were French spies, and imprisone
group--it turned out at least some were friendly Cherok
ton stepped in to explain the mistake, and was able, by
to overtake Cherokees on the way home and make amends b
whole tribe would be upset.

Besides Richard Pearis, now a Maryland agent; and Georg
Sir William Johnson's deputy, he also involved himself
with several officers of Washington's regiment. Yet, o
mission was not without accomplishment. At Washington
request, he appointed the well-known Christopher Gist a
deputy and took his leave to return overland to South C

*(Information taken from John Stuart and the Southern Co
Frontier by John Richard Allen-(1944) which provides mu
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"The next morning being the 5th, just as I was going to deliver the Presents of this Government, and to cancel their Engagements & then to hint to the Cherokees the Regulation intended by me, as I had done to the Catawbaws, Captain Paris shew'd me a Letter from you to him dated at Carlisle the 3d with a string of white wampum to invite the Cherokees under his Command to meet you with him at Fort Loudoun 'in Pennsylvania to receive a present provided by that Government, which had been before mentioned by Colonel Armstrong, and to tell them the Mohawks had sent one of their Chief men along with you to brighten the chain of Friendship between them and the Cherokee Nation, but not to deliver that Message until the Business transacting between them and this Government should be finished.'

"Without Doubt you had no notice of my being hereabouts, But you will be Sensible from what I said before, that Captain Paris had no command here, having discharged himself by accepting of a Commission in another Government. He nor any other person could negotiate any matter with the Indians in my department without my leave. (By the way, he is a man whom I shall by no means ever Intrust with the Conduct of Indian concerns, tho' I believe he is a fit man to head a party in the Woods, & I have been obliged to make use of his Tongue, on this Occasion upon his oath as Interpreter.)

"Tho' I gave all the Caution possible not to let the Cherokees know the Message, yet they were soon made acquainted with it by more than one for different reasons and purposes." When it came time to receive their presents between these Cherokees (and others still at war under the Swallow) they looked on them with disdain. Wawhatchee said they were not worth dividing, and Yahtanow seemed indifferent. They would leave them for the Swallow and his 93 men if he wanted them. Though they promised to talk again the next day, Yahtanow got drunk and set off homeward with 13 Overhills. All but 7 Or 8 of Wawhatchee's men took off unaccompanied to Fort Loudown VA to get presents.

He goes on at length to instruct Croghan that Pennsylvania and Maryland as well as Virginia are not to bargain with the southern Indians, adding, "I expect to see here daily Richard Smith (an Excellent Interpreter he says) with at least the Chiefs of the Cherokees now out at War between Fort Pleasand and Fort Cumberland, and that will be a good Opportunity for you to be here, with the Mohawk in your Company......9th P.S. I have warned Duning your Express (whom I have detain'd in the Hurry I am in till I could give you this detail) not to carry over the Powtomack Wawhatchee's people, who I understand are waiting for him or Paris or both, untill he shall hear from you."

Atkin wasted his ink in this last regard, for Pearis promptly carried the Indians over the Potomac himself, before orders forbidding this could be received, as we see in the following letters.

Letter 12 June 1757, Winchester, Edmund Atkin to His Excellency, Horatio Sharpe, Governor of Maryland.

Sir: I am very much obliged to your Excellency for your Favour of the 1st Instant, which came to my hand last Sunday, giving me a Copy of the Message or Letter sent to you from the Party of Cherokees, carried by Capt. Pea ris into Maryland the 29th of April last, and of the Transactions that passed afterwards at Fort Frederick on your Frontier, ...imagining I was returned to South Carolina...it put it into my power..to send you some proper Remarks which may be useful Hints for your own hereafter.

"Permit me to rectify an error which you seem to be under, by saying you heard I was expected here in a few Days to hold a Treaty with the Indians that came to Virginia by Govr. Dinwiddie's Invitation; and to make them a Present. My Business is to make a new Treaty in his Majesty's Name, in Behalf of all his Subjects without Distinction in North America, with every Nation of Indians in my Department....Now his Majesty hath put a Stop to the Exercise of such a Power by the several Colonies, each for themselves, which could not but clash frequently with each other's Good... There is in your answer to that part of the Message you received from the Cherokees before mentioned, taking Notice, that upon coming to Fort Frederick, they found themselves no longer in Virginia but in another Government...

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Next we quote Loyalists in the American Revolution, Gary D. Olson, So. Car. Hist. Mag. 68:213-7

After Kirkland had left the backcountry, Drayton led a force of militia across the Saluda River into Ninety-Six district and detached parties to seize prominent loyalists. Nine men were taken into custody, but Robert Cunningham managed to escape. Drayton nevertheless felt confident that in a few days he would be able to march into Fletchall's district of the Upper Saluda and easily disperse the opposition there "without blood spilt in battle."[34] Brown and Cunningham, however, had been more successful in raising men to oppose him than the patriot leader wanted to believe. Indeed he was soon forced to conclude that the loyalists numbered over 1,200 men while his own force barely totaled one thousand. Drayton decided to try deception in order to avoid bloodshed and perhaps defeat.

To play further on the fears of the loyalists, Drayton arranged to have a letter addressed to Colonel Richardson intercepted by his opponents. This fabricated letter directed Richardson to raise a force and to be prepared to attack the loyalist party from the rear. Also Colonel Thomas purportedly had been ordered to burn the houses of all non-associators who were absent from their homes. With this groundwork laid Drayton invited the loyalist leaders to come to his camp for negotiations.[36]

Brown and Cunningham refused to attend but allowed Fletchall "with some officers of inconsiderable consequences" and "as ignorant and illiterate as himself" to act as messengers. Brown demanded guarantees that the backcountry remain unmolested as a sanctury for loyalists as the only condition acceptable in a settlement with the whigs.[37]

On September 16, 1775, the treaty of Ninety-Six was signed between Drayton and the loyalist delegation led by Fletchall. The loyalists declared that their refusal to sign the Association reflected only a desire to live in peace, and they promised not to join or aid any British troops that might be sent to the provinces. They further agreed to allow any person who censured or opposed the proceedings of the Provincial Congress to be punished. In return the loyalists were promised that persons observing these provisions would be protected and allowed to remain at home. This protection was specifically withheld from those who refused to accept the agreement.[38]

To Brown, Cunningham, and many of their followers this treaty was a disgraceful surrender. Brown believed that Fletchall had been hoodwinked by Drayton's deployment of his troops into thinking that Drayton had the loyalist force at his mercy. He accused Fletchall of being drunk at the negotiations and of allowing Drayton to draw up the treaty without consulting anyone.[39] The treaty, however, was far more rational than Brown thought. First, it allowed both Drayton and Fletchall o avoid a battle which neither was sure he could win, and second, the erms of the treaty reflected the neutralist sentiments of Fletchall and many of the back settlers. Indeed, Governor Campbell had advised voiding a conflict and preserving peace in the backcountry until assist-nce arrived.

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While Brown was in Charleston, significant events occurred in the backcountry. The treaty of Ninety-Six virtually ended Drayton's mission, but before returning to Charleston he took two steps which were to have an important bearing on future events. One was to hold a conference with some Cherokee chiefs who were brought down to the Congarees by Richard Pearis for the occasion.[42] The other was to draw from Robert Cunningham an open refusal to be bound by the recently concluded treaty. The wily Drayton accomplished the latter by a skillfully written letter which Cunningham unwisely but frankly answered. Cunningham declared he was not bound by a treaty which he considered "false and disgraceful from beginning to end."[43] In the last part of October he was seized by a party disguised as Indian traders acting on orders of the Council of Safety. Tried in Charleston on a charge of sedition, Cunningham was imprisoned in the town jail.[44]

This occasioned a second loyalist uprising. Patrick Cunningham raised a body of men to rescue his brother from the whigs. While he failed to effect this, he did succeed on November 3 in capturing a wagon loaded with a thousand pounds of gun powder which the Council of Safety was sending as a gift to the Cherokee Indians. The ammunition was valuable to the tories not merely for rifles, but for propaganda as well. The loyalist leaders now turned the tables on the patriots by using the fear of an Indian attack to rally the people of the backcountry around themselves. Richard Pearis, a newly turned loyalist, did much to aid this development. Pearis made affidavit that the Council of Safety was planning to use the Cherokee Indians against the loyalists, and, though this affidavit was entirely false, the gift of powder convinced many that the charges were true.

On November 4 Maj. Andrew Williamson in the Long Cane militia district, on learning the powder had been taken, immediately raised part of his militia regiment and marched to join the patriot irregulars of Ninety-Six. This force eventually numbered about 550 men and their avowed objective was to "retake that ammunition and bring those people to justice."[45] This was in reality a pretext, however, for even before Patrick Cunningham had raised his men and seized the powder in Ninety-Six district, Colonel Richardson with a force of patriot militia was taking local loyalists into custody in the fork between the Saluda and Broad rivers. This was a direct violation of the treaty of Ninety-Six.[46]

The force led by Williamson in pursuit of Patrick Cunningham and his group constituted the more immediate threat to the loyalists. Fletchall, conceding that the treaty had been broken by the whigs, but physically unable himself to lead, directed Maj. Joseph Robinson to raise the loyalist forces in opposition. Aided by the Indian scare created by the Pearis statement the loyalists quickly assembled about 2,000 men.[47] Commanded by Robinson with the assistance of Patrick Cunningham, Evan McLaurin, and Richard Pearis, this force on November 19 besieged Williamson and the whig militia at Ninety-Six. Three days later the belligerents agreed to terms: prisoners should be released, the fort destroyed, and the loyalists should retire to the other side of the Saluda River. During the twenty-day truce period the loyalists might submit their case to Governor Campbell, and the patriots theirs to the Council of Safety.[48]

This was the closest thing to a victory that the loyalists ever won in South Carolina. The only benefit they received, however, was that Williamson's men could not take the field for twenty days.

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Government, and to cancel their Engagements & then to hint to the Cherokees
Regulation intended by me, as I had done to the Catawbaws, Captain Paris
'd me a Letter from you to him dated at Carlisle the 3d with a string of
e wampum to invite the Cherokees under his Command to meet you with him
ort Loudoun 'in Pennsylvania to receive a present provided by that Govern-
, which had been before mentioned by Colonel Armstrong, and to tell them
Mohawks had sent one of their Chief men along with you to brighten the chain
riendship between them and the Cherokee Nation, but not to deliver that
age until the Business transacting between them and this Government should
inished.'

nout Doubt you had no notice of my being hereabouts, But you will be Sensible
what I said before, that Captain Paris had no command here, having dischar-
himself by accepting of a Commission in another Government. He nor any
r person could negotiate any matter with the Indians in my department without
eave. (By the way, he is a man whom I shall by no means ever Intrust with
Conduct of Indian concerns, tho' I believe he is a fit man to head a party
ne Woods, & I have been obliged to make use of his Tongue, on this Occasion
his oath as Interpreter.)

' I gave all the Caution possible not to let the Cherokees know the Message,
they were soon made acquainted with it by more than one for different
ons and purposes." When it came time to receive their presents between these
okees (and others still at war under the Swallow) they looked on them with
ain. Wawhatchee said they were not worth dividing, and Yahtanow seemed
fferent. They would leave them for the Swallow and his 93 men if he wanted
. Though they promised to talk again the next day, Yahtanow got drunk and
off homeward with 13 Overhills. All but 7 Or 8 of Wawhatchee's men took off
companied to Fort Loudown VA to get presents.

es on at length to instruct Croghan that Pennsylvania and Maryland as well
rginia are not to bargain with the southern Indians, adding, "I expect to
here daily Richard Smith (an Excellent Interpreter he says) with at least
Chiefs of the Cherokees now out at War between Fort Pleasand and Fort Cumber-
and that will be a good Opportunity for you to be here, with the Mohawk
our Company......9th P.S. I have warned Duning your Express (whom I have
n'd in the Hurry I am in till I could give you this detail) not to carry
the Powtomack Wawhatchee's people, who I understand are waiting for him
aris or both, untill he shall hear from you."

wasted his ink in this last regard, for Pearis promptly carried the Indians
the Potomac himself, before orders forbidding this could be received, as
e in the following letters.

r 12 June 1757, Winchester, Edmund Atkin to His Excellency, Horatio Sharpe,
nor of Maryland.

I am very much obliged to your Excellency for your Favour of the 1st Instant,
came to my hand last Sunday, giving me a Copy of the Message or Letter sent
u from the Party of Cherokees, carried by Capt. Pearis into Maryland the 29th
ril last, and of the Transactions that passed afterwards at Fort Frederick
ur Frontier, ...imagining I was returned to South Carolina...it put it into
wer..to send you some proper Remarks which may be useful Hints for your own
fter.

t me to rectify an error which you seem to be under, by saying you heard I
xpected here in a few Days to hold a Treaty with the Indians that came to
nia by Govr. Dinwiddie's Invitation; and to make them a Present. My Business
make a new Treaty in his Majesty's Name, in Behalf of all his Subjects
ut Distinction in North America, with every Nation of Indians in my Depart-
...Now his Majesty hath put a Stop to the Exercise of such a Power by the
al Colonies, each for themselves, which could not but clash frequently with
other's Good... There is in your answer to that part of the Message you
ved from the Cherokees before mentioned, taking Notice, that upon coming to
Frederick, they found themselves no longer in Virginia but in another
nment...

Next we quote Loyalists in the American Revolution, Gary D. Olson, So. Car. Hist. Mag. 68:213-7

After Kirkland had left the backcountry, Drayton led a force of militia across the Saluda River into Ninety-Six district and detached parties to seize prominent loyalists. Nine men were taken into custody, but Robert Cunningham managed to escape. Drayton nevertheless felt confident that in a few days he would be able to march into Fletchall's district of the Upper Saluda and easily disperse the opposition there "without blood spilt in battle."[34] Brown and Cunningham, however, had been more successful in raising men to oppose him than the patriot leader wanted to believe. Indeed he was soon forced to conclude that the loyalists numbered over 1,200 men while his own force barely totaled one thousand. Drayton decided to try deception in order to avoid bloodshed and perhaps defeat.

To play further on the fears of the loyalists, Drayton arranged to have a letter addressed to Colonel Richardson intercepted by his opponents. This fabricated letter directed Richardson to raise a force and to be prepared to attack the loyalist party from the rear. Also Colonel Thomas purportedly had been ordered to burn the houses of all nonassociators who were absent from their homes. With this groundwork laid Drayton invited the loyalist leaders to come to his camp for negotiations.[36]

Brown and Cunningham refused to attend but allowed Fletchall "with some officers of inconsiderable consequences" and "as ignorant and illiterate as himself" to act as messengers. Brown demanded guarantees that the backcountry remain unmolested as a sanctury for loyalists as the only condition acceptable in a settlement with the whigs.[37]

On September 16, 1775, the treaty of Ninety-Six was signed between Drayton and the loyalist delegation led by Fletchall. The loyalists declared that their refusal to sign the Association reflected only a desire to live in peace, and they promised not to join or aid any British troops that might be sent to the provinces. They further agreed to allow any person who censured or opposed the proceedings of the Provincial Congress to be punished. In return the loyalists were promised that persons observing these provisions would be protected and allowed to remain at home. This protection was specifically withheld from those who refused to accept the agreement.[38]

To Brown, Cunningham, and many of their followers this treaty was a disgraceful surrender. Brown believed that Fletchall had been hoodwinked by Drayton's deployment of his troops into thinking that Drayton had the loyalist force at his mercy. He accused Fletchall of being drunk at the negotiations and of allowing Drayton to draw up the treaty without consulting anyone.[39] The treaty, however, was far more rational than Brown thought. First, it allowed both Drayton and Fletchall to avoid a battle which neither was sure he could win, and second, the terms of the treaty reflected the neutralist sentiments of Fletchall and many of the back settlers. Indeed, Governor Campbell had advised avoiding a conflict and preserving peace in the backcountry until assistance arrived.

Brown and Cunningham, on the other hand, perhaps saw Drayton's intentions more clearly than did Fletchall. They rightly believed that he intended to destroy any effective opposition in the backcountry

While Brown was in Charleston, significant events occurred in the backcountry. The treaty of Ninety-Six virtually ended Drayton's mission, but before returning to Charleston he took two steps which were to have an important bearing on future events. One was to hold a conference with some Cherokee chiefs who were brought down to the Congarees by Richard Pearis for the occasion.[42] The other was to draw from Robert Cunningham an open refusal to be bound by the recently concluded treaty. The wily Drayton accomplished the latter by a skillfully written letter which Cunningham unwisely but frankly answered. Cunningham declared he was not bound by a treaty which he considered "false and disgraceful from beginning to end."[43] In the last part of October he was seized by a party disguised as Indian traders acting on orders of the Council of Safety. Tried in Charleston on a charge of sedition, Cunningham was imprisoned in the town jail.[44]

This occasioned a second loyalist uprising. Patrick Cunningham raised a body of men to rescue his brother from the whigs. While he failed to effect this, he did succeed on November 3 in capturing a wagon loaded with a thousand pounds of gun powder which the Council of Safety was sending as a gift to the Cherokee Indians. The ammunition was valuable to the tories not merely for rifles, but for propaganda as well. The loyalist leaders now turned the tables on the patriots by using the fear of an Indian attack to rally the people of the backcountry around themselves. Richard Pearis, a newly turned loyalist, did much to aid this development. Pearis made affidavit that the Council of Safety was planning to use the Cherokee Indians against the loyalists, and, though this affidavit was entirely false, the gift of powder convinced many that the charges were true.

On November 4 Maj. Andrew Williamson in the Long Cane militia district, on learning the powder had been taken, immediately raised part of his militia regiment and marched to join the patriot irregulars of Ninety-Six. This force eventually numbered about 550 men and their avowed objective was to "retake that ammunition and bring those people to justice."[45] This was in reality a pretext, however, for even before Patrick Cunningham had raised his men and seized the powder in Ninety-Six district, Colonel Richardson with a force of patriot militia was taking local loyalists into custody in the fork between the Saluda and Broad rivers. This was a direct violation of the treaty of Ninety-Six.[46]

The force led by Williamson in pursuit of Patrick Cunningham and his group constituted the more immediate threat to the loyalists. Fletchall, conceding that the treaty had been broken by the whigs, but physically unable himself to lead, directed Maj. Joseph Robinson to raise the loyalist forces in opposition. Aided by the Indian scare created by the Pearis statement the loyalists quickly assembled about 2,000 men.[47] Commanded by Robinson with the assistance of Patrick Cunningham, Evan McLaurin, and Richard Pearis, this force on November 19 besieged Williamson and the whig militia at Ninety-Six. Three days later the belligerents agreed to terms: prisoners should be released, the fort destroyed, and the loyalists should retire to the other side of the Saluda River. During the twenty-day truce period the loyalists might submit their case to Governor Campbell, and the patriots theirs to the Council of Safety.[48]

This was the closest thing to a victory that the loyalists ever won in South Carolina. The only benefit they received, however, was that Williamson's men could not take the field for twenty days.

SECOND COMPANY, ON THE PEDEE RIVER, 1737.

In the year 1737, the following baptist members of the *Welsh Tract* church, which was then in the Province of Pennsylvania, but now in the State of Delaware, arrived here, viz.: James James, Esq., and wife and three sons, Philip, who was their minister, Abel, Daniel, and their wives; Daniel Devonald and wife, Thomas Evans and wife, one other of the same name and his wife, John Jones and wife, three of the Harrys, Thomas, David, and John and his wife, Samuel Wilds and wife, Samuel Evans and wife, Griffith Jones and wife, David and Thomas Jones and their wives. These thirty members, with their children and households, settled at a place called *Catfish*, on Pedee River, but they soon removed about fifty miles higher up the same river, where they made a permanent settlement, and where they all, except James James, Esq., who died at Catfish, were embodied into a church, January, 1738.

James James, Esq., was the most distinguished of this company of emigrants, for he was the head of the party, and his son Philip became the pastor of the church. Of him, I can learn no more than that he died at Catfish. His son Philip, the first pastor of the Welsh Neck church, was born near Pennepeck, Pennsylvania, in 1701; he was ordained over the church in 1743, by Messrs. Chanler and Simmons, and died in 1753.

This company were all either native Welchmen or were the descendants of emigrants from that country, who had resided a while in Pennsylvania and Delaware before they emigrated to this southern location.

This was a substantial company of baptist professors, and laid a foundation for a permanent and highly respectable community, which branched out in different directions, and naturally gathered around it the new comers of the country, who were attracted to them by affinities of national character and language.

Rev. John Brown succeeded Mr. James in the pastoral office. He was born near Burlington, New Jersey, in 1714, but was brought up at Frankfort, near Philadelphia. He came to Pedee about the time the above-mentioned company emigrated hither, where he was baptized and called to the ministry, and where he was ordained, May 7, 1750, but for some reasons he continued not long in the care of the church. He preached in different places around until his death, and for aught that appears, supported a character becoming his profession.

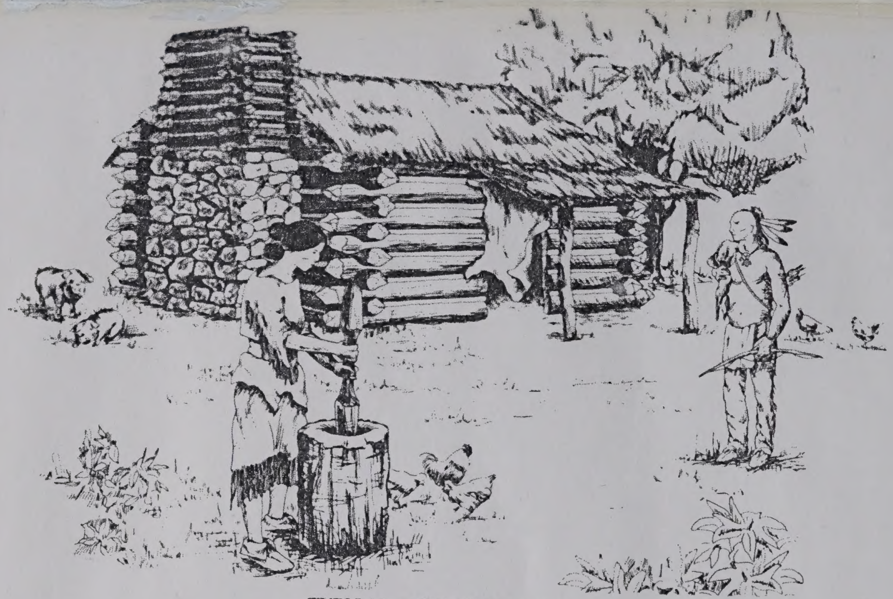
Rev. Joshua Edwards was next pastor of this church. He was born Feb'y, 1703, in Pembrokeshire, South Wales, from which place he emigrated to *Welsh Tract*, in Delaware, where he continued almost 30 years, and then removed to South Carolina, and had the care of this church about six years.

Rev. Robert Williams succeeded Mr. Edwards. He was born at Northampton, N. C., in 1717, and was ordained at Welsh Neck, in 1752; but, by some means, he continued but a short time in the pastoral office here. He died April 8th, 1788. His funeral sermon was preached by Rev. Evan Pugh, who gave him the following character:

> "He was kind to the poor, and remarkably so to the afflicted; a man of excellent natural parts, and a minister who preached the gospel to the edification and comfort of souls, as many have testified to me; and, to crown all, a sincere christian," &c.

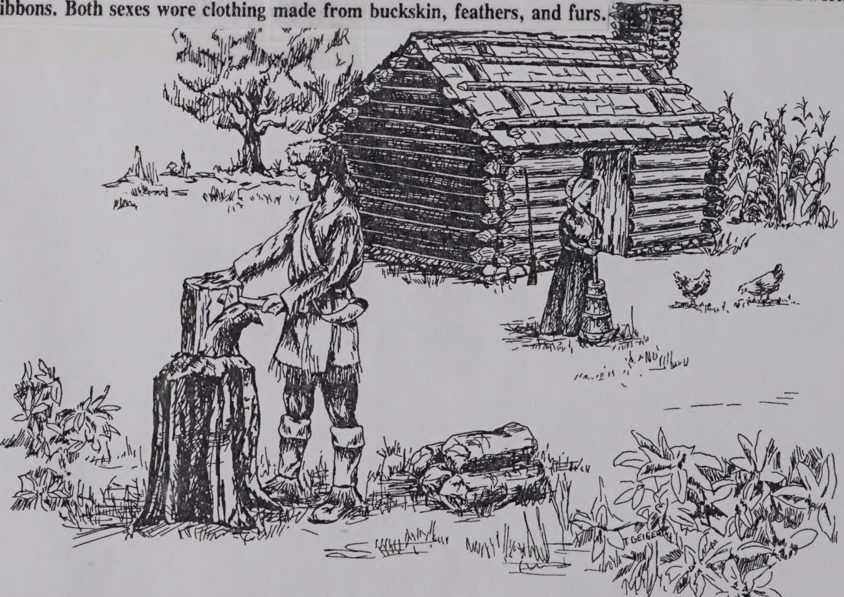
PEARIS FAMILY

One author-artist's conception of typical homesites of Cherokees of that time, and of those of illegal squatters on their land.



TYPICAL CHEROKEE HOMESITE

Located in the fertile bottom lands along the mountain streams, each Cherokee homesite had its own vegetable garden, orchard, hog pens, poultry coops, and hot-house. In structure, the one-story log cabin was similar to that of the whites. They had dirt floors and were usually windowless. A mat or an animal skin covered the small doorway. Cherokee men were of medium height and muscular. They had bronze skin. Their heads were shaved except for a patch of hair dangling from the crown, decorated with beads, feathers, and porcupine quills. Cherokee women were usually tall and delicately built. Their skin was paler than that of the men. Their jet-black hair was worn long, decorated with beads and ribbons. Both sexes wore clothing made from buckskin, feathers, and furs.



TYPICAL "BACKWOODS" HOMESITE

Illegal squatters on land reserved for the Indians, the inhabitants of the Old West lived in constant danger from Indian attack. Most lived in a one-room log cabin with a lean-to at the back. The cabin was built of logs in the round and chinked with clay and moss. The chimney was made of either stone or of mud and sticks; sometimes it was half and half. Generally speaking, the cabin gave protection against Indian attack. Men and women married early and raised large families. They lived a life of hardship, working from sunup to sundown. Most men chewed tobacco and their women smoked pipes. Most women could shoot a rifle as well as their man. Cabin raisings, weddings, and quiltings were festive occasions that all neighbors participated in.

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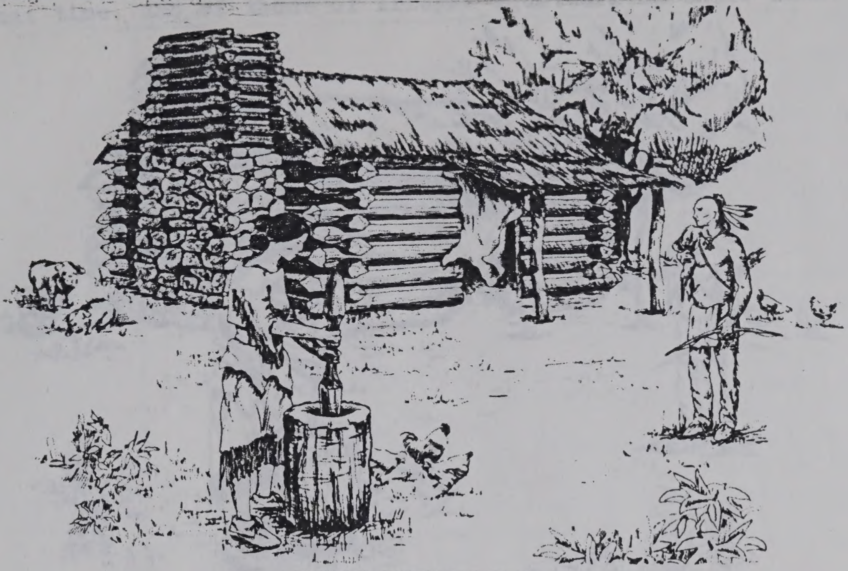

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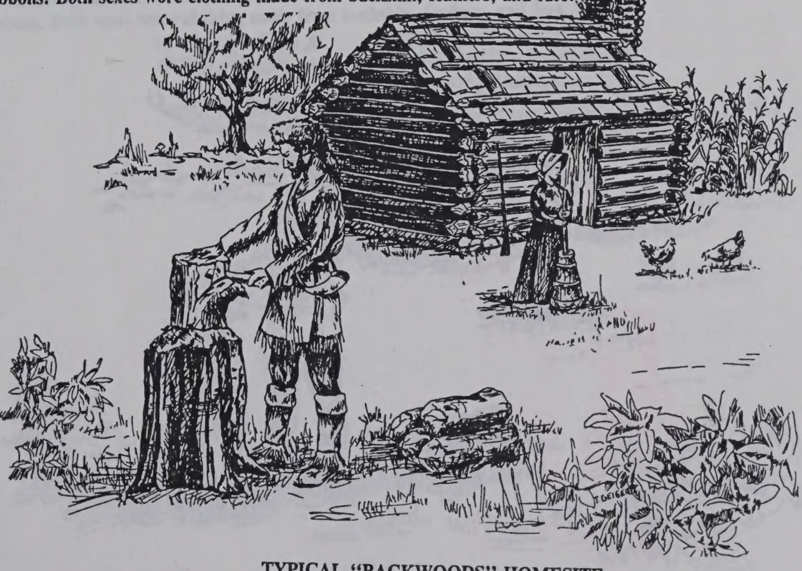

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From: America's First Frontier: East Tennessee, by Brenda C. Callaway

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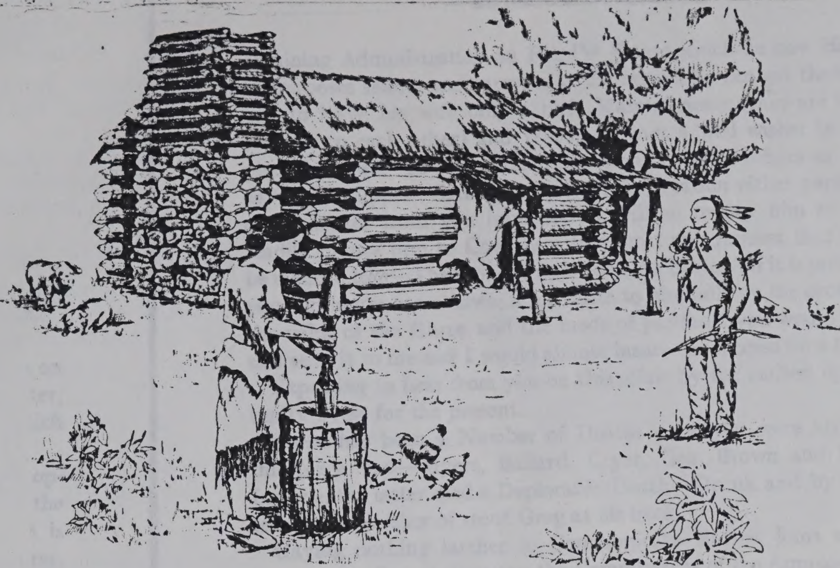

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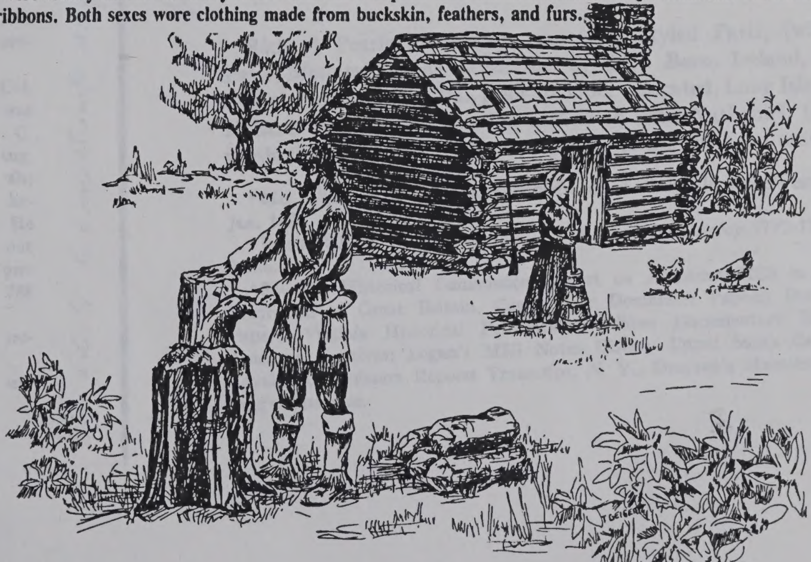

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obtaining Administration on Baird's[4] Estate which he now Heirs, he purposes selling and carrying to Europe all he can get thereby, and to leave his wife only a bare Maintainance; (they are total enemies to each other) and Wilson has not a well wisher in this place but two—So that from these circumstances others as well as myself Suppose that by a Spirited Application either personal or by Letter from you immediately will so terrify him as will readily induce him to Comply with almost any request that may be made of him—The sooner this is done the Better—if it is possible you had better come down, if not write to him fully on the occasion the value of the Horse, and the mode of payment you would wish and send it to me and I would almost insure the success for a trifle.

Expecting to hear from you on this affair by the earliest opportunity I rest for the present.

There has been a Number of Deaths since you were here, in this place, say—Myers, Ballard, Cryer, Geo. Brown and Isaac Lesesne, the latter died a Deplorable Death—Drunk and by himself, with a pitcher of stout Grog at his back.

Having nothing farther to Communicate Betsey joins me in love to you all, and gives you the Compliments of the Approaching New Year.

I am Dear Sir
Your Most Obt. Hl. Serv.
Jacob Wm. Harvey.[5]

This article has most info so far.

Richard Pearis or Pearce: commonly styled Paris, (whence Paris' Mountain, near Greenville, S. C.).[6] Born, Ireland, n.d.; settled, Frederic Co., Va., prior to 1750. Located, Long Island of Holston River, Indian trader, associated with Nathaniel, (afterwards General), Gist, 1754. A speaker of influence, an orator of

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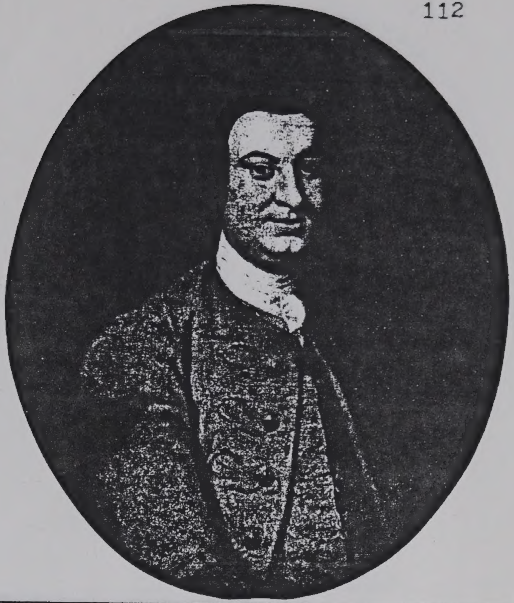
[4] Mrs. Winifred Willson was administratrix of Archibald Baird's estate in Jan. 1784.

[5] Jacob William Harvey was the son of Benjamin Harvey 1722–1756, of Stono.

[6] Sources: Historical Commission Report on American MSS in Royal Institution of Great Britain, Carleton or Dorchester Papers; Dinwiddie Papers, Virginia Historical Publications; Gibbes Documentary History; American Archives; Logan's MSS Notes History Upper South Carolina; Loyalist Commission Reports Transcript, N. Y.; Drayton's Memoirs; Fanning's Narrative.



Right- Portrait of Henry Bouquet

Below - Sketch of Mercer's Fort & ruins of Fort DuQuesne

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Editors- S. K. Stevens, Donald H. Kent and others particularly Volumes II & III

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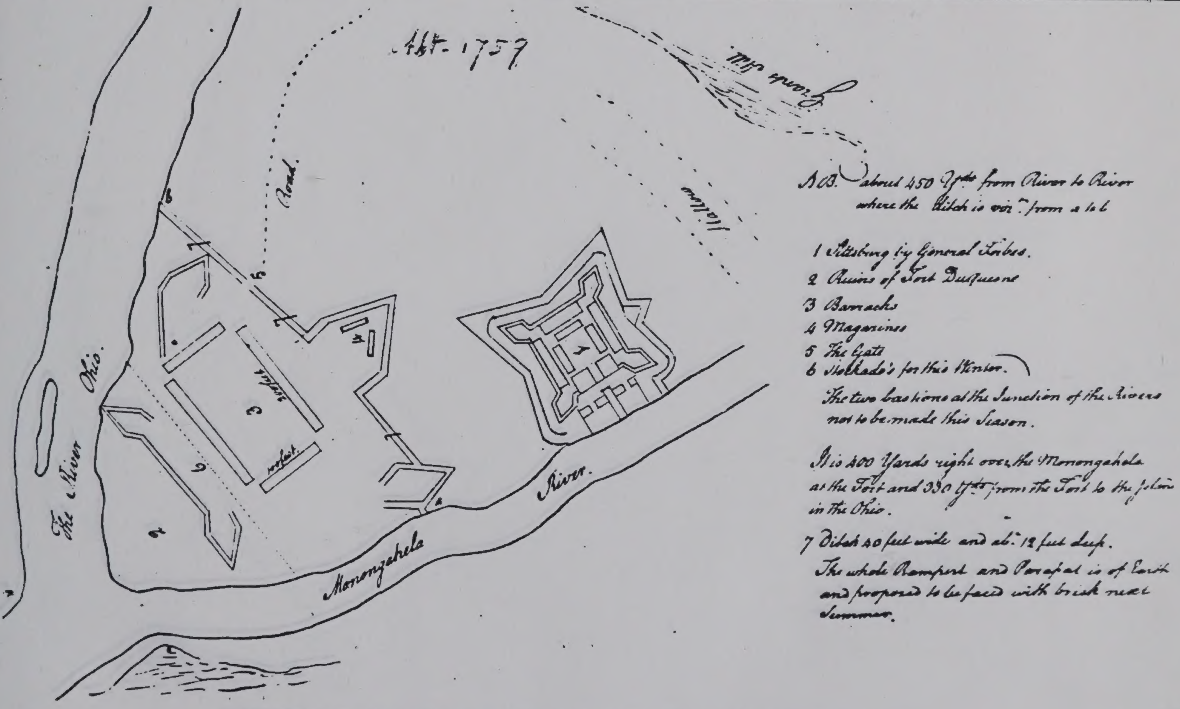
Abt. 1759
Grants Hill
Road.
Hollow
The River Ohio.
Monongahela River.
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
N.B. about 450 Yds from River to River where the Ditch is viz. from a to b
1 Pittsburg by General Forbes.
2 Ruins of Fort DuQuesne
3 Barracks
4 Magazines
5 The Gate
6 Stokade's for this Winter.
The two bastions at the Junction of the Rivers not to be made this Season.
It is 400 Yards right over the Monongahela at the Fort and 330 Yds from the Fort to the joins in the Ohio.
7 Ditch 40 feet wide and abt. 12 feet deep.
The whole Rampart and Parapet is of Earth and proposed to be faced with brick next Summer.

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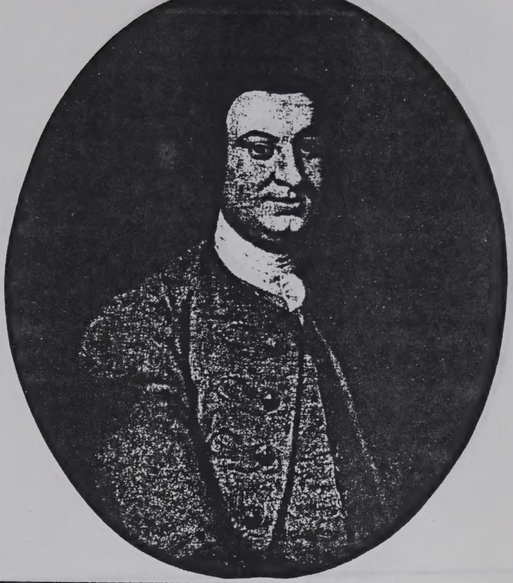

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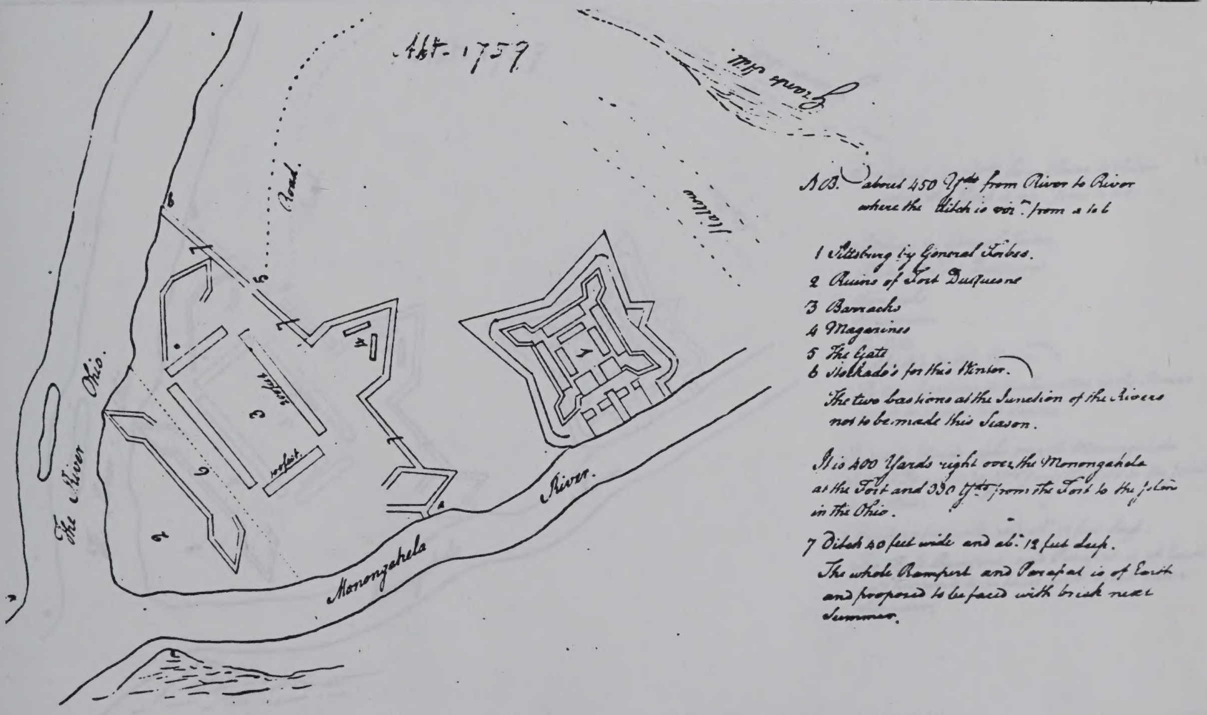

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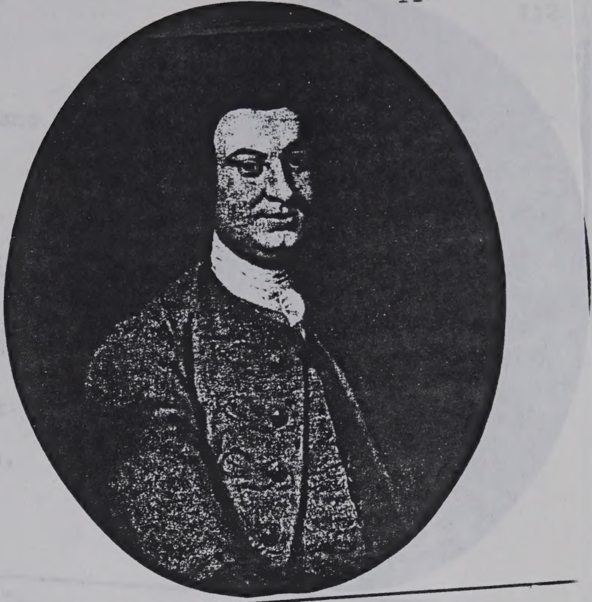

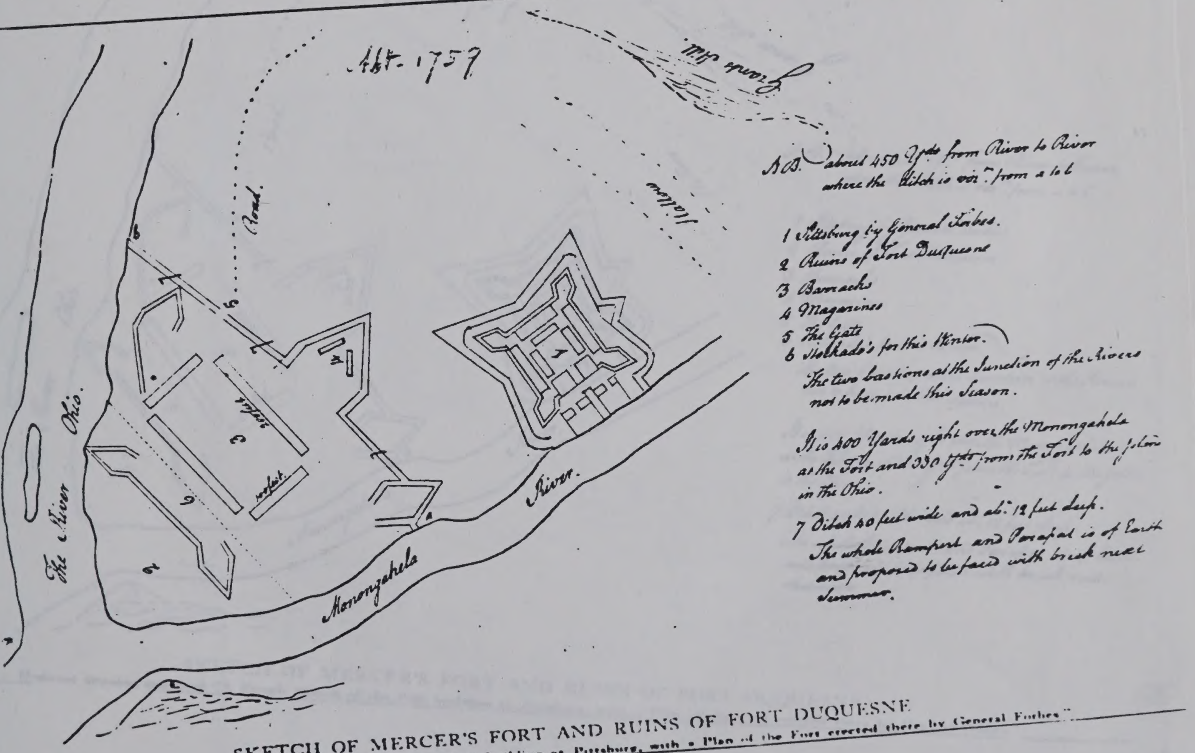

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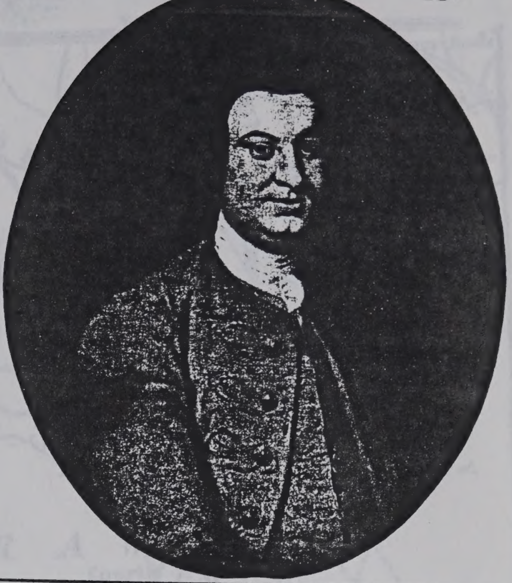

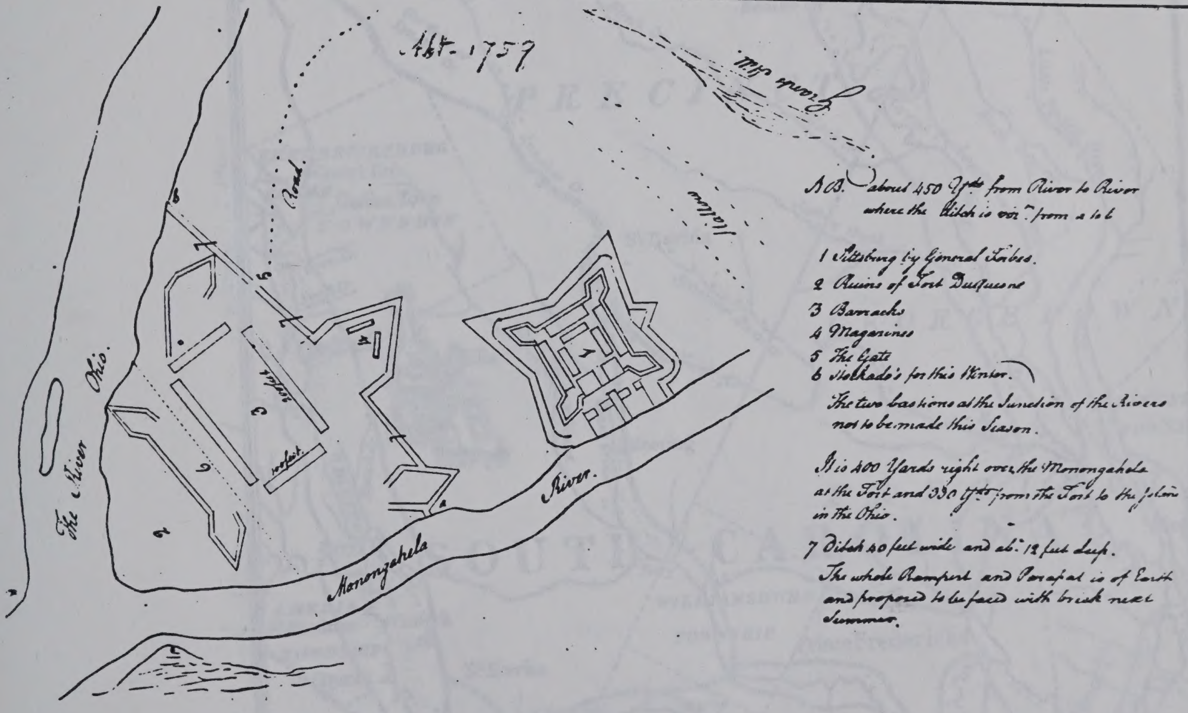
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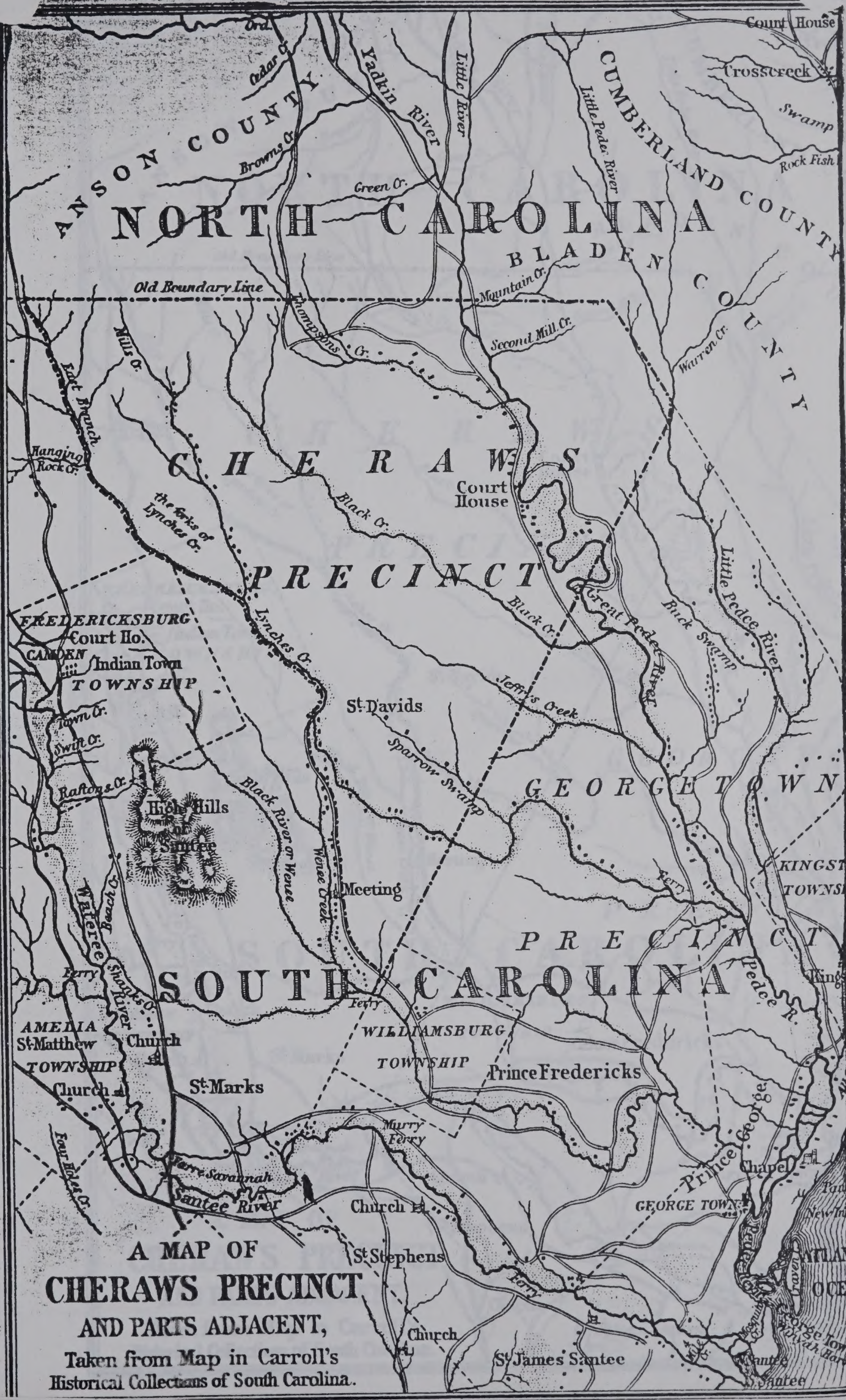
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ANSON COUNTY
CUMBERLAND COUNTY
BLADEN COUNTY
Court House
Crosscreek
Swamp
Rock Fish
Ord.
Cedar Cr.
Browns Cr.
Yadkin River
Little River
Little Pedee River
Green Cr.
Old Boundary Line
Mountain Cr.
Thompsons Cr.
Second Mill Cr.
Warren Cr.
Mills Cr.
East Branch
Hanging Rock Cr.
CHERAWS
PRECINCT
Court House
Black Cr.
the Forks of Lynches Cr.
Great Pedee River
Buck Swamp
Little Pedee River
FREDERICKSBURG
Court Ho.
CAMDEN
Indian Town
TOWNSHIP
Lynches Cr.
Jeffry's Creek
St Davids
Sparrow Swamp
Town Cr.
Swift Cr.
Raftons Cr.
High Hills of Santee
Black River or Wenee
Wenee Creek
GEORGETOWN
KINGSTON TOWNSHIP
Meeting
Ferry
PRECINCT
Wateree River
Beach Cr.
Sharks Cr.
SOUTH CAROLINA
Pedee R.
Kings
AMELIA
St Matthew
TOWNSHIP
Church
WILLIAMSBURG
TOWNSHIP
Prince Fredericks
Church
St Marks
Murry Ferry
Prince George
Chapel
Four Holes Cr.
Ferry
Savannah
Santee River
Church
GEORGE TOWN
St Stephens
Ferry
Church
St James Santee
Winyah Bar
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Santee

A MAP OF
CHERAWS PRECINCT
AND PARTS ADJACENT,
Taken from Map in Carroll's
Historical Collections of South Carolina.

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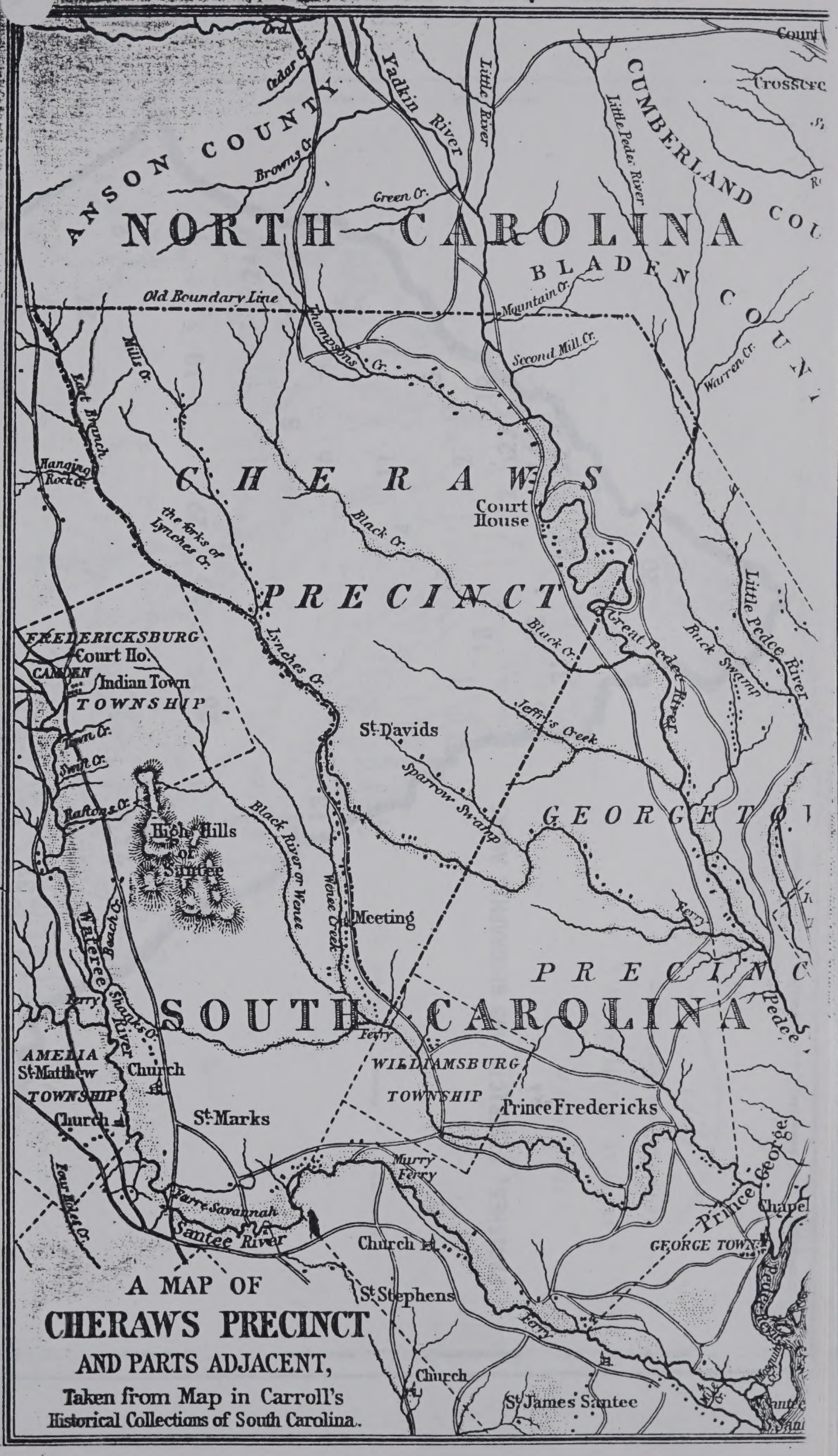
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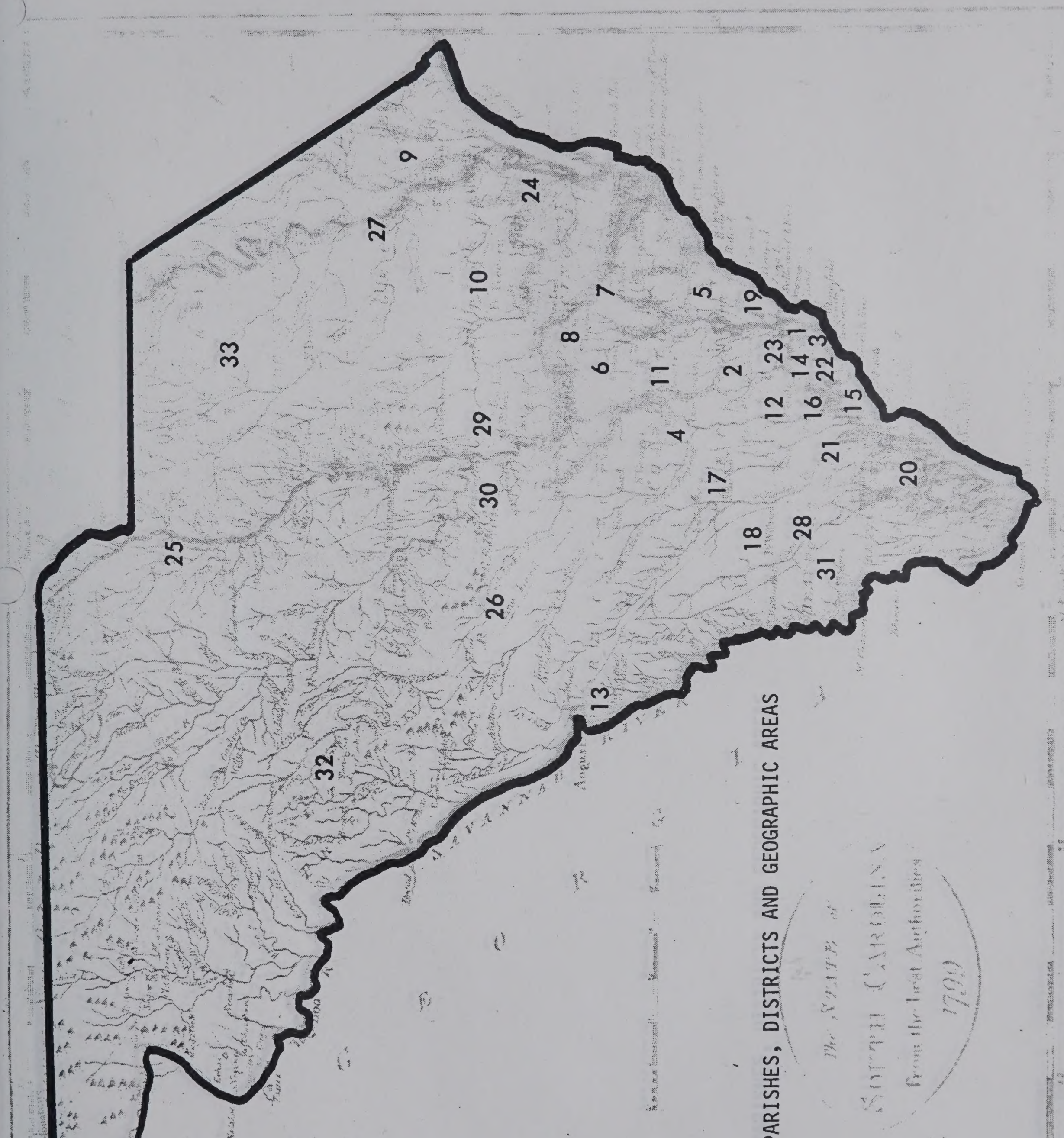
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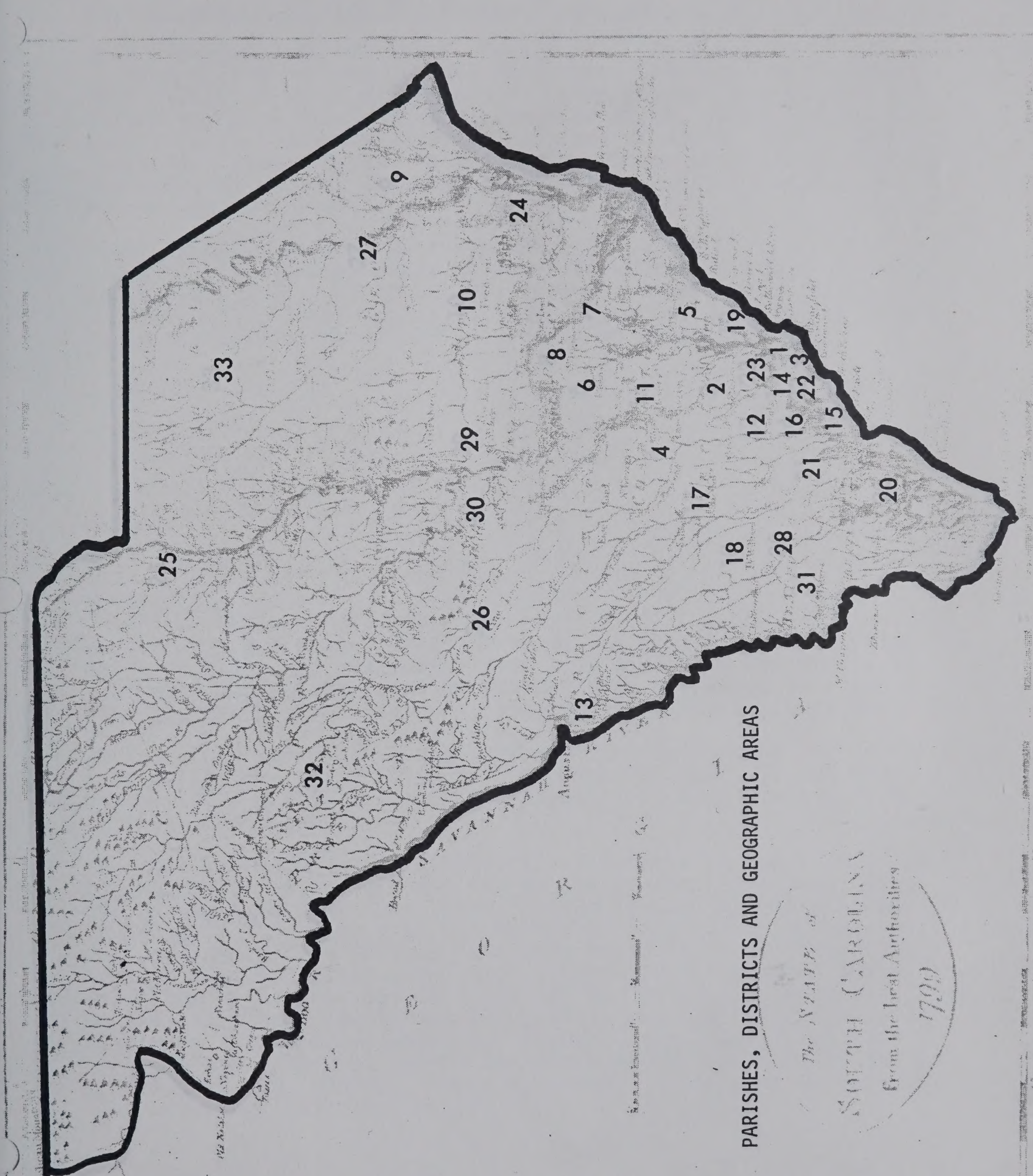
The State of South Carolina
from the best Authorities
1799

PARISHES, DISTRICTS AND GEOGRAPHIC AREAS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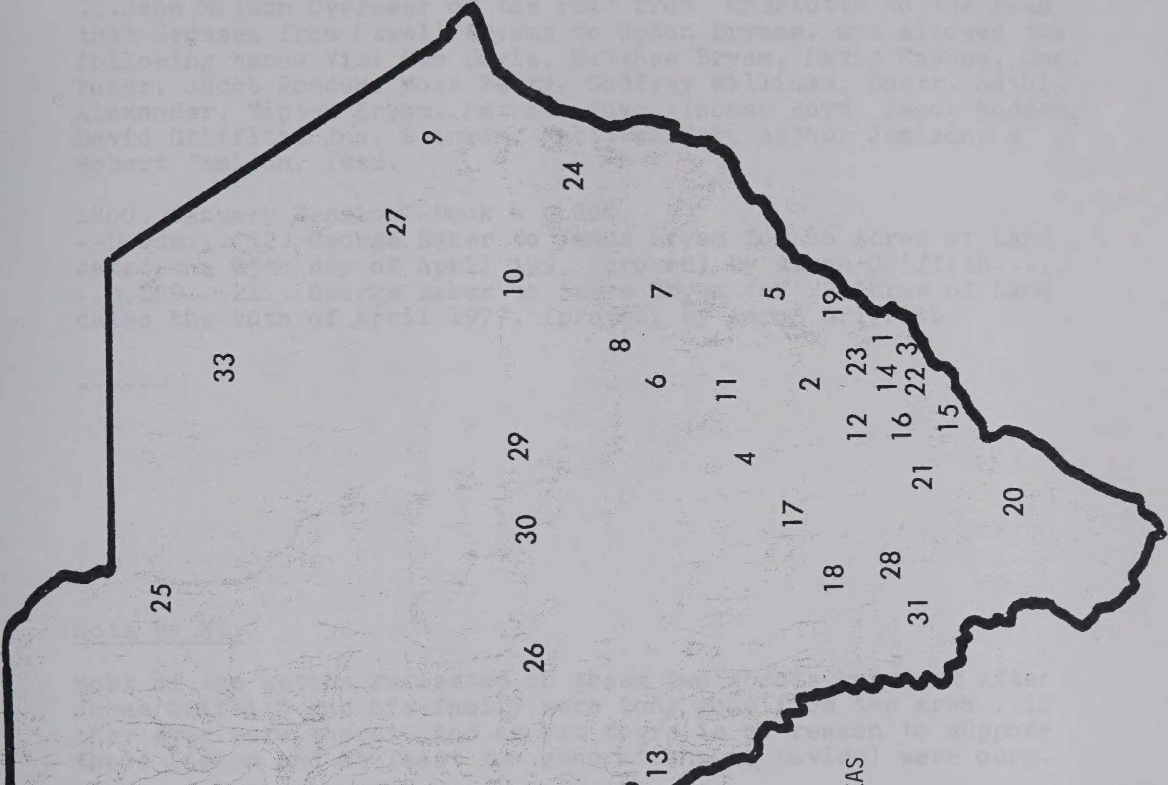
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PARISHES, DISTRICTS AND GEOGRAPHIC AREAS

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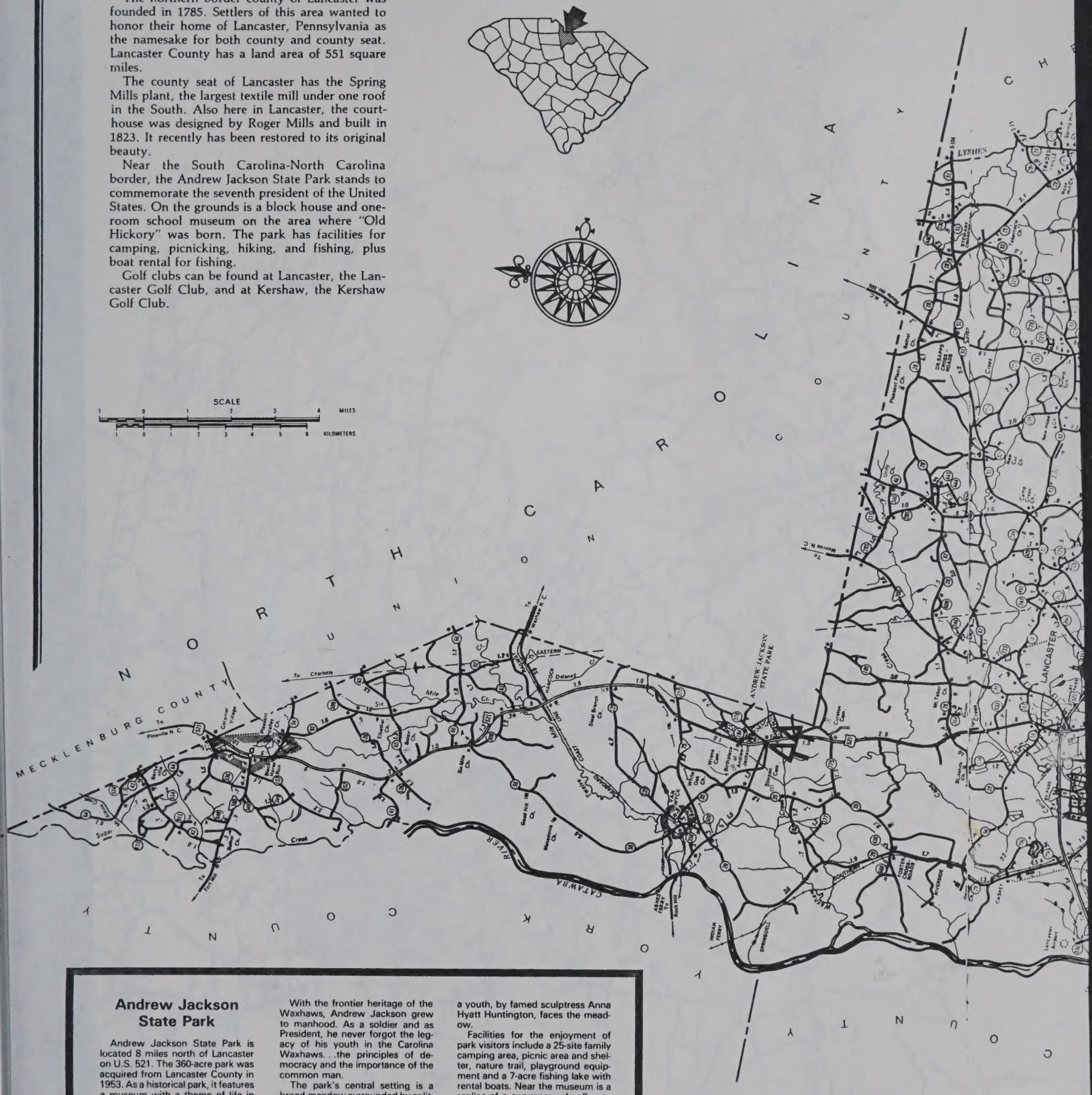
Lancaster County

The northern border county of Lancaster was founded in 1785. Settlers of this area wanted to honor their home of Lancaster, Pennsylvania as the namesake for both county and county seat. Lancaster County has a land area of 551 square miles.

The county seat of Lancaster has the Spring Mills plant, the largest textile mill under one roof in the South. Also here in Lancaster, the courthouse was designed by Roger Mills and built in 1823. It recently has been restored to its original beauty.

Near the South Carolina-North Carolina border, the Andrew Jackson State Park stands to commemorate the seventh president of the United States. On the grounds is a block house and one-room school museum on the area where "Old Hickory" was born. The park has facilities for camping, picnicking, hiking, and fishing, plus boat rental for fishing.

Golf clubs can be found at Lancaster, the Lancaster Golf Club, and at Kershaw, the Kershaw Golf Club.



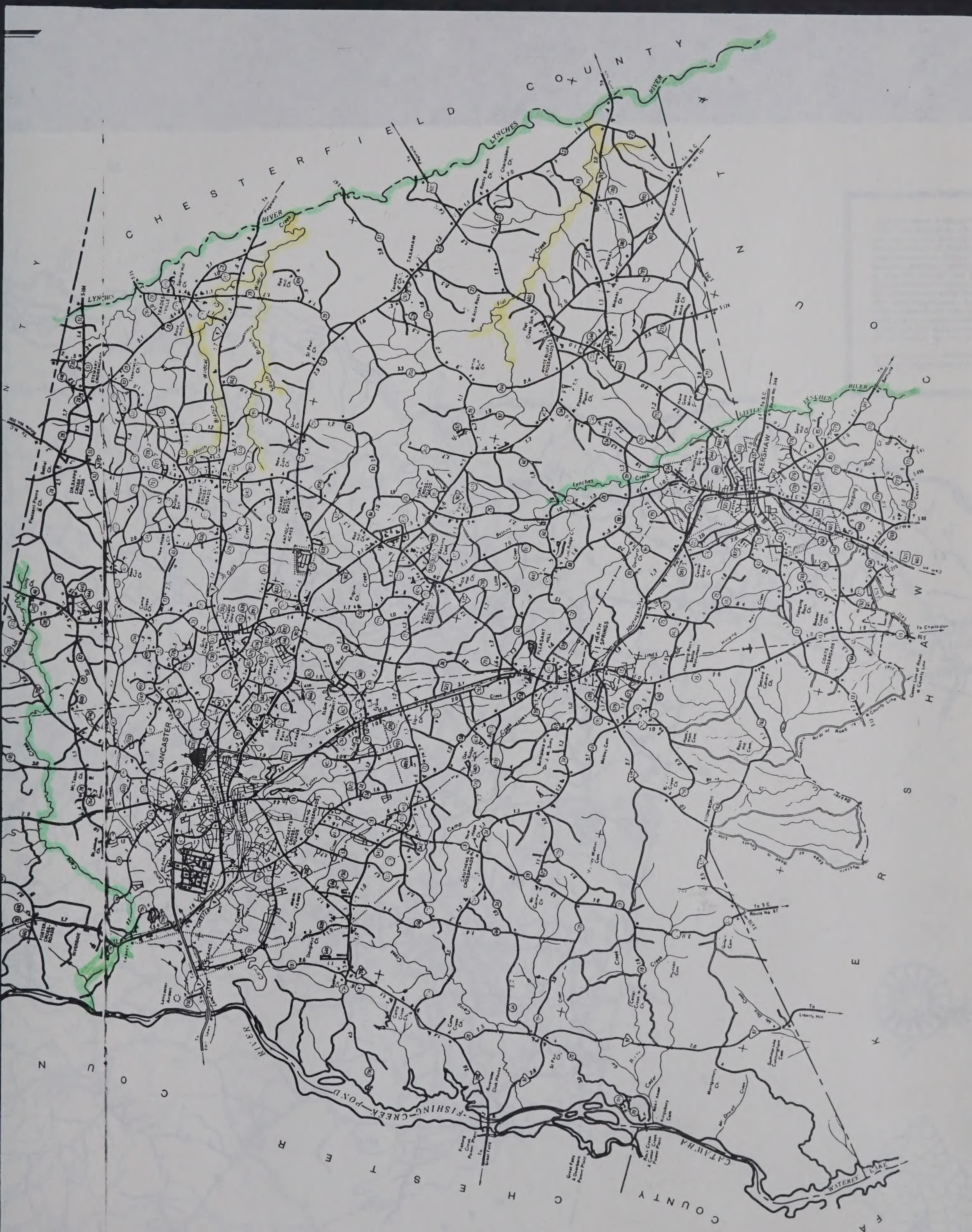
Andrew Jackson State Park

Andrew Jackson State Park is located 8 miles north of Lancaster on U.S. 521. The 360-acre park was acquired from Lancaster County in 1953. As a historical park, it features a museum with a theme of life in the Carolina backcountry. Visitors may stroll through this building, where farm tools and household implements provide a means through which they may relate to nineteenth century life in the Waxhaws.

With the frontier heritage of the Waxhaws, Andrew Jackson grew to manhood. As a soldier and as President, he never forgot the legacy of his youth in the Carolina Waxhaws. . .the principles of democracy and the importance of the common man.

The park's central setting is a broad meadow surrounded by split-rail fence, which was common during the boyhood of the nation's seventh President. Andrew Jackson spent his early life in this rugged frontier land that once belonged to the Waxhaw Indians. An equestrian statue of Andrew Jackson as a youth, by famed sculptress Anna Hyatt Huntington, faces the meadow.

Facilities for the enjoyment of park visitors include a 25-site family camping area, picnic area and shelter, nature trail, playground equipment and a 7-acre fishing lake with rental boats. Near the museum is a replica of a one-room schoolhouse typical of the Jacksonian era. A "meeting house," the park's newest facility, is located in a wooded area near the parking lot. This simple yet attractive building may be reserved for meetings by groups and organizations, and has a small kitchen.


CHESTERFIELD COUNTY
KERSHAW COUNTY
CHESTER COUNTY
LYNCHES RIVER
LANCASTER
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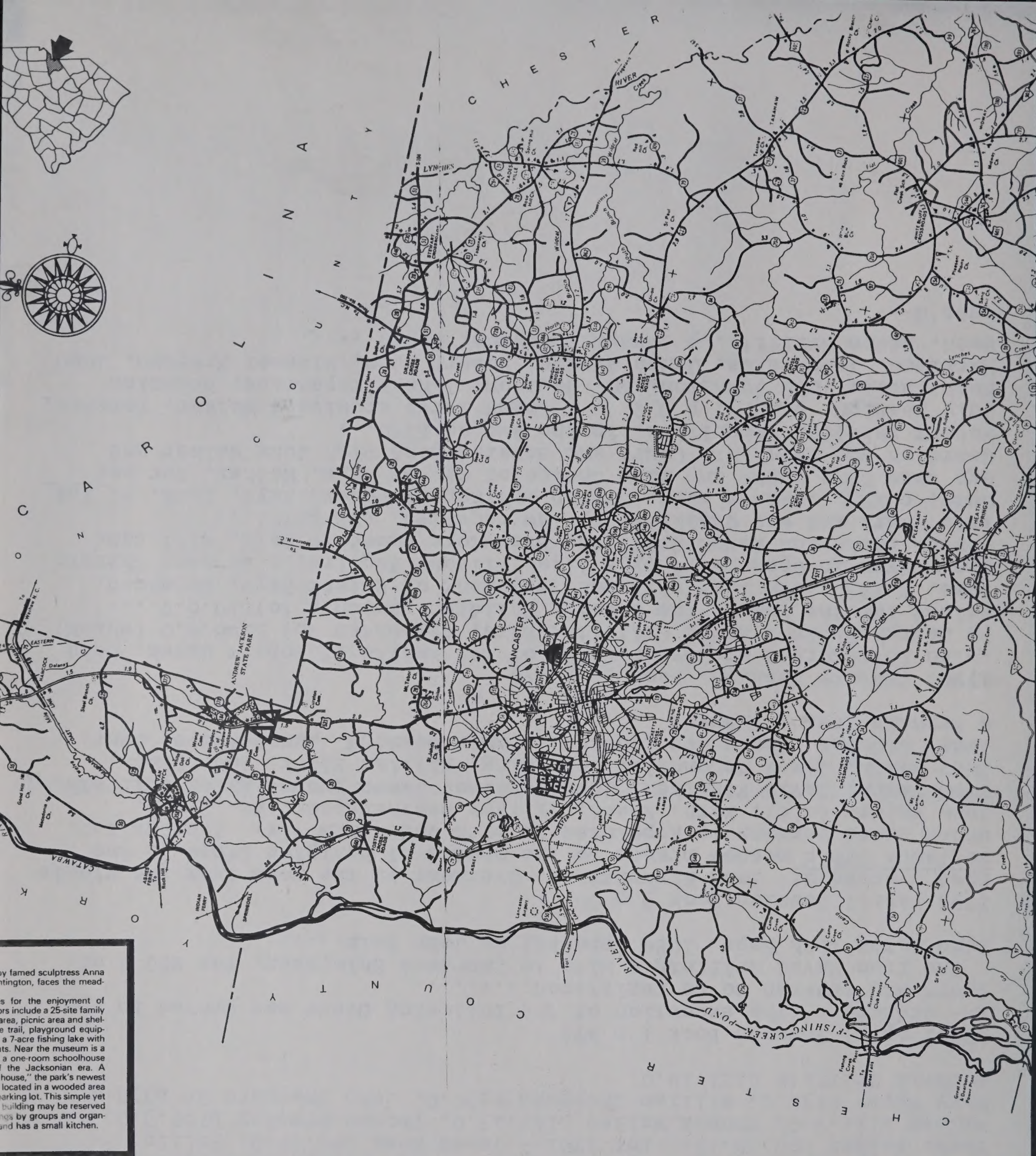
HEATH SPRINGS
PLEASANT HILL
TAXAHAW
FISHING CREEK POND
CATAWBA
RIVER
WATEREE LAKE
To Charleston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YORK COUNTY
CATAWBA RIVER
FISHING CREEK POND
LANCASTER
HEATH SPRINGS
PLEASANT HILL
ANDREW JACKSON STATE PARK
VAN WYCK
RIVERSIDE
FOSTERS CROSS ROADS
ANTIOCH ACRES
DWIGHT CROSS ROADS
ADAMS CROSS ROADS
DR. BARR'S CROSS ROADS
STEWART CROSSROADS
TRADESVILLE
TAXAHAW
WHITE BLUFF CROSSROADS
LYNCHES
Lynches
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UNION COUNTY
NORTH
To Monroe N.C.
To Waxhaw N.C.
Great Falls & Dearborn Power Plant
Fishing Creek Power Plant
Riverview Club House
To Rock Hill
ASHES FERRY
INDIAN FERRY
SPRINGDELL
Lancaster Airport
To Fort Lawn
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by famed sculptress Anna
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CHAPTER XIV.

DELAWARE, MARYLAND, AND DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

SECTION I.

DELAWARE.

Early history—most important churches, Welsh Tract—Duck Creek, or Brynsion—Wilmington—Second Church, do.,—Delaware Association—Sad decline of the baptist interest in this State—Concluding remarks.

Although the number and influence of the denomination in this State, for many years, has been very small, yet it was, for a long time, equal in proportion to the population, to any of the Middle States; and the community at Welsh Tract, in early times, held a respectable stand among the American baptists; it was one of the five churches which formed the Philadelphia Association; its ministers were among the most active in all baptist operations, and the whole concern was not behind any of the members of that quintuple alliance. In all old historical details at the north or south, reference is often had to this ancient church, and the ministers who officiated there, or emigrated to other regions, were highly esteemed.

My business as a general historian of the baptists is to relate all important facts relating to their rise and progress or decline, in all countries and ages; and although but a short article can, according to my rules of proceeding, be constructed on this small territory, where the interest of our denomination, at present, is much more diminutive than its geographical dimensions, yet the whole story ought, in justice, to be told of the former good condition of the few churches here established, which now are in a decayed and feeble state.

The comparison will naturally lead to the inquiry as to the cause of this unusual deterioration in our denominational affairs.

My second volume commences with the history of the baptists in this State; a few of the first paragraphs I will transcribe :—

"Delaware became an independent State in 1776; it contains three little counties, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex; in the first, there was a baptist society as early as 1703; they settled near Iron Hill; from thence, their sentiments took a spread northward, as far as London Tract, in Pennsylvania; north-east, to Wilmington; east, to Bethel; west, to Elk river, in Maryland; southward, to Duck Creek, in this State; and to Pedee river in South Carolina.

"This society was from Wales, and about the year 1733, eight or ten families more, from the same country, made a settlement at Duck Creek, in Kent county, from whence their sentiments spread to Cowmarsh, and Mispillion, and to Georgetown, in Maryland.

"About the year 1788, Elijah Baker and Philip Hughes, who had been laboring on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay, in Maryland and Virginia, came to the county of Sussex, and made many proselytes, and planted two or three churches.

"Delaware, at present, contains seven or eight churches, and one small Association, which bears the name of the State.

"Welsh Tract Church. 'To come to the history of this modern church,' says Morgan Edwards, 'we must cross the Atlantic and land in Wales, where it had its beginning, in the following manner: In the Spring of the year 1701, several baptists, in the counties of Pembroke and Caermarthen, resolved to go to America; and as one of the company, Thomas Griffith, was a minister, they were advised to be constituted a church; they took the advice; the instrument of their confederation was in being in 1770, but is now lost or mislaid; the names of the confederates follow: Thomas Griffith, Griffith Nicholas, Evan Richmond, John Edwards, Elisha Thomas, Enoch Morgan, Richard David, James David, Elizabeth Griffith, Mathias, Tennet Morris. These sixteen persons, which may be styled a *church emigrant*, met at Milfordhaven, in the month of June, 1701, embarked on board the good ship William and Mary, and on the 8th of September following, landed at Philadelphia. The brethren there treated them courteously, and advised them to settle about Pennepeck; thither they went, and there continued about a year and a half; during which time, their church increased from sixteen to thirty-seven. But finding it inconvenient to tarry about Pennepeck, they, in 1703, took up land in Newcastle county, from Messrs. Evans, Davis, and Willis (who had purchased said Welsh Tract from William Penn, containing upwards of 30,000 acres), and thither removed the same year, and built a little meeting-house on the spot where the present stands.'

"This removal left some of their members near Pennepeck, and took some of the Pennepeck members to Welsh Tract, yet neither would commune with their neighbors, on account of a difference about *laying-on-of-hands*; for the church of Pennepeck had grown indifferent about the rite; but that at Welsh Tract deemed it a pre-requisite to the communion of saints. To remedy this inconvenience, the churches appointed deputies, to the number of twenty-four from both, to compromise matters as well as they could; who met for the purpose, June 22, 1706. The following history, translated from the Welsh Tract church-book, will give the reader a view of this whole transaction, and the happy termination of these disputes.

"We could not be in fellowship, at the Lord's table, with our brethren in Pennepeck and Philadelphia, because they did not hold to the *laying-on-of-hands*, and some other particulars[1] relating to a church: true, some of them believed in the ordinance, but neither preached it up, nor practised it; and when we moved to Welsh Tract, and left twenty-two of our members at Pennepeck, and took some of their members down with us, the difficulty increased: we had many meetings in order to compromise matters, but to no purpose till June 22, 1706: then the deputies, who had been appointed for the purpose, met at the house of brother Richard Miles, in Radnor, and agreed that a member in either church might transiently commune with the other; that a member who desired to come under the *laying-on-of-hands*, might have his liberty without offence; that the votaries of the right might preach or debate upon the subject with all freedom, consistent with brotherly love. But three years after this meeting, we had reason to review this transaction, because of some brethren who arrived from Wales, and one, among ourselves, who questions whether the first article was warrantable. But we are satisfied that all was right, by the good effects which followed; for, from that time forth, our brethren held sweet communion together at the Lord's table; and our minister[2] was invited to preach and assist at an ordination at Pennepeck, after the death of our brother Watts. He proceeded from thence to the Jersey, where he enlightened many in the good ways of the Lord, insomuch that in three years after, all the ministers, and about fifty-five private members had submitted to the ordinance."

The Welsh Tract Church was the principal, if not the sole means of introducing singing, imposition of hands, church covenants, &c., among the baptists in the Middle States. The *Century Confession* was in America before the year 1716, but without the articles which relate to these subjects; that year they were inserted by Rev. Abel Morgan, who translated the confession to Welsh, about which time it was signed by one hundred and twenty-two members of this church. These articles were inserted in the next English edition, and adopted, with the other articles, by the Philadelphia Association, in 1742.

The pulpit of this church was filled by great and good men of Welsh extraction, for about 70 years.

The first minister was Thomas Griffith, who emigrated with the church. All we can learn of him is, that he was born in Lauvernach parish, in the county of Pembroke, in 1645, and after faithfully serving this church twenty-four years, died at Pennepeck, July 25, 1725.

Mr. Griffith was succeeded by Elisha Thomas, who was born in the county of Caermarthen, in 1674. He emigrated from Wales with the church, whereof he was one of the first members, and died, November 7, 1730, and was buried in this church-yard, where a handsome tomb is erected to his memory; the top-stone is divided into several compartments, wherein open books are raised, with inscriptions and poetry both in Welsh and English.

Mr. Thomas's successor was Enoch Morgan. He was brother to Abel Morgan, author of the Welsh Concordance. Their father was Morgan Ryddarch, a famous baptist minister in Wales; but it was a common thing in that country, for the children to take the personal name of their father instead of the

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[1] Some of those particulars are said to have been church covenants, ruling elders, &c.

[2] Thom

sirname, only joining to it the names of their progenitors, by a string of *aps.*[3] Mr. Morgan was born in 1676, at a place called Alltgach, in the parish of Lanwenrog, in the county of Cardigan. He arrived in America with the Welsh Tract Church, whereof he was one of the constituents; he took on him the care of the church at Mr. Thomas's decease, and died in 1740, and was buried in this grave-yard, where a tomb is erected to his memory.

Rev. Owen Thomas was his successor. He was born in 1776, at a place called Gurgodllys, in Cilmanllwyd, and county of Pembroke. He came to America in 1707; took the pastoral care of the church at Mr. Morgan's death, in which office he continued until 1748, when he resigned it to go to Yellow Springs, where he died, November 12, 1760. Mr. Thomas left behind him the following remarkable note:

> "I have been called upon three times to anoint the sick with oil for recovery; the effect was surprising in every case, but in none more so than in the case of our brother Rynallt Howel; he was so sore with the bruises which he received by a cask falling on him from a wagon, that he could not bear to be turned in bed; the next day he went to meeting."

Rev. David Davis was the next in office here. He was born in the parish of Whitechurch, and county of Pembroke, in the year 1708, and came to America when a child, in 1710; was ordained in this church in 1734, at which time he became its pastor; he continued in this office thirty-five years, viz.: until 1769, when he died. He was an excellent man, and was held in high esteem by all who knew him. Two of his sons were preachers. Jonathan was a *seventh-day baptist*, and John was some time pastor of the Second baptist church in Boston, Mass.

Thus, it appears, that hitherto the pastors of this church were all Welshmen. The succeeding pastors here have been native Americans, and the *Rev. John Sutton* was the first of this class. He was a native of New Jersey, and was a man of considerable distinction in his day. He became the pastor of this church in 1770, where he continued seven years, when he removed to Virginia, and then to Western Pennsylvania.

Rev. John Boggs was ordained to the pastoral office here in 1781, when forty years of age, where he continued until his death, in 1802.

Rev. Gideon Ferrell, whose birth and early education was among the Quakers, succeeded to this pastorate, in which he continued till his death, in 1818.

Since the death of Mr. Ferrell, the pastors or supplies of this ancient community have been Rev. Messrs. S. W. Woolford, S. Trott, T. R. Robinson, and Thos. Barton, who is the present pastor for a part of the time, as he supplies two other churches in Pennsylvania. The number of this church, when last heard from, was 69.

Duck Creek or Brynsion Church. This church, which was formerly distinguished by the first name, but now altogether by the latter, is situated about 70 miles to the south-west of Philadelphia. The meeting-house was built of brick in 1771, on a lot of one acre, the gift of John and Philemon Dickinson.

The tract of land which was called Duck Creek Hundred, was settled in the year 1733, by a number of Welsh families, some of the Independent and some of the Baptist denominations. The Independents built a meeting-house on the lot where the Baptist house now stands, and called it Brynsion, viz.: Mount-Zion. They had divine service performed in it by Presbyterian ministers, viz.: Rev. Messrs. Thomas Evans, Rees Lewis, David Jenison, &c. But in process of time this independent society dwindled away, partly by deaths and partly by emigrations, and the baptists made use of their house while it stood. The Independents neglected to have the lot conveyed over to them, for which reason it reverted to the Dickinsons, and continued in their hands till conveyed to the baptists at the time above specified.

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[3] I remember, says Morgan Edwards, to have seen a bible of my grandfather's with the fol-

The baptists who settled here were about eight or ten. The names of the heads of them follows, viz.: James Hyatt, Nathaniel Wild, David Evans, Evan Rees, David Rees, James Howell, Evan David Hugh, Joshua Edwards, &c. This last was an exhorter among them, until he went to Pedee, in South Carolina. These baptists emigrated hither chiefly from Pencader, in Newcastle county, and were members of Welsh Tract Church. In May 18, 1735, Rev. Hugh Davis, of the Great Valley, preached to them at Brynsion meeting-house; otherwise they held their worship at the house of James Hyatt. In September, 1737, Rev. David Davis, of Welsh Tract, administered ordinances here; in 1749, Rev. Griffith Jones settled at Duck Creek, and continued among these people until his death, in 1757. In the spring of 1766, Rev. William Davis, from New Britain, settled here; but he died the 25th of September following. After him, the Rev. Messrs. David Davis, John Sutton, John Boggs, &c., ministered to them, till their number increased to thirty. Then they petitioned *Welsh Tract* for leave to become a distinct church. These thirty persons were constituted a church by Messrs. Boggs and Fleeson, November 24, 1781, and in 1786, were received into the Association of Philadelphia.

The ministers who officiated at Duck Creek, while it was a branch of Welsh Tract, have already been mentioned. The first pastor which it had after it became a separate church was Eliphaz Dazey, who continued with them a short time, and then resigned, and was succeeded by *James Jones*. John R. Patte

Of the names of the pastors since the last one named, or of the present condition of this church, I am not informed.

First Church, Wilmington. As early as 1769, baptist ministers began to preach in this town in a transient way, but without any apparent success. Three years after, some effects were produced by the preaching of Rev. Philip Hughes, who had occasion to spend some time in the town to oversee the printing of a volume of hymns. In the month of April following, Mr. Thomas Ainger and family settled in the town; he was a member of the Presbyterian church in Philadelphia, but his wife was a professed baptist; he constantly maintained family worship, without any uncommon effect for a time. One Lord's day evening he read the 20th chapter of Revelation, and found a strong impulse to comment upon it, particularly on the 12th verse. This diffused seriousness through the family, and laid a foundation for a religious society, in which good was done. Two of his apprentices, and some others, attributed their conversion to this society.

Soon after the same, Mr. Hughes came to town to print his book on baptism, which detained him near two months; he preached all the while, sometimes at a Presbyterian meeting-house, and sometimes at the school-house, which collected many hearers.

Messrs. Fleeson and Boggs made frequent visits to the place, and in Oct., 1785, a small church was formed, consisting of sixteen members; and Thomas Ainger, who began the domestic meetings already mentioned, being one of the constituent members, soon commenced preaching among them, and in due time became their pastor, in which office he continued till his death, in 1797.

After remaining destitute of a settled pastor about five years, they were favored with the settlement of Rev. Daniel Dodge, now pastor of the Second church, in Philadelphia, under whose ministry they enjoyed a good degree of prosperity for many years.

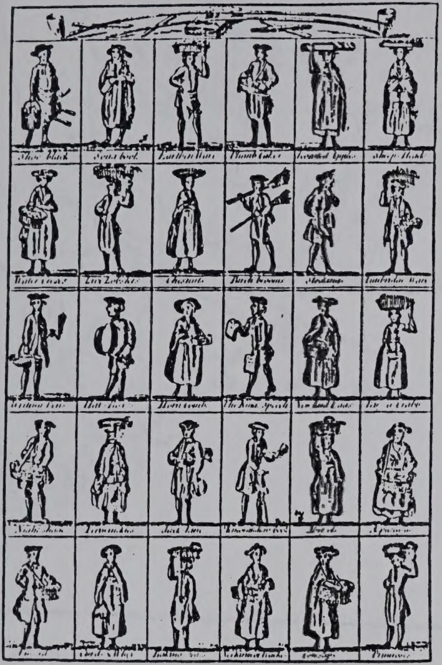
Mr. Dodge resigned this station in 1819. His successors have been Rev. Messrs. S. Green, D. D. Lewis, J. P. Peckworth. J. Miller, A. Earle, and J. Smoat. This brings us down to 1837, when Mr. Peckworth returned from Alexandria, D. C., to which place he removed from this station, and is the present incumbent. Mr. P. was the first pastor of the Third church, Philadelphia. This church, which was once large and flourishing, now contains

Dial / Griffith

Early Pee Dee Settlers

JOHN M. GREGG

Part One



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Early Pee Dee Settlers

Introduction

The Pee Dee Basin covers the eastern part of South Carolina and is drained by that long, muddy river which originates in the mountains of North Carolina and traverses a large portion of both states. The river is currently called The Great Pee Dee in South Carolina and the Yadkin in North Carolina. It provided a natural highway into the interior of the state, enabling settlers to penetrate quickly and deeply. Two other large streams, the Black and the Waccamaw, cross the region, joining the Pee Dee a short distance from the sea. The three converge at Winyah Bay and are the most navigable rivers in the state. Several others contribute to this drainage system and provide navigation to smaller boats for short distances.

The Pee Dee area covers nearly one third of South Carolina. The natural boundaries are the Santee River on the south and the Wateree on the west. To the north and east, it is bounded by North Carolina and the Atlantic Ocean. This description covers more area than is today considered "The Pee Dee" but fits the area opened to settlement by the colonial government in 1700 at which time there was only one known European settler in the area. Before this time, only a few Indian traders had entered the locality.

The native Indians were not extensively ensconced. Only a few small tribes frequented the area regularly. Perhaps they were smarter than the European settlers who suffered greatly from the heat, malaria, and other insect borne disease. In any event, the Indians were not a big problem to the settlers of the Pee Dee.

Settlement was slow at first. George Hunter, Surveyor General, stated on a map compiled in 1730 that there were not more than five families north of the Santee. However, he numbers the militia company of Georgetown at 170. There appears to be fewer than twenty taxpayers in The Pee Dee in 1720, those mostly in or near George Town. Reverend John Fordyce's estimate of population in 1738 is 2600 total, including 400 Anglicans, 800 "dissenters of all sorts", "papists none", "heathens and infidels" about 1400.

The first settlements were mainly around Winyah Bay and gradually spread along the Black, Pee Dee, Sampit, and Waccamaw Rivers until the 1730's, at which time the settlers by-passed most of the region near the coast in favor of the higher ground farther inland.

French Huguenot settlements had earlier been established on the south side of Santee River at Jamestown and St. Stephens. Since only ten miles separate the Black and Santee Rivers, a good portion of the earliest Pee Dee settlers were these who began to spill over to the north bank.

The number of settlers greatly increased as a result of several factors. The colonial legislature, fearful of an uprising by the ever increasing population of slaves, passed the The Township Act which provided for land and supplies to Protestant settlers. Townships were laid out as a buffer to the Indians which were an occasional problem in the western part of the state. Several bounties were offered during the years following, including payment of passage and additional land grants. Free land and other social factors soon prompted a brisk migration.

The events that cause the first influx into the Pee Dee were the requirement in Ireland that everyone pay tithes to the Church of England, a large increase in land rents, the sacramental test for qualification of office holders, and general economic conditions in Ireland. These led to a large number of immigrants from the North of Ireland that slowed only with the restrictions imposed by England a short time before the out break of the rebellion. These are often referred to as Irish in colonial records, but being mainly of Scots descent, they are generally referred to as "Scotch Irish". In 1732, Williamsburg township was established on the upper reaches of Black River for these immigrants.

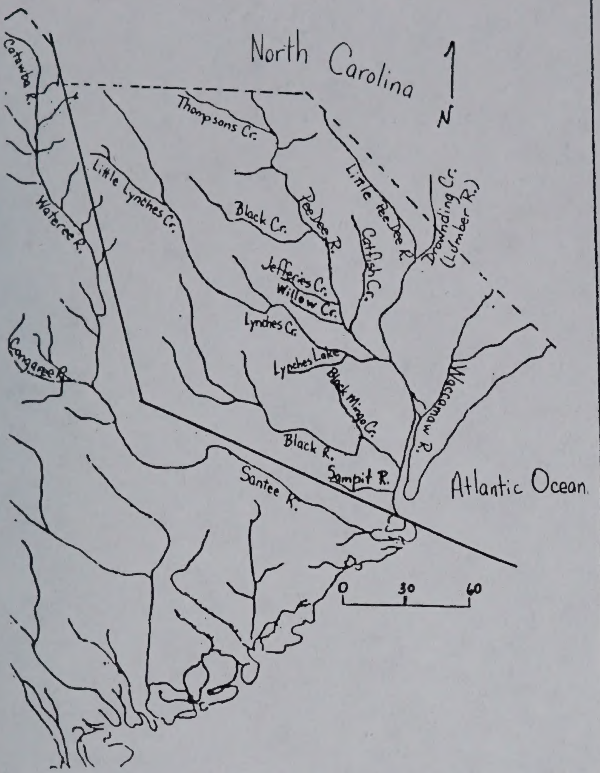
It is interesting to note that the Black and Santee are only ten to fifteen miles apart in the area designated for the settlement of these immigrants from Ireland. The Huguenots were already settled on the south side of the Santee. I am sure that this proximity contributed greatly to the early mixing of these ethnic groups. In just a few years, they were intermarrying and worshipping together.

About 1735, a large tract, (173,840 acres, later extended to run eight miles each side and parallel to the Pee Dee River, northward to the Rocky River) known as the "Welch Tract" was set aside for a party of Welch (Welsh) settlers who had settled first in Pennsylvania. Finding the religious atmosphere not to their liking, the leaders secured grants in this tract and the group moved to the Pee Dee.

Four townships were designated in the Pee Dee to encourage settlement. The Welch tract as stated above, Williamsburg on the Black River to accommodate the Scotch-Irish, Queensborough below the Welch tract, also to accommodate Scotch-Irish, and Kingston on the Waccamaw River (present town of Conway) was to accommodate English settlers. Queensborough languished and Kingston did not do much better, but the other two flourished.

On October 27, 1732, the ship HAPPY RETURN disembarked eighty-five passengers from Belfast, Ireland. These were the first of many to follow who paid their own passage to take up land in the township of Williamsburg.

The Pee Dee is the area in which that super-patriot Francis Marion operated. Marion kept the British at bay with a handful of Williamsburg men augmented by the descendants of the original Welsh. At no time did Marion have more than six hundred men under his command, usually fewer than one hundred. Although over two thousand have been identified as having served with him at different times, there were crops to plant and families to protect and the call was not always answered. These men served without pay or supplies. They were, indeed, heroes, but for every hero there was a heroine at home caring for the crops and sometimes having to deal with British or Loyalist raiders. During the Revolution, more battles were fought in South Carolina (158) than in any other colony. The majority of these were in the Pee Dee.


North Carolina
N
Catawba R.
Thompsons Cr.
Little Lynches Cr.
Wateree R.
Black Cr.
Pee Dee R.
Little Pee Dee R.
Drowning Cr. (Lumber R.)
Catfish Cr.
Jefferies Cr.
Willow Cr.
Lynches Cr.
Congaree R.
Lynches Lake
Black Mingo Cr.
Waccamaw R.
Black R.
Sampit R.
Santee R.
Atlantic Ocean
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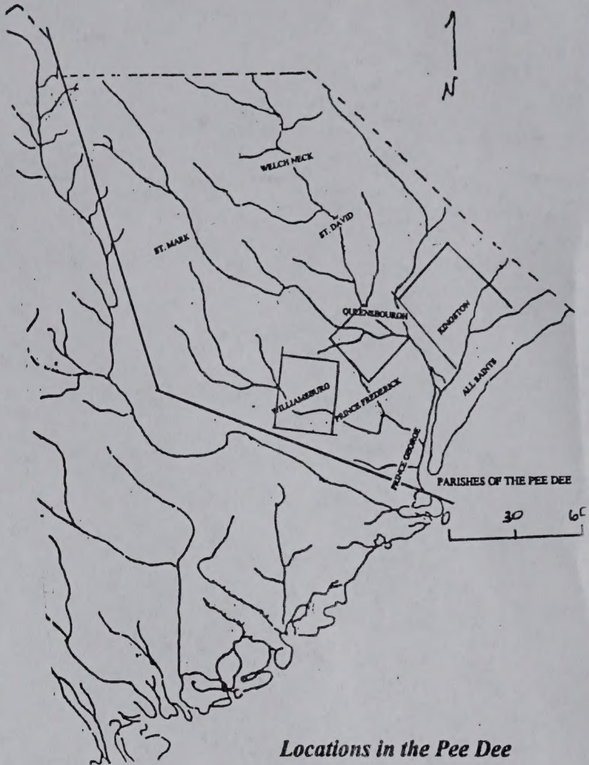
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WELCH NECK
ST. DAVID
ST. MARK
QUEENSBOROUGH
KINGSTON
WILLIAMSBURG
PRINCE FREDERICK
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PARISHES OF THE PEE DEE
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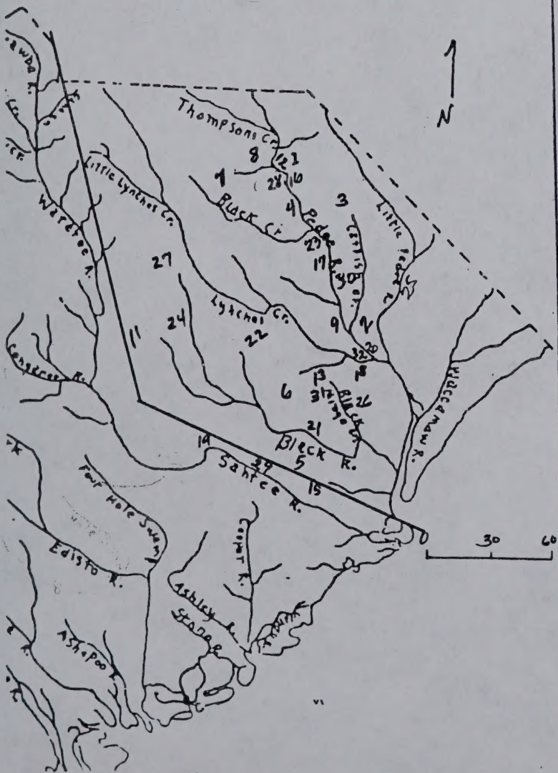
Locations in the Pee Dee

During the Colonial Period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Wateree R.
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Pedee
Catfish Cr.
Little Pedee R.
Lynches Cr.
Congaree R.
Black Mingo
Black R.
Waccamaw R.
Santee R.
Four Hole Swamp
Edisto R.
Cooper R.
Ashley R.
Stono R.
Ashepoo R.
8
12
1
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60

1. Beauty Spot

2. Britton's Neck

3. Buck Swamp

4. Cashaway

5. Cedar Cr. (Williamsburg)

6. Cedar Swamp

7. Cedar Cr. (St. David's)

8. Cheraw

9. Dewitt's Bluff

10. Hayes Swamp

11. High Hills

12. Hunt's Bluff

13. Indiantown

14. Irishtown

15. Lenud's Ferry

16. Long Bluff

17. Mars Bluff

18. Muddy Creek

19. Nelson's Ferry

20. Port's Ferry

21. Potato Ferry

22. Pudden Swamp

23. Red Bluff

24. Salem

25. Sandy Bluff

26. Shepard's Ferry

27. Shiloh

28. Society Hill

29. Whittee Creek

30. Wiggin's Landing

31. Willtown

32. Witherspoon's Fer